

AND MALLESON'S HISTORY

OF THE

IAN MUTINY

OF

1857-8.

BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

VOL. VI.

COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

I AN ANALYTICAL INDEX,

By FREDERIC PINCOTT,

MBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

AND A MAP.

CABINET EDITION.

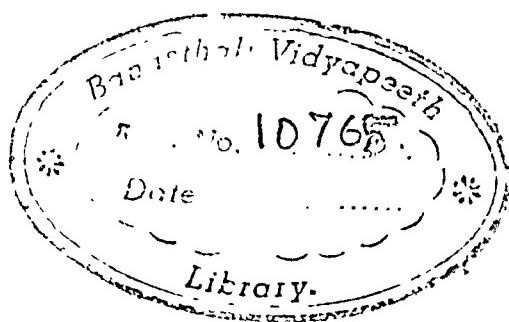
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I WOULD DEDICATE THIS VOLUME TO THE MEMORY OF
S A M U E L W A U C H O P E, C.B.,
MISSIONER OF POLICE IN CALCUTTA DURING THE MUTINY OF 1857
AS A SMALL TESTIMONY
TO HIS MANY EXCELLENT -QUALITIES AS A MAN
AND AS AN OFFICIAL.

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH VOLUME.

IN the original edition of this work I attached to the fifth—in that styled the third—volume an account in detail of the events of the Mutiny in five civil districts. There was no special reason why five districts only should be selected, and my publishers yielded readily to a suggestion I made them that in this complete edition, a short sketch should be given of the occurrences in other civil stations in which mutiny was rampant. I have endeavoured to accomplish this task amid many difficulties, for during the ten years which have elapsed since the first edition appeared, many of the actors have been removed, leaving no journals and no record of the scenes through which they passed. The reader, however, will, I think, find in this volume much information, which, if not altogether new, is now, for the first time, allotted its proper place in a history of the Mutiny.

I have been specially glad to bring more prominently to notice the services of men whose splendid conduct had been more or less overshadowed, in the preceding volumes, by the glare of the military operations. Prominently amongst these I would mention the conduct of Major (now Sir Orfeur) Cavenagh, and of the late Mr. Samuel Wauchope, of the Civil Service, in Calcutta; of Mr. Frederick Gubbins, of Mr. Lind, and of Mr. Jenkinson, at Banáras; of Major Court at Alla-hábád; of Mr. Sherer at Kánhpúr; of Mr. Wynyard at Gorákhpúr; of Mr. Robert Spankie and of Mr. Robertson, at Saháránpúr; of Mr. Dunlop at Mírath; of Mr. Thornhill at Mathurá; of Mr. Allen and Mr. Cockburn in eastern Bengal; and of Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere, in Sindh. There are many others, whose deeds, so far as I have been able to collate them, are recorded in this volume. My only fear is lest I should have omitted many details which, from the interest of the occurrences and from the long-suffering and gallantry of the actors,

ought to be recorded. I shall hope, if such should prove to be the case, to have an opportunity hereafter of remedying the short-coming.

I have thought it desirable, moreover, in justice to the splendid administration of British India by our countrymen, in the past and in the present, to add to this volume a sketch of the actual conduct in the most trying crisis India has experienced under British rule, of the several native chiefs who occupied semi-independent positions throughout the peninsula, under the protection of Great Britain. Many details giving ample evidence of their attachment to their overlord on the part of the chiefest among them have been given in preceding volumes. But I thought that a short survey of the conduct of those who, in central India, in Rajpútáná, in western and in southern India, had an opportunity, such as their ancestors at the beginning of the present century would have eagerly clutched at, of rooting out the sway of the western foreigner, would tell, more eloquently than a laboured defence, the secret of the success of the British rule. When the Mutiny broke out, not forty years had elapsed since the forces of Holkar had been ranged against the British at Mehidpúr; and since the Peshwá had struck his last blow for independence. Not fourteen had passed since the troops of Sindhiá encountered their final defeat at Mahárájpúr; not fifteen since Sindh had been conquered; not eight since the Sikhs had been arrayed against Lord Gough at Chilliánwálá and Gujrát. On each and all of these occasions, the successful blow struck by the British had been followed by a policy so lenient, so restorative, so inspiring of confidence in British justice, that when the Mutiny broke out, and the Sipáhis, the landowners in the provinces of the North-West, the Tálúkdars of Oudh, and the King of Delhi, made common cause against the British, the latter found their strongest adherents in the Sindhiá, whose ancestors had vowed their destruction; in the Sikhs, who had given them a very hard nut to crack in 1849–50; in the Rajpútáná which they had rescued thirty-nine years before; in the Haidarábád, which, since the time of Clive, had never deviated from its fidelity; and in the Sindh, held together by the powerful grasp of Mr. Frere. These are facts more eloquent than words. No more complete justification for the presence in India of the foreign islanders, who base their rule on justice and toleration of the widest character, could possibly be given. Within fourteen years of the last war in

India south of the Satlaj, the Pretorians of the paramount power suddenly rose in revolt. The native princes, whom we had first conquered, then protected, far from making common cause with the revolters, hastened to huddle together round the scattered remnants of that paramount power, and aiding it with all their resources, helped to maintain it, until it should receive renewed strength from its island home. It is hard to say, indeed, how the British would have fared, if Sindhiá—second in descent from the Sindhiá who had fought Wellesley and Lake, and third from the Mádhájí who died just as his plans for a Maráthá empire had ripened—had moved against us in June and July, 1857.

I would crave leave to add a few words regarding the spelling I adopted when writing of places in India. My system has been cavilled at by some, has been supported by others. I have been glad to find that whilst among the former are retired Indians, disinclined to break with the haphazard system déar to them from long connection, the modern school has ranged itself on my side. How, indeed, in this age of progress and enlightenment, could it be otherwise? I have simply spelt names as those names are written in the vernacular language of the country to which those names belong. It is the more necessary that this system should be adopted, as, in India, every name has a meaning, and that meaning would be utterly lost, if the no-system, originated by men ignorant of the native languages, and blindly accepted by their successors, were adhered to. I will add another reason for adopting the Indian nomenclature, which, to my mind, is unanswerable. That nomenclature is adopted now, with a few exceptions, which I regret, by the Government of India in its official Gazette. It is to a great extent adopted, with the same exceptions, by the press of India; and it is adopted by the Guide-Books and Gazetteers, which constitute the principal sources of information regarding the country to the tourist. In these days the number of tourists who visit India in the winter is increasing. Let us take the case of one or more of these intending travellers. Before starting on their tour they buy a Murray's Handbook, and possibly a Forbes's Guide to Conversation. Certainly, Murray's Handbook is indispensable, for the descriptions, especially in the Handbook for Bengal, which includes the North-Western Provinces and Delhi, are just what the traveller requires. Probably he begins to read the Handbook before he sets out, or, certainly, on the

journey, and becomes familiarized with the names. Now, Captain Eastwick, who wrote Murray's Handbook, is a very purist in the way of spelling. All his places are spelt as the natives write them. They are spelt so, likewise, in Forbes's Manual, and in his dictionary; so, generally, though not absolutely, in the new and revised edition of Thornton's Gazetteer. When the traveller lands in India, and, speaking to natives, pronounces names and things as he has found them spelt in the Guide-Book he has studied, he finds he is understood. He sees, on the other hand, that the native can with difficulty comprehend those who pronounce native names as the adherents of the time-honoured indeed, but utterly haphazard, system spell them. That system may, I am thankful to say, be numbered with the past. No polished writer of the present day who has any knowledge of India and its people would dream of using it. It is dying out, and will shortly disappear. Future generations will wonder that a people who call themselves enlightened should have tolerated the barbarism so long.

In conclusion, I would with great respect lay the last volume of this work before the public as the concluding words of an attempt to describe, faithfully and without prejudice, the most marvellous episode of modern times. There had been nothing to equal it in the world's history before. I repeat here, what I have said in a previous volume, that no harder task was ever suddenly thrown upon a nation than that cast upon the British in 1857. In achieving it, they literally "conquered the impossible": that is, they performed a task which, I believe, no other people in the world could have accomplished. They conquered, because, in the darkest hour, they never despaired: because, "believing in their own energies, they dared to be great."

G. B. MALLESON.

27, WEST CROMWELL ROAD,
1st October, 1889.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

	PAGE
Preface	v

BOOK XVIII.—THE CIVIL DISTRICTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

Purpose of this Final Volume	1
General Description of the Lower Provinces	2
Detail of the Divisions comprising those Provinces	3
Description of Orisá and Katak	4
Peacefulness of the Orisá Division in 1857–8	5
Bardwán and the Presidency Division	6
Calcutta and the Government	7
Sound views of the English Mercantile Community regarding the repressing of the Revolt	8
Lord Dalhousie's opinion regarding the action of the Government and Sir P. Grant. <i>Note to</i>	8
Mr. J. P. Grant and Sir Patrick Grant	9
Major Orfeur Cavenagh	10
Great services rendered by Orfeur Cavenagh to the Government in the early part of 1857	11
Formation of the Volunteer Guards	15
Colonel Montagu Turnbull	17
Cavenagh and the Volunteers	18
The Eve of "Panic Sunday"	19
How the Body Guard was disarmed	21
How the Yeomanry Cavalry was formed	22
Précis of Major Cavenagh's service and character	23
Mr. Samuel Wauchope	23
Great services rendered by Mr. Wauchope	24
Mr. Daniel Mackinlay	24
The Twenty-four Parganahs	25
Murshidábád	26
Jalpaigúri and Colonel Sherer	27
Dhákah and its dangers	28

	PAGE
The Khwájá Abdul Gání	29
Capacity and Conduct of Mr. Davidson	29
Precautions taken by Mr. Halliday	30
The Sipáhis break out and escape	30
Chitragáoñ	31
Ásám	31
Western Bihár	32
Mr. William Tayler, Sir Vincent Eyre, and Mr. Vickers Boyle, the saviours of Bihár and Bengal	33
Eastern Bihár and Mr. George Yule	34
Chutiá Nágpúr and Captain Dalton	35
The principal dangers to, and importance of, Bengal	36
How these dangers were averted	37

CHAPTER II.

THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTHE-
WESTERN PROVINCES.

THE BANÁRAS DIVISION.

What the North-Western Provinces were	38
Banáras and Mr. H. C. Tucker	39
Mr. Frederick Gubbins	40
Mr. Lind, Mr. Archibald Pollock, Mr. Jenkinson	41
Initial Difficulties at Banáras in 1857	42
Devotion of Súrat Singh	43
And of the Ráo, Devnaraín Singh	44
Loyalty of the Rájah of Banáras and of Pandit Gokal Chand	45
Energy of Mr. F. C. Chapman	45
The District and Station of Mírzápúr	45
Energy of St. George Tucker and Prudence of Colonel Pott	46
Revolts in the District	47
Mr. Moore is killed at Pálí	48
Arrival of the Revolted Sipáhis from Dánápúr	49
And of Mutineers from Chutiá Nágpúr	49
Renewed energy of Tucker, of Walker, of Elliott, and of F. O. Mayne	50
Jaunpúr	50
Energetic conduct of Mr. Lind and Mr. Jenkinson	51
Loyalty of the Dubé Clan and its Chief	51
Gallantry of Venables and Dunn	52
Gorákhpur	52
Mr. Wynyard and the Difficulties of his position there	53
He receives extra powers to act independently	54
The Sipáhis manifest discontent and the Prisoners try to escape from the Gaol	54
Wynyard amid great difficulties holds his own	55
Fugitives from Oudh arrive	56
Some Gurkhás reach Gorákhpur	56

	PAGE
Wynyard receives from the Governor-General an Autograph Letter of Thanks	57
The Mutiny at Sigáuli necessitates the evacuation of Gorákhpur	57
All the Officials save Mr. Bird quit the place	58
The result to Mr. Bird of his remaining	59
Credit due to Wynyard and his Companions	59
Gházípúr and Mr. A. Ross	60
Good Services rendered by Mr. Bax	61
The District continues to be disturbed till the end of 1858	62
Ázamgarh	63
Conduct of Mr. Astell, Mr. Horne, Mr. Venables, Mr. Dunn, and of Áli Baksh	65
Disordered state of the district	65
Mr. Venables and Mr. Dunn organise measures to restore Order	65
They are joined by Messrs. Davies and Simson with Troops of sorts	66
Venables, forced to retreat, covers his retreat in a manner worthy of Masséna	66
Mr. H. C. Tucker, of Banáras, orders the evacuation of the District	67
Fidelity of certain Native Officials	67
The subsequent history of Ázamgarh	67
Credit due to Venables, Dunn, Archibald Pollock, and Hercules Ross	68

CHAPTER III.

THE ALLAHÁBÁD DIVISION.

Locality and Early History of Allahábád	69
Early days of the Mutiny at Allahábád	70
The Arrival of Neill gives the first check to the Rebels	70
The Three Natural Divisions of Allahábád	71
Means taken to preserve and to restore Order	72
The lawlessness of Amateur Judges contrasted with the measured justice of Trained Officials	72
The Monetary Arrangements of the Division	73
Mr. M. H. Court's great services	73
The Collector on the spot and his Superior in Calcutta	74
Fathpúr	75
Kánhpúr, Mr. Sherer, and Captain Bruce	76
Difficulties with the District Landowners	77
Judgment and merciful policy of the Conquerors on the restoration of Order	78
Bandah	78
The Nawáb and Mr. F. O. Mayne	79
Resolute conduct in difficult circumstances displayed by Mr. Mayne	80
He is forced to quit Bandah	81
Consequent Anarchy in Bandah	81
Painful position of the Nawáb of Bandah	82
The English re-occupy Bandah	82

	PAGE
Justice and Mercy of Mr. Mayne—his high qualities recognised by his countrymen	83
Hamírpúr	83
Slaughter of Europeans at Hamírpúr	83
Anarchy prevails there until Sir Hugh Rose reconquers Central India	84

CHAPTER IV.

THE ÁGRA AND ROHILKHAND DIVISIONS.

The Districts of the Division of Ágra	85
Mathurá and Mr. Thornhill	85
The Winter of 1856–7 is unmarked by any extraordinary event in the Mathurá District	86
The Circulation of the Chapátis breeds suspicion	86
On receiving news of the Mutiny at Mírath, Thornhill despatches the Ladies and Children to Ágra	87
The Situation becomes perilous	88
Troops from Bhartpúr arrive	89
Captain Nixon who commands them proposes to suspend his movement on Delhi to render Mathurá secure	90
At length the Bhartpúr Troops start for Delhi, Thornhill following them to the verge of his district	91
When he hears of the Mutiny of the Sipáhi Guard at Mathurá	91
Sends information to Ágra	92
The Troops of the Bhartpúr force Mutiny	93
Thornhill and Joyce set out for Ágra	94
Incidents of the Journey	95
They reach Ágra, the first bearers of ill news	95
Mr. Colvin's mind waning	96
Thornhill returns to Mathurá and puts up with the Seths	96
By great striving succeeds in maintaining order	97
The toils close around him	98
Flight being necessary shall they take the Land-route or the River-route?	99
Thornhill and Joyce make for Ágra by the Land-route	99
Incidents of the Journey	100
Final recovery of Mathurá	102
Farrukhábád and Fathgarh	102
Mainpúrí and Itáwah	103
Rohilkhand	103
Bijnaur and Mr. Shakespear	103
The effect produced by the Mutiny at Bijnaur	104
Mr. Shakespear takes measures to meet the difficulties of the situation	104
He secures, as far as he can, the Money of the State	105
Máhmúd Khán, Nawáb of Najíhábád, gives trouble	106
The Successful Mutiny at Baréli greatly increases the difficulties of the situation	107
Shakespear and Gough manage to send a portion of the Money to Mírath	107

	PAGE
Shakespear, by tact and temper, controls the Nawáb	108
Is forced at last to place that Chief in charge of the District	108
And returns with the Officials and Ladies to Rúrkí	109
The Nawáb installs himself as Ruler for the King of Delhi	109
And begins to persecute the Hindus	110
Shakespear transfers charge of the District to two loyal Muhammadans	110
But these are driven out by the Nawáb	111
The Nawáb massacres the Hindus and carries his raids across the Ganges	112
Boisragon attacks and defeats the Rebels at Khankal	113
Jones's Force enters Rohilkhand	114
Shakespear resumes his Duties and renders great service to General Jones	114
He reorganizes the District with tact and judgment	115
The Mírath Division	116
Dehrá Dún, Mr. Keene, and the European Population	116
Mr. Keene organizes defensive Measures	117
He receives bad news from outside his District	118
Marches against the Rebels, who escape	118
Practical manner in which Keene surmounted the difficulties regarding Food and Money	119
Dehrá Dún, under his guidance, passes through the ordeal	120
Saháranpúr and Mr. Spankie	120
Testimony of Baird Smith to the splendid services of Spankie	121
Muzaffarnagar and Mr. Edwards	123
Energetic action of Mr. Edwards	124
Mírath and Mr. Wallace Dunlop	125
Mr. Dunlop sets out from the Himálayás, where he hears of the Mutiny —Adventures on the Road	126
He reaches Mírath, enlists Sikhs, and raises Volunteers	127
Formation of the famous "Khákí Risála"	127
The "Khákí Risála" marches against and attacks the Gújars	128
Atrocities of the Gújars	128
Devastations of Sáh Mall	129
Dunlop sets out to check them	129
Initial success of his march	130
Dunlop's single combat with the nephew of Sáh Mall	131
Defeats Sáh Mall, who is slain	131
Receives, and effectively answers, an insolent message from Narpat Singh	132
With the fall of Delhi the necessity for the labours of the Khákí Risála cease	133
Who and what were the volunteers of the Khákí Risála	133
Revolt at Bulandshahr	134
Splendid exertions of Mr. Brand Sapte, Mr. Ross, Mr. Alfred Lyall	135
General revolt of the district	135
Recovery of the district	136
Curious case of a Christian girl who married a Muhammadan trooper	136
Justice rendered to Mr. Brand Sapte	137
Áligárh	137
Splendid exploit of eleven Englishmen	138

	PAGE
The Delhí division	138
Gurgián and Hísár	139
Pánipat and Rohtak	140
The sympathy was with the Mughul	141

CHAPTER V.

SINDH AND THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

Sindh and Sir Charles Napier	142
Frere becomes Chief Commissioner in 1850	143
Splendid work accomplished by Frere	143
Rough description of the Province	144
Frere goes to England and returns on the eve of the Mutiny	145
Clear diagnosis of Frere as to the course to be adopted	146
Denudes his own province to save the empire	146
The Native States of India	147
Their position prior and subsequent to the year 1818	148
Sindhiá and Holkar	148
What is Rajpútáná ?	149
Bikánír	150
Jaisalmir	151
Krishnagarh	151
Karauli	152
Alwar	153
Tonk	154
Dholpúr	154
Udaipúr	155
Dungapúr	156
Bánswárá	157
Partábgarh	158
Jaipúr	158
Jodhpúr	159
Bhartpúr	160
Búndí	160
Kotá	161
Jhaláwar	162
Sirohí	162
Summary of the attitude of Rajpútáná in 1857	164
Similar conclusions to be drawn from the attitude of Central India	165
The Nawáb of Jáurá	165
The Begam of Bhopál	165
Rewah, Urchhah, Chhatarpúr, Datiá, Samptar	166
Jhánsí and Bundelkhand	167
Western India	167
Southern India	168
How in the places in which no attempt had been made to supersede native customs by the crude ideas of western doctrinaire the people remained loyal	168
And—the opposite	169

CONTENTS OF VOL. VL

xv

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIAN NAVY.

	PAGE
The officers of the Indian navy	170
Lewis and Mayo at Dhákah and in the Abor Hills	170
Carew and Batt in the Shahábád district	171
Chicken gains the Victoria Cross	172
Services of Duval, Wray, Scamp, Barron, Burbank, and Windus	172
Chitty and Sweeny render excellent service on the western coast	172
Appreciation of the services of Griffith Jenkins	173
Official appreciation of the services of the officers of the Indian navy	173
One final military episode	173
Devotion, unselfishness, and death of Tomkinson	174
A MAP OF INDIA	<i>in pocket.</i>

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

BOOK XVIII.—THE CIVIL DISTRICTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

I PURPOSE, in this final volume, to place on record the deeds of those Englishmen in India, not necessarily soldiers, who, placed in most difficult circumstances, with no support but that afforded by their own brave hearts, Plan of this volume. living in the midst of a population surging around them, exposed to imminent danger, not only from the revolted Sipáhis, but from the prisoners whom they had sentenced now broken loose from the gaols, and from the miscreants whom they had once controlled but who had now become the leaders in slaughter and outrage, never lost their nerve, never ceased to bear themselves proudly, never forgot what was due to their own honour and their reputation as Britons. The glorious action of these men in the stations, which were also military stations, has been recorded in the five preceding volumes. Whenever it may be necessary to return to those stations to recount, as in the case of Kánpúr, the civil measures which followed military retribution, I shall ask the reader to accompany me thither. But my main object, in this volume, is to tell the story of the stations which were not military stations, in which the civilian, isolated from his fellows, uncheered by the society of any one, save, perhaps, of a stray planter or an assistant, or, as in some cases, having upon him the responsibility for the lives of women and children, had no aid but that afforded by his trust in God, by his own stout heart, and by a fixed determination, that, happen what might, he, at least, would show himself not unworthy of the land

which gave him birth, that to the very last hour, however terrible the trial, he would do his duty. The record will show that the Civil Service of India possessed, as I believe it still possesses, many such men, heroes in the truest sense of the term. Of the dangers to which such men were exposed, of the trials they endured, of the resolution and gallantry with which they fought their way to ultimate triumph, this volume will, I hope, be a permanent record.

I propose to take the subject in its geographical arrangement, constituting each Governorship, each Lieutenant-Governorship and each Chief Commissionership the initial unit, parcelling out then each unit into its several particles called divisions or commissionerships, each division into its several districts, each district into its several stations. In this manner I shall take the reader to every spot in British India in which there was tumult or outbreak during the period of the revolt of the Sipáhis.

I begin with the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, called sometimes the Lower Provinces, lay* between longitude 82° and 97° , the most westerly portion being Bhokár in the Chutiá Nágpúr Commissionership, and the most easterly point, that of Sadiá in Upper Ásám, and between latitude 20° and 28° , the most southerly point being the Chilká Lake in Orísá, and the most northern points Tirhút and Sadiá. These territories were bounded to the north by Nipál, Sikkim, Bhután, and the lands occupied by the Áká, Duflá, Mírí, and Mishmí tribes; to the east, by Burmah; to the south by Burmah, the Bay of Bengal, and the Madras Presidency; to the west, by the Central Provinces, Rewá, and the North-Western Provinces. The area of these territories was estimated at 280,200 square miles. the population at sixty-five millions. The races constituting this population are more various than those of any other part of India. The Hindu population contains all the castes of the Hindus with many subdivisions. Of these the Kayaths, proceeding from a Kshatriya father and a Sudrá, or low-caste, mother, are the most numerous. These supply the clerks and

* I use the past tense because since the events of 1857-S Ásám and some outlying districts were severed from the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and formed into a separate Chief Commissionership. This occurred in 1874.

copyists, of whom Bengal is so prolific. The Brahmans trace their origin to Brahmans who immigrated from Kanáuj when that famous city felt the tyranny of the Muhammadán invader. The Muhammadan population, which is most numerous in the south-eastern parts of Bengal, consists of descendants from Afghans and a large number of converts from low Hindu, Arakanese, and aboriginal tribes. Aboriginal tribes, who cling to their old customs, are chiefly met with in the mountainous parts of Ásám, in eastern Bengal, in Orísá, in Chutiá Nágpúr, and in the Rajmahall hills. Immigrants from these tribes are freely employed in the tea districts of Ásám. The languages spoken are as various as the populations. In Bengal there is Bengálí with its several dialects; in Orísá, Uriyá; in Ásám, Ásáme; in Bihár, Hindi and Hindustání. I am unable to enumerate all the languages spoken by the aborigines.

In the time of Clive these territories were spoken of as the provinces of Bengal, Bihár, and Orísá; but at the present day this division is purely geographical. The territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal were, in 1857, divided into divisions or commissionerships, and these again were subdivided into districts, that is, every Commissioner of a division had under his control a certain number of districts under an officer responsible primarily to himself. These districts combined went to form the division.

In 1857 the number of divisions was eleven. They were Orísá, containing three districts, Katak, Púrí, and Báleshwar; Bardwán; Western Bengal, with its five districts, Bardwán, Bánkurá, Bírbhúm, Húglí and Haurah, and Midnapúr; the Presidency, with Calcutta and the twenty-four parganahs, Nadiá, and Jessor; Rájsháhí, with its seven districts, Murshidábád, Dínájpúr, Máldá, Rájsháhi, Rangpúr Bagurá, and Pabná; Koch Bihár, with Dárjiling, Jalpaiguri, and the tributary state of Koch Bihár; Dhákah, with its six districts, Dhákah, Farídpúr, Bákirganj, Maimansingh, Silhat, and Kachhar; Chitragáon, with Chitragáon and the hill tracts, Bhaluá (Noakhálí), Tiparah and Hill Tiparah; Ásám, with its nine districts, Goálpárá, Kámruúp (Gauhatti), Durang, Naugáon, Síbságár, Lakkhimpur, the Gáro hills, the Khasiá and Jaintiá hills, the Nágá hills; Patná, or, more correctly, Western Bihár, with its six districts, Patná, Gayá, Sháhábád, Sáran, Champáran, and Tirhút; Eastern Bihár, with Munger, Bhágalpúr, Púrniá, and the Santál par-

Modern
nomenclature
of these
territories.

Names and
numbers of
the divisions
and dis-
tricts.

ganahs; Chutiá Nágpúr (the south-west frontier Agency), with Lohárdágá, Hazáríbágh, Singhbhúm, Mánbúhm, and certain tributary Mahalls, such as Bhokár, Koreá, Sirgújá, Udaipúr, Jashpúr, Gangpúr, Bonai, Sarúndá, and others equally small, covering altogether an area of 12,881 square miles.

I begin with Orísá with its three districts, Katak, Púrí or Jagannáth, and Báleshwar* and its nineteen tributary Mahalls. Until 1803 Orísá had belonged to the Maráthá family called the Bhonslá, which ruled in central India, with Nágpúr as its capital. But in that year Marquess Wellesley and his illustrious brother had wrested the province, as it was then called, from the Bhonslá, and it has since remained an integral part of the British dominions in India. The majority of the inhabitants are called Uriyás, but the term is often applied to indicate the lower classes only. The chief classes among the Hindus are the Brahmans, the Karans, the Khandait (swordsmen); there are also Talingás and Bargís, descendants of the Maráthás. The Musalmáns of this division are chiefly descended from the Patháns, who, under Sulaimán Kararáni, King of Bengal, and his general, Kálápahár, defeated, in 1567, Mukund Deo, the last Hindu king of Orísá. In the tributary Mahalls are still to be found aboriginal tribes, some of whom, such as the Konds, were in the habit, within the experience of living men, of sacrificing human beings. These aboriginal tribes speak a language differing from Uriyá, which is the general language of the division.

Katak is in one respect the principal district of Orísá, for its capital, also called Katak† forms the headquarters of the division. This town is built on the apex of the delta of the Mahánadí river, which rising in the Raipúr district of the central provinces, and running a course of 529 miles, pours down upon the delta through the narrow gorge of Naráj, seven miles west of the town, and, dividing into two streams,

* Báleshwar is generally spelt by the English "Balasore." The spelling is barbarous and incorrect. Nothing can be clearer than the derivation and meaning of the name as correctly written. Báleshwar means "Young Lord," and is applied in the Hindi writings to Krishna. The name commemorates the visit of the incarnate deity to the district.

† The word "Katak," written improperly in English "Cuttack," and wrongly accented on the last syllable, means, in Sanskrit, "a royal metropolis," "a city," and also "an army." The people of Orísá adopt the first meaning. *Vide Murray's Bengal.*

encircles Katak on the north and east, and by its branch, the Kátjuri, on the west. The town contains fifty thousand inhabitants. In 1856 the officers, to whom was confided the charge of the division of Orísá, were the commissioner, Mr. G. F. Cockburn; the judge of Katak, Mr. J. J. Ward; the magistrates, of Katak, Mr. R. N. Shore; of Púrí, Mr. A. S. Annand; of Báleshwar, Mr. H. M. Reid; and the deputy collector at Púrí, Mr. C. Jenkins.

But few signs of disaffection occurred in this division in the early days of the general revolt. In his narrative of events the Secretary to the Government of Bengal was almost invariably able to give the happy assurance that "the public peace has remained undisturbed in this district and the tributary Mahalls." So undisturbed did that peace continue that, as related,* the Government were able to direct that the Madras troops there located should march to a part of the country where their service would be more useful. The Sipáhis of that army had resisted the suggestions made to them by some malcontents that it would be to their advantage to take the law into their own hands, as European troops were coming to disarm them and then to march them hundreds of miles away, and had continued faithful to their salt. A slight variation from the customary favourable report took place in November 1857, by the mention of the fact that the Rájah of Bamnughátí was apprehensive of an outbreak amongst the Dharuahs, one of the aboriginal tribes of the division. But under the influence of events which occurred at no great distance from the scene of apprehended disaffection about this period, notably the defeat of the rebels by Major English at Chatrá,† in Chutiá Nágpúr, the Dharuahs changed their minds, and did not venture to disturb the public peace. Nor after this period was there any suggestion of disturbance in the province of Orísá, save that which may have been occasionally caused by passing bodies of fugitive Sipáhis. It will be seen in the course of the narrative that this comparative tranquillity in his own district had the effect of impelling Mr. Cockburn, the commissioner, to work with untiring energy and success for the maintenance or restoration of order in districts which were not so fortunate.

From the division of Orísá we proceed to that of Bardwán. This division is bounded on the East by the river Húglí, to

Peacefulness
of the Orísá
division.

* Vol. IV. page 98.

† Vol. IV. page 100.

6 TERRITORIES UNDER LIEUT.-GOV. OF BENGAL. [1857.

the north by the Santál Parganahs, to the west by Chutiá Nágpúr,
Bardwán and to the south by Orísá. Its principal inhabitants are Hindus of all castes with a proportion of Muhammadans. The languages spoken are Bengálí and Hindustání. The division, which is also called the division of western Bengal, is subdivided into five districts, viz., Bardwán, Bánkurá, Birbhúm, Húglí and Haurah, and Midnapúr: to this last pertained, in 1857, the salt stations of Tamlúk and Hijlí. The chief station of the division is Bardwán. In 1857 the officers stationed in this division were the Commissioner, Mr. W. H. Elliott; four judges, Mr. J. H. Young, Mr. P. Taylor, Mr. H. V. Bayley, and Mr. G. P. Leycester; the magistrates, Mr. H. B. Lawford, Mr. A. J. Elliott, Mr. J. J. Grey, and Mr. G. Bright; the collectors, Mr. P. H. Schalch and Mr. W. H. Broadhurst; the deputy collector, Mr. H. C. Raikes.

The division of Bardwán was fortunate in having no history during the time of the great Mutiny. It had, no doubt, its alarms and its occasional episodes of interest. Thus it was at Haurah that, as recounted in the second volume,* Neill astonished the station-master by forcibly detaining the train till his troops should reach the right bank of the river. It was from Chinsurah, in the Húglí district, that the Highlanders marched to disarm the Barrackpúr brigade. But there was no outbreak. The fate of the Bardwán division was linked with that of the Presidency, and the fate of both depended on the turn affairs should take in Calcutta, at Barrackpúr, at Jalpaiguri, in the two Bihárs, and in eastern Bengal.

The division next to that of Bardwán is called the Presidency division. It comprises the capital, Calcutta, and the twenty-four Parganahs, Nadiá, Jessor, and the Sundarban,† a marshy district south of the twenty-four parganahs, intersected by many branches of the Ganges and rivers such as the Matlá, the Kapadak, the Mollinchu, the Marjatá, and the Haringhátá. It is unnecessary to name all the officers, civil and military, of this division. Those upon whom lay the greatest weight of responsibility, and who contributed the most to ensure the safety of the capital, will be mentioned in the following pages.

* Pages 98-9.

† The word "Sundarban" is derived from "sundar," beautiful, and "ban," a forest.

The political events which occurred in Calcutta and the neighbourhood during the memorable years 1857-8 have been recounted with sufficient fulness in the preceding volumes. It has been abundantly proved that the members of the British mercantile and trading communities were not only free from panic, but that they discerned the signs of the times and the proper method of dealing with the difficulties of the hour far more clearly than did the officials who surrounded Lord Canning. To that noblemen I have endeavoured to render full justice. In 1857 he was yet new to India, and he dealt with the sudden emergency on the advice of the officials he had inherited from his predecessor; hence his early mistakes. It is not too much to affirm that on every one of the points on which he differed from the non-official community he was wrong, and the members of the non-official community were right. I need only mention (1) the first refusal to accept the offer of the European community to form a volunteer corps; (2) the slowness in dealing with the mutiny at Barhampur, and the mode of dealing with it; (3) the delay in depriving the native troops at Barrackpur of their arms—a delay which caused the memorable panic of the 14th of June, a panic which did not reach the members of the mercantile community nor the European residents of Calcutta generally, but which drove many of the highly-placed officials to take refuge or to send their families to take refuge on board the ships lying in the river, and thousands of Eurasians to scour in terror the plain leading to Fort William. Of this I was an eye-witness.* The fourth matter in which the mercantile community showed greater prescience than the ruling power, was in the earnestness with which they pressed disarming of the regiments at Dánapur. In the famous interview their leaders had with Lord Canning at a moment, be it remembered, when

* For making this statement in the *Red Pamphlet*, written on the spot and with the most complete knowledge of the events, I incurred the lasting enmity of the men who either went themselves, or sent their families, to take refuge on board the ships in the river. When, some ten or twelve years ago, my name came up for selection to the "Athenæum Club," one of these, a member of the committee, declared that even if I were elected by every one present, he would exercise his right of veto. He subsequently explained that he had no personal dislike to me, but that he had felt so keenly the statements made in the *Red Pamphlet*—which, I may add, have never been denied and are absolutely true—that he had vowed that its author should never be enrolled in the club to the membership of which literary men naturally aspire.

8 TERRITORIES UNDER LIEUT.-GOV. OF BENGAL. [1857.

that nobleman had in hand a sufficient number of troops for the purpose, and when those troops were being sent off daily by the river route which would take them by Dánápúr, they foretold all the evils which would happen if the Government should fail to display a lack of firmness and decision. Attached at the time to the Military Audit Department of the Government of India, I naturally was not present at the interview, but I received an account of what happened there within half an hour of its conclusion from the lips of the principal spokesman and leader of the mercantile community, Mr. Daniel Mackinlay.

*Sound views
of the
mercantile
community.* From him I learnt that Lord Canning was very curt, and very downright in his refusal; that, after he had listened with firmly-pressed lips to the prayer of the deputation to the effect that they had vast interests in western Bihár, that those interests would be seriously imperilled if the earliest opportunity were not taken to disarm the native regiments at Dánápúr, and that such an opportunity now presented itself; he replied in the fewest possible words that these troops should not be disarmed. The actual instructions which the Government gave on the occasion* —the thrusting of the responsibility which properly belonged to them on to the shoulders of an old officer at the station itself—have been related in the third volume. The four subjects I have referred to indicate the measure of foresight and capacity which characterised the men whom Lord Canning had inherited from his predecessor as the advisers whom he could trust. They were the unsafest of guides. Their advice was always wrong. In every instance they had to retrace their steps, and to do that which they had publicly declared they would not do. But their incapacity to arrive at a right decision, to act on that decision after it had by accident been arrived at, marked them out as most unfortunate advisers to a Governor-General new to India and her traditions. A Wellesley, indeed, would have swept them aside with a contemptuous wave of his hand; but Lord Canning, though a brave, conscientious, and, in many respects, an able man, was not a

* Regarding this, Lord Dalhousie, the immediate predecessor of Lord Canning, wrote at the time: "The last business of Dánápúr exceeds all powers of imagination. General Lloyd, it is said, put undue faith in the Sipáhis; but why was it left to General Lloyd, or to General or Mr. Anybody, to order the measures so obviously necessary to safety?"—Trotter's "Dalhousie," pages 205-6.

Wellesley. When, then, one of these men advances the claim, as one of them has done, to have been "the right hand of Lord Canning" during the earlier stages of the revolt, and whilst that Lord was yet in Calcutta, he prefers a claim which his opponents may well admit, for it is absolutely condemnatory of himself.

To the general feebleness and incapacity of the counsellors and staff-officers of the Governor-General there were exceptions. To one of these, Mr. J. P. Grant, I have made special reference in the third volume. Mr. Grant was a man of remarkable ability. He pointed out to Lord Canning in vigorous words the dangers of the situation. To his penetrating glance, Mr. Beadon's line of six hundred miles was all "moonshine." He was constantly urging action, and action in the right direction. Had Mr. Grant's advice been followed matters would have progressed far more satisfactorily. But Mr. Grant was not a soldier; and there were two soldiers in the Supreme Council, Sir John Low and Sir Patrick Grant. The latter had come up on special call from Madras, because, from his previous acquaintance with the Bengal Army, of which he had been Adjutant-General, he was supposed to possess the knowledge requisite to enable the Government to deal successfully with the situation. It was but natural then that on military matters Lord Canning should prefer the advice of this experienced soldier to the counsels of his civilian namesake. Of the proceedings of Sir Patrick Grant in Calcutta two stand revealed. There are, in fact, no others of moment.

Sir Patrick Grant.
On reading what these two proceedings were, one is tempted to inquire whether, to obtain such advice as he gave, it was worth the trouble and the expense to send for Sir P. Grant from Madras. The first of these refers to his reasons for not taking the field in person: * the second to his thrusting on the shoulders of General Lloyd the responsibility of disarming or of not disarming the Sipáhis at Dánápúr.† It may be urged that Sir Patrick knew General Lloyd, and that a commander-in-chief is justified in casting a portion of his responsibility on a subordinate whom he knows and trusts. The result proved that Sir Patrick's action was a mere shifting of responsibility to a man who, if Sir Patrick knew him at all, he must have known was not strong enough to bear the burden. The occasion was eminently one in which a strong man would have said: "The

* Vol. III. pages 20-21.

† Vol. III. page 40 and note.

times are critical; everything, possibly the very safety of Calcutta, depends upon the prompt disarming of the three Sipáhi regiments at Dánápúr. We have troops at hand who will pass that station. I will warn General Lloyd and tell him he must take the first opportunity to deprive these men of their muskets. The disarming will not then detain the regiments more than twenty-four hours at the utmost. A great danger will then be removed. I will at once issue the necessary orders." A strong man, I repeat, would have argued in that way. Sir Patrick Grant did not. He, I repeat, was content to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of General Lloyd. But though he shifted it for the moment, the real responsibility of the non-disarming of the Sipáhis and of the consequent horrors and bloodshed rests, and will rest, on the shoulders of Sir Patrick Grant.

I can fancy some of my readers exclaiming in words similar to those employed by Sir John Kaye when the evidence in favour of the Government was too weak for him to express an unexplained approval of its policy: "It is so easy to be wise after the event."^{*}

The mercantile community were wise during the event.
But my contention is that Mr. Mackinlay and the mercantile community were wise at the time. They pressed the policy, now admitted to be the right policy, upon Lord Canning and Sir Patrick Grant. Their vision, at least was clear. It was the Government of India which was blind and deaf at the time and became wise only after the event. The mercantile community possessed the prescience in which the Government was deficient.

Some of the members of the Government have, indeed, since admitted that on one point at least the Government were wrong, and those whom the Government persecuted were right.[†] And I have no doubt whatever but that they have made the same admission with respect to other instances. I am sure that Lord Canning would have done so. His conduct after he had shaken off his Calcutta advisers presents a marked contrast to his conduct during the time he was under their influence.

An officer who rendered marked service to the Governor-General in Calcutta during the early days of the mutiny, and indeed to the very end, was the Town-Major, Major, now Sir Orfeur, Cavenagh. Major

* Vol. II. page 92 and note initialed G. B. M.

† Vol. III. page 80.

Cavenagh was a very gallant officer, who, attached to the Irregular cavalry, had lost his leg at the battle of Mahárájpúr, had afterwards been appointed to accompany Jang Bahádúr during his tour in Europe, and had at a later period been appointed Town-Major of Fort William, then under the direct authority of the Governor-General. He had returned from Europe only in the November of the year preceding, 1856. During his journey to Calcutta from Bombay he had learned from loyal natives, and had himself noticed, the great change which had taken place in the feelings of the people towards his countrymen. Disaffection to the British rule, he was told, was very general throughout the country, and had even extended to the soldiery. Major Cavenagh was not much surprised at this last statement, for the tendency of the centralising system in the army, for many years in progress, had been, he knew and had deplored, to deprive commanding officers of their powers, and reduce them to the status of mere cyphers, with but slight interest in their work or in their men.

Major Cavenagh had returned but little more than two months when the symptoms which he had noticed began to develop. On the 26th of January, 1857, the telegraph-house was fired at Barrackpúr. The same day one of the sergeants attached to the fort related to Cavenagh a remarkable conversation he had overheard between two Sipáhis. It was to effect that the Europeans in the garrison were entirely in the hands of the Sipáhis; that the arsenal and magazines could be easily mastered; the Europeans surprised in their sleep and murdered; that then it would be easy to seize Fort William. They added that the programme had been begun by the firing on the previous evening of the telegraph bungalow at Barrackpúr.

The story did not come as an absolute surprise to Cavenagh, and he at once took steps to guard against the threatened mischief. As soon as he had completed the necessary preparations, which, he truly says in his autobiography,* "in all human probability saved Fort William and Calcutta, and possibly our Indian Empire," he drove to Government House, saw Lord Canning, and gave him a full account of all that had happened, and of the measures he had taken. Lord Canning expressed

discovers the
plot of the
Sipáhis in
January,
1857,

* *Reminiscences of an Indian Official*, by Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, page 202.

obtains Lord
Canning's
approval.

his entire approval, and, at Cavenagh's suggestion, sanctioned the transfer of an additional company of the 53rd Foot to Fort William.

The precaution taken by Cavenagh baffled the mutineers for the moment. Two days later, however, as he was walking in his garden he was accosted by the non-commissioned officer of his Sipáhi guard. This man told him that the Sipáhis, especially the old soldiers, whilst gratefully recollecting the benefits the Government had showered upon them during their period of service, were really afraid that an attempt was about to be made, by means of the new cartridges, to take away their caste; that it was reported among them that those cartridges were being prepared with hog's lard and beef suet, and that the best way of proving to the men that their suspicions were unfounded would be to appoint a high-caste Hindu and Muhammadan to superintend the preparation of them in the arsenal. Cavenagh listened attentively to the man's talk, and then told him that he must be perfectly aware that neither the Government nor their officers would sanction any plan detrimental to their religious tenets, adding that it would be easy, he thought, to arrange that they should witness the manufacture of the cartridges. This opinion, repeated to the men, and followed by the granting of the required permission, seemed to remove all doubts from their minds. "Unfortunately," adds Cavenagh, "the arsenal authorities objected to the arrangement, and the permission was afterwards withdrawn."

For more than a month nothing further occurred to rouse the suspicions of the Town-Major. But in March, ^{The Botanical Gardens plot} the ruler of Gwálíár, Mahárájah Sindhiá, visited Calcutta. The story of the *fête* contemplated to be given in his honour at the Botanical Gardens on the 10th of the month, and its postponement, has already been told.* That the Sipáhis really contemplated the seizure of the Fort and the massacre of the Europeans whilst the élite of the British population should be separated from them by the breadth of the unbridged Húglí, is, I think, abundantly clear. The postponement of the *fête* led their guilty minds to suspect that the plot had been betrayed, and that the postponement was the

* Vol. I. pages 388-9.

consequence of that betrayal. Various circumstances combined to fix this idea in their minds : none more so than the sudden return of Cavenagh to the fort when he had given out that he was about to cross the river.* Disconcerted by a change of programme, the reason of which seemed so apparent, the Sipáhis in and out of the fort resolved to continue to feign loyalty, and actually made prisoners of a body of their own comrades, who, unaware that the plot had been postponed, were carrying out their part of it. These men were brought to trial and were sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude. Cavenagh took advantage of the parade of the troops of the garrison for the purpose of witnessing the placing of the condemned men in irons, to give a warning and exhortation to the assembled Sipáhis. They listened with apparently respectful attention. But after the parade had been dismissed, a circumstance happened which must, in the light of the events which were shortly to happen, be regarded as, at least, very curious. "A native officer," writes Cavenagh, "who was a member of the court-martial, observed to me, in the course of conversation, that we did not know how to treat Orientals ; that when I had satisfied myself of the guilt of the prisoners, instead of convening a court-martial, and thus delaying their punishment, I ought to have ordered a parade the next morning, and caused them to be blown away from guns, as such a measure would have had a beneficial effect in deterring others from following their example." It is more than probable that this very man was one of the plotters.

Naive remark
of a Native
officer to
Cavenagh.

Shortly afterwards, the mutiny broke out at Mírath, and the alarm spread all over the country. Cavenagh, responsible for the safety of a large fortress, to guard which he had but one wing of an English regiment, redoubled his precautions. The native brigade at Barrackpúr still remained armed, and it was known that the Sipáhis composing it were for the most thoroughly disaffected. Ten days after the news of the events at Mírath and Dehlí reached the Presidency, there fell the anniversary

The celebra-
tion of the
Queen's
birthday.

* The postponement of the *fête* had not, by accident, been communicated to Cavenagh, and he had proceeded as far as Garden Reach before he became acquainted with the fact. His return to the Fort was, then, as great a surprise to himself as it was to the Sipáhis.

14 TERRITORIES UNDER LIEUT.-GOV. OF BENGAL. [1857.

of the Queen's birthday. The Queen's birthday is always a great day in India, and when the Viceroy is in Calcutta, he gives a state ball in honour of the occasion. The troubled condition of affairs in 1857 did not permit of any deviation from this practice, and the invitations were issued for the 25th May. But the feeling of insecurity was very widely spread. The reticence of the Government; the knowledge that Fort William was but slenderly held; that the public buildings throughout the city were guarded by troops, believed, and believed with reason, to be steeped to the eyes in mutiny; that four regiments of Sipáhis were within three hours' march of Government House; and the possibility that those troops, those in the fort, and those on duty at the public establishments, thoroughly conversant with the habits of the English on the celebration of the birthday of the Queen, might take the opportunity to make a clean sweep of the assembled guests at Government House* on the night of the 25th of May, justified a suspicion that the celebration of the Queen's birthday might be made the occasion for a tumult, and warranted the Government in taking precautions to meet the possible danger. It devolved on the Town-Major to make or at least to suggest the precautions that should be taken. The birthday, for some good reason, was I have said, kept on the 25th May. Major Cavenagh tells that he waited on the Governor-General on the 24th May to take his orders as to the parade which was always held in honour of the occasion. He proposed "that the balled ammunition in pouch with the native troops, which would, as usual, be exchanged for the blank cartridges required for the *feu de joie*, should not be returned to them." True to his policy, or rather to the policy of his advisers, of feigning confidence even when they felt none, Lord Canning would not sanction this arrangement "unless any symptoms of disaffection were displayed." In vain did Cavenagh plead that whilst there was not the slightest chance of any overt act being committed on parade, yet that if

Cavenagh suggests precautions,

* There was much reason in these forebodings. They were founded on the practice of the Sipáhis elsewhere. Only a fortnight before, at Mirath, they had chosen the day on which they knew that the European troops would be at church with their side-arms only, to rise; and, in Calcutta itself, only a short time before, they had fixed as their day of rising that on which all English Calcutta would be assembled in the Botanical Gardens, separated from the city by the river Húglí.

any disturbance were to arise in Calcutta, the fact that the Sipáhis were in possession of several rounds of service cartridges would make a considerable difference in the strength of the detachment he would send from the fort for its repression. "The argument," he tells us, "was not deemed convincing." The Sipáhis, then, retained their balled cartridges. The parade and the ball passed off quietly; but, in the light of after events, there can be no doubt but that a great risk was deliberately encountered, and encountered on sentimental grounds only.

A few days later, the 4th June, a soldier of the Sikh nation suggested in conversation with the Town-Major, a mode of strengthening the resources of the Government at which the fertile mind of Cavenagh eagerly caught. The Sikh represented that there were in his regiment quartered at Barrackpúr about a hundred of his countrymen untrammelled by the religious prejudices of the Hindus, ready to go anywhere and do anything, and that they would be glad to be incorporated in a distinct corps. Cavenagh brought the matter to the notice of Lord Canning, and, a little later, the suggestion of the Sikh soldier became an accomplished fact. The Sikhs were carefully taken from all the regiments at Barrackpúr, formed into a separate body, and employed with excellent effect in guarding the important post of Rániganj, the then terminus of the railway.

Four days later the danger of feigning a confidence which was not felt having been brought home to Lord Canning and his advisers, Cavenagh was directed to replace the native guards at the Treasury, the Bank, and the Mint, by European details. Cavenagh carried out the instructions which he received on this head with remarkable tact and discretion. In this way, one great danger was averted.

Regarding the formation of the Volunteer Corps, or as it was called, the Volunteer Guards, which rendered such efficient service in Calcutta, and, there can be no doubt, averted many dangers, Cavenagh was consulted by the Governor-General on the 11th of June. The idea had presented itself spontaneously to the Europeans in Calcutta some time before, and had been received by the Government with a refusal which was regarded, and I think justly regarded, as insulting. They were told by the Secretary to Government

which are not
sanctioned.

Formation of
a Sikh
battalion.

The Sipáhi
guards are
replaced by
Europeans.

The Volun-
teer Guards.

in words which have been often quoted in the preceding volumes, and which cannot be referred to too often, conclusive as they are of the blindness of the Government even so late as the 25th of May, that "everything is quiet within six hundred miles of the capital. The mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has already been arrested; and there is every reason to hope that in the course of a few days tranquillity and confidence will be restored throughout the Presidency." In conclusion, the Home Secretary contemptuously told the applicants that if they felt any alarm they might apply to the Commissioner of Police, who, it transpired, had received orders to supply them with clubs.

But the interval between the 25th of May and the 11th of June had, by the latter date, brought the intelligence of the members of the Government of India to the level which the intellect of the mercantile community had reached on the former date. On the 11th of June, Lord Canning sent for the Town-Major to consult with him as to the conditions under which he should grant the prayer which he had rejected on the 25th of May. The advice given by Cavenagh was characterised by his usual practical good sense. He gave his opinion that

"the corps should not be highly drilled, but sufficiently so to enable the men to act together and to use their arms; that it should consist both of cavalry and infantry; that the former should be employed chiefly in patrols, and the latter stationed as pickets at the most important buildings in the town, so as to form places of rendezvous upon which others might concentrate; that the uniform should be brown holland or blue flannel; that old army non-commissioned officers (pensioners and time-expired men) should be attached, to instil into them some notions of discipline, and that the corps should be regularly divided into troops and companies, each man being, as far as possible, posted to the troop or company composed of persons living in his own neighbourhood." Cavenagh's suggestions were generally adopted, and the corps was at once formed. Subsequently, a battery of artillery was added to it.

It is impossible to leave the Calcutta Volunteer Guards without a few lines as to the men who composed the corps. They were men of all classes; men in the civil services, covenanted and uncovenanted; officers on the staff of the

Government, bound to stay in Calcutta; merchants, traders, tradesmen, clerks; Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, all bound together by the determination to preserve the position of the European in the country of his temporary adoption, in times of extraordinary danger. The best fellowship ruled amongst all nationalities and all professions. The regiment attained a very high proficiency in drill. Seen on parade the men earned and deserved admiration. Every man gave his heart to the service; and the result was in all respects most satisfactory. To the Government, until the reinforcements arrived, and even later, the Volunteer Guards were a tower of strength.

The personnel of the
Volunteer
Guards.

A few lines as to some of the men who composed the corps. The commandant of the cavalry was Colonel Montagu Turnbull, a splendid specimen of a cavalry officer. He belonged to the old Bengal cavalry, and, at the time, held the appointment of Government Agent for Army Clothing. Not only was he "every inch a soldier," possessing an inspiring presence and most genial manners, but he was loved by all with whom he came in contact. I never heard a single man speak ill of him, nor do I believe that he had an enemy. He was the man of all others to secure the confidence and affection of the men of the classes forming the cavalry of the Volunteers, and he secured both.*

The first commandant of the infantry was Major John Strachey, of the Engineers, now a General and a member of the Indian Council. He did not hold the post long, as when Mr. Grant proceeded to the Central Provinces in the capacity of Lieutenant-Governor, he selected Major Strachey as the Secretary to his administration. Major Davies, a thoroughly competent and efficient officer, succeeded him. Would that I were able to name all the good men and true who gave to the movement their hearty and efficient support. Some of them were men who have since made their mark. There was George Kellner, then a clerk in the Financial Office, who subsequently became Sir George Kellner, K.C.M.G., the confidential *employé* of Cabinet ministers. There were several

* Colonel Turnbull was a great supporter of the Turf. His horse, "Hermit," obtained in India almost as great a distinction as did his namesake in England.

young members of the Civil Service, some of whom have since risen to distinction. There was the merchant, Fred. Good-enough, bearing a name illustrious both in the army and the

Wilmer,
Tuckerman,
Von Ernst-
hausen,
Robert
Simson,
Ritchie.

navy. There were the Americans, Wilmer and Tuckerman, both trusty soldiers and boon companions ; the German, Von Ernsthause, one of the noblest and best of men ; the Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, Robert Simson ; the Solicitor, Henry Berners, one of the most popular men of his day ; the barristers, Richard Doyne and Arthur Macpherson ; the Advocate-General, William Ritchie, conspicuous on his big black horse ; his companions in the cavalry, the merchants, Kilburn and George Brown, and many others whose names are difficult to recall, but who did their duty manfully and well. These men never forgot that, in the strictest sense of the term, they were volunteers ; volunteers for the maintenance of peace and order when the staff of authority had broken in the hands of the Government which wielded it ; nor, on their side, will the community of Calcutta, of which they were the noble representatives, ever fail to remember with pride the great services which their forerunners voluntarily rendered during an unprecedented crisis.

It may be profitable here to record the opinion as to the formation of the Volunteer Guards of the officer who, more than any other individual in Calcutta, was instrumental, by counsel and by action, in maintaining public order in Calcutta during the early days of the mutiny. "After the first offer of

Cavenagh
and the
Volunteers.

their services," writes Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, "and the refusal to accept it, they certainly had little confidence in the Government, which they believed,

and believed rightly, had failed in the first instance to recognize the extent of the danger with which our empire in the East was threatened. Hence, previous to the formation of the volunteer corps, there can be little doubt than an anxious feeling existed, a feeling that was not at all unnatural, considering that the European garrison in the fort, which consisted of only one weak regiment, would have been utterly unable, in the event of an outbreak, to afford adequate protection to the scattered inhabitants of a large town From the instant, however, that the corps was embodied, this feeling completely disappeared. They felt that arrangements had been made to utilise their courage and energy, and confidence was restored."

Indeed, so relieved was Major Cavenagh, who, be it remembered, was responsible, under Lord Canning, for the public security, that very shortly after the formation of the corps he was able to spare four hundred English soldiers to be sent to the Upper Provinces, and this, despite the fact that the anniversary of the Muharram, a Muhammadan festival, attended, even in peaceful times, with danger, was close at hand.

On the 13th of June, the day immediately preceding that known as "panic Sunday," Cavenagh discovered an intrigue hatched by a spy, acting professedly on the part of the King of Oudh, then residing at Garden Reach, a suburb of Calcutta, and the mutinous Sipáhis. He had the spy imprisoned. That same night he received information from General Hearsey, commanding at Barrackpúr, to the effect that there was every probability of an immediate rising of the troops at that station; further, a despatch from the Military Secretary, directing him to issue orders for the march of a wing of the 37th Regiment, just arrived from Ceylon, to Cox's bungalow *; to despatch steamers to Srírámpúr to bring over the 78th Highlanders from Chin-surah; to despatch tents to Barrackpúr for their accommodation, and, if possible, to send some cavalry to patrol the Barrackpúr road. These orders were received some time after midnight.

The Town-Major, notwithstanding the largeness of the requirements and the lateness of the hour, was equal to the occasion, and carried out to the letter the instructions he received. The last order was that which tried him the most, for he had no cavalry at his disposal except the volunteers who had been embodied but two days before, and who, although one troop of them had received their arms, had not had a single day's drill. To the captain of that troop, however, Cavenagh applied in his difficulty. The captain responded with alacrity, summoned his men, who replied with equal zeal, and these men performed with energy the duty required of them.

Then followed "panic Sunday," and the day following the arrest of the King of Oudh. These events have been so fully described in a previous volume † that it is not necessary to

The eve of
"panic
Sunday."

The 14th and
15th June.

* Cox's bungalow was a locality used as a hunting-meet, a few miles from Calcutta.

† See Vol. III. pages 15-17, and note to page 17. I have there related what

repeat the story here. I will only mention that the spy who had been discovered tampering with the Sipáhis, and whom Cavenagh had imprisoned, escaped in a mysterious manner.

Throughout the month of July reports were very prevalent in Calcutta as to an intended rising on the occasion of the 'Id.* It would seem as though the panic had spread to the Muhammadans, for we find Cavenagh relating how a Muhammadan in a respectable position asked an officer to afford him shelter in the fort during the festival, on the plea "that, owing to his well-known English proclivities, he was sure to become one of the first victims of his co-religionists in the event of an outbreak." That some mischief was intended was clear. Cavenagh relates the arrest of three Muhammadans who were believed to be actively engaged in the conspiracy, and the skill which the principal of them displayed in parrying inconvenient questions, and in shaping his replies so as to ascertain exactly how much the Government did know. "It was clear," he adds, "from the expression of his countenance, that a great internal struggle was taking place between his fears and his feeling of honour and fidelity to his companions." Eventually the latter feeling prevailed, for he revealed nothing.

An incident during the same month proved that though at this period (July 1857) the fortunes of the British Some loyal Sipáhis. appeared to be very low, all the Sipáhis were not traitors. Two native plotters, who had endeavoured to seduce some men on guard in Calcutta from their allegiance —the one by revealing a plot which he had actually arranged, but which subsequently failed in execution, for blowing up a river-steamer laden with ammunition for the upper provinces; the other, who tried, by inducements of higher pay, to bring

I actually saw. What I saw Dr. Mouat also saw and recorded. My house was in Chauringhi, facing the Maidán. Standing at my gate, I and others saw the Maidán covered with fugitives, making their way, some on foot, some in carriages of sorts, towards the fort. It was a sight never to be forgotten. Cavenagh states that on his return home he found his quarters in the fort besieged by a crowd of persons "seeking shelter in the fort, and full of rumours of the worst description," but otherwise noted nothing particular. It is evident from his narrative that he was not on the Chauringhi side of the fort.

* The 'Id, properly called 'Id-i-azhá or 'Id-i-kurbán, is a Muhammadan festival held to commemorate the offering up, by Ibráhím (Abraham) of his son Ishmáil (Isaac).

the Sipáhis to declare for the King of Dehlí—were apprehended by the Sipáhis to whom they had addressed themselves, and handed by them to justice.

Up to the 29th of the month (July) a guard of Sipáhis had been on duty at Government House, the residence of the Governor-General. That the representative of British authority in India should, at such a crisis, be at the mercy, practically, of a guard of native troops, appeared to the Town-Major to be fraught with danger. The subject was a delicate one on which to address Lord Canning, for the lofty courage of that nobleman had always disconcerted any arrangement having for its object the safety of his own person. Cavenagh, therefore, solicited and obtained the intervention of Mr. Halliday and Sir Patrick Grant. The intervention produced the desired effect, and from the 1st August a European guard was detailed for night duty at Government House.

The guard over Government House.

But there was another guard equally liable to suspicion, some of the soldiers of which attended daily at Government House, and accompanied the Governor-General on all his movements out of doors. This was the body-guard, a regiment formed mainly of Muhammadans, well armed and well mounted. On the 4th August Lord Canning spoke to Cavenagh as to the advisability of disarming these men, and Cavenagh, with his usual alacrity, took the matter in hand, engaging to report how it could best be carried out. But then a curious circumstance occurred. I will relate it in Cavenagh's own words. "As the Bálíganj lines" (the location of the body-guard) "were a little beyond the limits of my ordinary rides, and I thought it advisable to study the ground before moving down with troops in the darkness of the night, the next morning I rode to the lines, and after conversing with the native officers, and taking the opportunity of scanning the locality, so as to enable me to decide on the plan to be pursued in the event of my receiving the order to disarm the corps, I proceeded onwards as if merely taking my usual morning exercise. Previous to returning to the fort, however, I called at the residence of the commanding officer, which was upwards of a mile from the lines, to mention to him the subject of my conversation with Lord Canning, when he stated that the native officers had been with him just before my arrival, and recommended that the corps should be disarmed,

The Body-Guard

and he believed that the work was then being carried on. This actually proved to be the case. As I had to visit some barracks in another quarter of the town, to ascertain whether the wants of some troops that had been landed that morning had been provided for, it was late when I reached my quarters, where I found an urgent summons awaiting me to proceed to Government House. The troopers of the body-guard on duty had

made their appearance without their arms, and the
disarm them- Governor-General was naturally under the impres-
selves. sion that I had taken it upon myself to anticipate

his orders ; but when I explained that the men had voluntarily given up their arms, and despatched them under an escort to the arsenal, where they had been received just as I was leaving the fort, he was much pleased, being evidently glad to have been relieved of the responsibility of having to decide the question." It is clear from this circumstance, and from the splendid conduct of sections of the native regiments at Lakhnáo, that there were many men in those regiments who had not been contaminated, and whose direst fear was lest their comrades, who had been seduced, should compromise them. About this time another Sipáhi proved his loyalty by handing over to justice a man who had tempted him by showing him a ball of wax, in which was concealed a letter, offering a large reward to any one who would blow up one of the magazines in Fort William. It was designed to throw this to the Sipáhis within the fort.

As affairs took a turn for the better in Bihár and the upper provinces generally, so did the anxiety regarding Calcutta diminish. The festival of the 'Íd passed off without disturbance. In the middle of August Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, and, shortly after, reinforcements began to pour in.

The Yeomanry Cavalry. Prior to this Lord Canning had sanctioned the formation of a Yeomanry Corps, that is, of a body of cavalry formed of Europeans who cared to serve temporarily and to proceed north-westward on duty, wherever they should be sent. There happened to arrive at the moment from England Major J. F. Richardson, commandant of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, then quartered at Baréli. Richardson, as strong and brave as a lion, had rendered splendid service in the siege of Multán, and was just the man for the Yeomanry Cavalry. Him, then, Lord Canning selected to command it. Under his orders the regiment

rendered most useful services in the Gorákhpur and Ázamgarh districts. In addition to, or rather, unconnected with this regiment, Cavenagh had been engaged in enlisting stray, or unemployed Europeans, chiefly sailors, for the public service. These were formed into sections, and despatched to isolated civil stations which would have been otherwise unprotected. There they were found most useful.

Enlistment of
sailors.

Major Cavenagh continued to render excellent service throughout the troubled period. But the crucial epoch had passed away when the reinforcements arrived. During the earlier eight months of the year the fate of Calcutta had practically depended upon his zeal, energy, and good sense. It was not possible that any man should perform the duties devolving upon him with greater tact and greater success. Cavenagh was a singularly unobtrusive man. He never pushed himself forward. He did his duty quietly and most thoroughly. In the crowd of officers who thronged Government House on State occasions, he was noticeable first by the fact that, in consequence of the loss of his leg at Mahárájpúr, he had to use a walking-stick; secondly, by his unvarying calmness and composure. Even when, as it subsequently transpired, the most serious danger threatened Calcutta, a danger of which Cavenagh held the key, no one could have surmised from his face and manner that the town ran the smallest risk. When others were fussy, he was always calm, always cool, always self-possessed. No one appreciated these sterling qualities more than Lord Canning. His confidence in Cavenagh grew till it became rooted. He said little at the time, but he never forgot what Cavenagh had done; and when, two years afterwards, a vacancy occurred in the Government of the Straits Settlements, he selected to fill the post the man whose quick insight and calm courage had been the main cause that Calcutta passed safely through the fiery trial of 1857.

*Precis of
Major
Cavenagh's
service and
character.*

Another officer, to whose tact and energy Calcutta was greatly indebted during the same period, was Mr. Samuel Wauchope, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Police. Wauchope was—alas! that I should be obliged to write in the past tense—admirably constituted to carry on successfully the duties of his office in trying times. He had already rendered splendid service by clearing

Samuel
Wauchope.

Lower Bengal of dákait (robbers). To a charming manner he united the most wonderful tact; a coolness that was proof against surprise, however sudden; a reticence, when reticence was necessary, that no provocation could disturb; and a very lovable disposition. He, too, was unobtrusive, careful of the feelings of others, the soul of honour, a gentleman of the highest stamp. His office made him acquainted with many episodes of life in Calcutta; but he kept his own counsel, was always cool, never ruffled, reporting what he had to report calmly, and carrying out his orders with tact and discretion. This calmness, which was not assumed, for it was natural to the man, was a main cause of his strength and influence. He was to be seen every morning, riding alone or attended by a police-orderly, in the worst parts of the town, issuing his orders as if no danger were abroad, and often staying to see that they were carried out. If he did not come so prominently before the Governor-General as did Cavenagh, it was because the latter served immediately under the Governor-General, whereas Wauchope owed allegiance to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But it was well indeed for Calcutta that her police arrangements were directed by a man so calm, so cool, possessing so brave a heart, and nerves that no danger could affect. Courteous to all, he was intimate only with a few. But I do not think he had an enemy in the world. For his services he obtained the Companionship of the Bath.

Where all did their duty nobly and thoroughly it may seem invidious to mention two only by name. But to tell of all would be to give a list of all. There was neither flinching nor panic in the European community in those days of trial and suspense. That there prevailed a deep feeling of dissatisfaction with the Government is most true. But that feeling rather spurred on the members of the European community to assist the Government when it admitted that such assistance would be acceptable. In this endeavour it is hard to say that there was a first. Mr. Daniel Mackinlay, a merchant of great energy and determination, spoke indeed the voice of the community, but its other members were, in earnestness and in devotion to duty, in the same line with him. Among the officers and members of the Civil Service there was apparent the same resolute bearing, the same desire to contribute to the utmost extent to the safety of the State.

In prominently mentioning, then, Major Cavenagh and Mr.

Wauchope, I have mentioned the two men whose positions gave them opportunities which no one else enjoyed. They were the pivots, more especially was Major Cavenagh the pivot, upon which the machine of British power in Calcutta turned. Had either given way, the machine would have broken.

Cavenagh and
Wauchope
the main
pivots.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Frederick Halliday, lived at Álípúr, one of the suburbs of Calcutta. I have described his character in a preceding volume.* Mr. Halliday theoretically ruled over the eleven divisions which formed Bengal, as Bengal was then constituted. But in the trying times of 1857, supervision was often impossible. Events happened so suddenly, so unexpectedly, that the Commissioner of the division, the magistrate of a district, had seldom time to refer for instructions. He had to act as he judged best, on the spur of the moment. The Lieutenant-Governor's duty was, therefore, mainly confined to the expression of approval or disapproval of an act after it had been accomplished, and in compiling a weekly report of the state of affairs in the several divisions for the supreme government. His own initiative action in western Bihár has been already recorded and commented upon. That in eastern Bengal will be narrated in this chapter.

Of the twenty-four parganahs, it is only necessary to state that they comprise the sub-divisions Diamond Harbour, Álípúr, Damdamah, Bársat, Báserhát, Barrackpúr, Sátkhírá, and Barnípúr. Their history in 1857 is closely connected with that of Calcutta. The judge here was Mr. Latour; Mr. F. A. Lushington was the collector; and Mr. Hamilton Ferguson the magistrate.

The twenty-four parganahs.

The same remark applies very much to Nadiá, the second district in the Presidency division: there Mr. R. M. Skinner was the judge: Mr. H. C. Halkett the collector; Mr. F. R. Cockerell the magistrate. With an area of 3,400 square miles, and a population of 1,800,000, the Nadiá district is watered by the Bhágirathí river; by the main stream of the Ganges, called Padmá, and its offshoots, the Jalanghí, the Matábhángá; and the branches, Bhairah, Ichamáti, Churní, Gorai, and Pangásí or Kumár. Its principal station is Krishnagarh on the Jalanghí. The other stations are

Nadiá.

Nadiá and Santípúr, both on the Bhágírathí. Not far from Santípúr is the field of Palásí, historically known as Plassey.

The third district of the Presidency division is Jessor, called by the natives Jashahar. There, Mr. F. L. Beau-Jessor. fort was the judge ; Mr. F. C. Fowle, the collector, Mr. F. B. Lane, the deputy collector. Its stations are Jessor, on the Bhairáb Nadí ; Khulná, and Bágherhat. Its tranquillity was not essentially disturbed during the events of 1857.

We come now to the fourth division in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, the division known as Rájsháhí. Rájsháhí. It comprised the districts Murshidábád, Dinájpúr, Mál dá, Rájsháhí, Rangpúr, Bagurá, and Pabná. The commissioner was Mr. F. Gouldsbury ; the judges, Mr. D. J. Money, Mr. K. H. Rupell ; the collectors Mr. W. T. Taylor, Mr. A. G. Macdonald, Mr. E. E. Woodcock, and Mr. A. Pigou ; the magistrates, Mr. A. J. Jackson, Mr. S. F. Davis, and others whose names I have been unable to ascertain.

Murshidábád, the capital of Bengal when Clive landed on the banks of the Húglí to retrieve the fortunes of the British, was still the residence of the descendant of the Mír Jafar whom that great soldier had placed on the *Masnad*. Immediately south of it is Kásimbázár, well known in the earlier history of the East India Company ; and five miles below it, on the left bank of the Bhágírathí, is the civil station of Barhámpúr. Barhámpúr, it will be recollected,* was the scene of the mutiny of the 19th regiment of native infantry, the regiment which gave the first overt example to their comrades throughout India. But when that regiment was marched to Barrackpúr, all danger of disturbances in Barhámpúr seemed to vanish. The Nawáb-Názim was loyal, and even had he been inclined otherwise, his power had been so completely shorn that he was incapable of rendering permanent injury. Thenceforth; though there might be occasional uneasiness, caused mainly by mutinying Sawárs or disbanded Sipáhis, there was no permanent danger. The same may be said of the other six districts which went to form the division.

Adjoining the division of Rájsháhí, and, apparently, in 1857, under the orders of the same commissioner, is the division of Jalpaiguri. Koch Bihár, comprising the mountainous district of Dárjiling, and the district of Jalpaiguri. Koch

* Vol. I. pages 366-401.

Bihár is a tributary state, the ruler of which in 1857 was a minor, under the guardianship of the British.

At Jalpaigurí * were the 73rd Native Infantry, and two troops of irregular cavalry, the whole commanded by Colonel Sherer. The reports of the Bengal Government show that the conduct of the men of the 73rd and of the cavalry had long spread, and continued to spread, uneasiness, and often more than uneasiness, in the surrounding districts. How Colonel Sherer managed to keep the men of both arms under restraint has been already told.† But to the official and non-official residents of Dárgiling, and of the Rájsháhí division, the fact that the 73rd remained armed at Jalpaigurí throughout the most trying period of the mutiny, was always a source of danger. The Sipáhis of the 73rd were not more trustworthy than their comrades who rose at Allahábád and Mírath; and I cannot for a moment doubt but that if they had had the same opportunities as had the regiments stationed at those places, they would have gone over, bag and baggage, to the rebels. I discussed this question with Sir George Sherer, who commanded them, long after the passions caused by the events of 1857 had subsided. His idea was that the native troops did not rise, first, because he had checked the incipient attempt by an act of vigour which overawed them; secondly, and to a greater extent perhaps, because they felt themselves isolated at Jalpaigurí. They had no clear conception, till it was too late, of what was going on in the outer world, whilst the fact that at all the stations within easy distance, the British were holding their own, seemed to indicate that even were they to rise, their prospects of escape at a season when the country below them was partly inundated, were by no means assured. It is more than likely that, isolated as they were, they did not hear of the events at Kánpúr, Lakhnáo, Dehlí, and Mírath, until the deeds there perpetrated had been avenged. The merit of maintaining them quiet is, however, undoubtedly due, in the first instance, to Sir George Sherer. Had he contented himself with obeying literally the order he received from divisional headquarters to dismiss from the service the proved ringleaders of an intended rebellion, he would simply have spread the

Colonel
Sherer.

* Jalpaigurí, so called from the "Jalpai," the Indian olive, which grows there.

† Vol. III. pages 91-93; Vol. IV. pages 297-301.

infection of revolt throughout the district. Whereas, by dismissing them "from the muzzles of loaded guns" * he stamped it out. Still, the fact that a native regiment and two troops of irregular cavalry remained, armed, at Jalpaiguri, during the most critical period of the mutiny, was a source of weakness and alarm to the districts I have mentioned. This feeling became more accentuated, and the danger became real indeed when the fugitive mutineers from Dhákah and Chitnagáoñ entered the district. In a previous volume I have narrated the resolute and successful manner in which Sherer met this new emergency.

The next division to be mentioned is Dhákah, with its districts, Dhákah, Farídpúr, Bákirganj, Maiman-Dhákab. Singh, Silhat, and Kachhár: the commissioner was Mr. C. T. Davidson; the judges, Mr. J. E. S. Lillie, Mr. E. S. Pearson, Mr. W. T. Walter, Mr. F. B. Kemp, and Mr. A. G. Shawe; the collectors, Mr. R. C. Raikes, Mr. F. Radcliffe, Mr. F. A. B. Glover, and Mr. B. H. Cooper; the deputy collector, Mr. R. B. Chapman; the magistrates, Mr. H. A. R. Alexander, Mr. E. C. Craster, Mr. C. E. Lane, and Mr. T. P. Larkins. The superintendent of Kachhár was Major G. Verner. The principal station of this division was also called Dhákah, and there were stationed two companies of the 73rd Native Infantry—the regiment, the bulk of which was at Jalpaiguri, commanded by Sherer—and a detail of artillery. To afford some sort of protection to British interests in that quarter, the Government had, with a wise prevision, despatched thither, in August, eighty-five sailors of the Indian navy, commanded by the first-lieutenant of the 'Punjaub,' Lieutenant T. E. Lewis, a most excellent officer. The position of the 73rd Native Infantry, with the bulk of its men armed, at Jalpaiguri, and two companies armed at Dhákah, had caused great anxiety to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But, whilst he hoped that the reasons mentioned in the preceding page would stave off an outbreak at Jalpaiguri, he was very nervous as to the consequences which would probably follow a successful outbreak, or even an evasion, at Dhákah. The Sipáhis at Dhákah would probably, in such case, make their way to Jalpaiguri. Once that they were there, it would be no longer possible even for Sherer to retain his men within bounds. If they were to break out, the worst consequences were to be feared. The stations of Purniá, Kishanganj, and

* Vol. III. pages 91-3.

Muzaffarpúr: the fertile districts of Tirhut; would lie at the mercy of the mutinied Sipáhis. The greatest danger was thus to be apprehended from Dhákah; and it behoved Mr. Halliday to take measures which would be the most likely to baffle the inroad which a successful outbreak, or a successful evasion at Dhákah, would be certain to provoke from Jalpaigurí. In this view Mr. Halliday obtained the permission of the Government of India to enlist from 200 to 250 sailors. These he proposed to station mostly at Purniá, in the Bhágal-púr division, which lay on the route the Sipáhis must take, should they break away from Jalpaigurí.*

The principal native landowner at Dhákah was a gentleman of good lineage, who spoke and wrote English well, and whose sympathies were entirely with the British. His name was † Khwájá Abdul Ganí. On the 23rd of October, this gentleman brought to the notice of the commissioner that a feeling of alarm prevailed among the native community of the place in consequence of the rumours in circulation, that the two companies of the 73rd Native Infantry stationed there were dissatisfied, and that they had told people living near the lines that a battle would shortly be fought between themselves and the English sailors, and had advised them therefore to remove their families. The Khwájá added that, in his opinion, there was a simple remedy for the existing state of things; and that remedy consisted in removing the two companies back to their headquarters, that was, to Jalpaigurí. He concluded: "We all feel perfect confidence in the protection afforded by the sailors under Lieutenant Lewis, and satisfied that if these Sipáhis were once removed, the whole native community would feel extremely grateful to the Government, and be able to pursue their several avocations in peace and quietness. This order would, also, no doubt, give pleasure to the Sipáhis themselves, as they have always expressed a great wish to leave this."

In forwarding the Khwájá's letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, the commissioner of the division, Mr. David-son, stated that the removal of the Sipáhis would be hailed with delight by both the native and the European community, but, with a prescience which betokened the

Mr. David-
son's pre-
science.

* Blue Book. Further Papers, No. 7, pages 93-95.

† Khwájá is a title indicating that the bearer of it is a man of distinction.

possession of the large views of a statesman, he added, there was a matter of very great importance in connection with the proposal, and that was, the effect which the return of the detachment to Jalpaiguri would have on the headquarters of the regiment stationed there. "On that point," wrote Mr. Davidson, "I am unable to offer an opinion."

The despatch of the two companies to Jalpaiguri was of course, not to be thought of for an instant. But the Mr. Halliday's possibility that they might make their way thither action.

brought clearly to the mind of Mr. Halliday the danger which such action would cause. Then nothing could prevent the 73rd from mutinying. They would break away from Jalpaiguri. Their natural route, he recognized, would take them by way of Kishanganj to Purnia. Should they reach that place unopposed great disaster must follow; for, as I have said, not only would that station and Kishanganj be open to pillage, but Muzaffarpur, and the rich district of Tirhoot would be liable to devastation. It was for this reason that he asked and obtained the permission from the supreme government above referred to, to enlist a body of from 200 to 250 sailors to serve at Purnia, Dinajpur, and Rangpur.

The event proved that the situation had been correctly gauged by Mr. Halliday. But the precautions, wise The Sipahis as they were, had they been the only precautions escape for the moment. taken, would have been insufficient. Towards the end of November, the conduct of the Sipahis at Dhakah became so threatening, that Lewis, on the 22nd, attempted to disarm them. How, instead of disarming them all, he drove the bulk of them from the station, in the dreaded direction of Jalpaiguri; how, after running many dangers from the splendid exertions of George Yule, of Richardson, and others, the rebels finally escaped into north-eastern Oudh, only to fall there by the bullet and the sword, has been told at length in a preceding volume.* In that volume an attempt has been made to render due justice to the gallant men, civilians, and soldiers, whose untiring exertions saved central Bengal and eastern Bihar from plunder and murder.

The remaining districts which went to form the division of Dhakah were Faridpur,† Birkganj, Maimansingh, Silhat, and

* Vol. IV. pages 292-308.

† The Faridpur in eastern Bengal must not be confounded by the reader

Kachhár. Farídpúr, the chief town of the district so named, was a civil station. It would not appear that the public order was disturbed there during 1857, a proof, among many others, the people of eastern Bengal, at all events, were not disaffected. The same remark applies to Bakírganj and its chief civil station, Barisál; to Maimansingh and the station of the same name; and to Kachhár. Silhat was not only quiet in itself, but, as related in the fourth volume,* the chief civil officer there contributed, by means of the loyal Silhat Light Infantry, to the pursuit and ultimate destruction of the rebels.

The seventh division in Bengal is Chitragáon, having the districts Chitragáon, Noákhali, Tiparah, and Hill Tiparah. At the station of Chitragáon was a detachment of the 34th regiment Native Infantry, the same regiment which, at Barrackpúr, on the 24th of March, had allowed Manghal Pándi † to assault his officer, and which had subsequently been disbanded. It had long been understood at Chitragáon, that the detachment was animated by the sentiments which had marked the companies at headquarters. But little surprise, then, was felt when, on the 18th of November, the detachment mutinied, plundered the treasury, released the prisoners from the gaol, burned down their own lines, fired the magazine, and then left the station, carrying with them three elephants, the property of the State, and the bulk of the treasure they had "looted." Their subsequent action, and the pursuit and ultimate destruction of these men, has been described in an earlier volume.‡ The manner in which the other portions of this division were affected by the action of the rebel Sipáhis has been narrated in the same chapter.

We now come to Ásám, in 1857 the eighth division under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Ásám comprised the districts of Goálpárá, with a chief station of the same name, situated on the left bank of the Bráhmaputra, opposite to its junction with the Manás; of Kámrup, with its chief station Gauhatti, on the Bráhmaputra; of Durang, with its chief town, Tezpúr; of Naugáon, with its chief station of the same name; of Síbságar, likewise with a chief station of

who may possess no knowledge of India with the town of the same name in the Murádábád district of Rohilkhand, mentioned at pp. 366-9 of the fourth volume.

* Page 296.

† Vol. I. page 395.

‡ Vol. IV. pages 292-7.

the same name; of Lakkhimpúr, with a town also so called as its capital; of the Gáro hills; of the Khasiá and Jaintiá hills; and of the Nágá hills. Ásám was then a commissionership, under the direct orders of the Governor-General. The commissioner and governor-general's agent was Colonel F. Jenkins. It would seem, from the reports of the Government of India, that peace in these districts was not disturbed in 1857. The inhabitants, that is to say, displayed no sympathy with the mutineers. As a measure of precaution, however, the Government despatched thither in August a body of sailors belonging to the Indian navy, and, doubtless, the effect produced by their presence was most salutary. These men, and their comrades under Lieutenant Lewis, had a further opportunity, in the early part of 1859, of showing, in a campaign against the Ábór hillmen, their dash and their efficiency. I shall refer to this expedition in a later page of this volume.

The ninth division of the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is the division of western Bihár, commonly called, after its capital, the division of Patná. Of this division, with its important districts, Patná, Gayá, Sháhabád (with its station, Árah), Sáran, Cham-páran, and Tírhút, I have written at great length in the preceding volumes.* It is not too much to say, that western Bihár was, with the exception of the Presidency division, the most important division under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It was in touch with the revolted North-West; with Oudh; with Nipál. Its population consisted of a hardy race, inured to toil, and who, in the early days of English rule, had made excellent soldiers. Considerable tracts of territory were held by large landowners, men of ancient lineage and large influence. The city of Patná had always played a great part in the affairs of the province. At the time it was the headquarters of the dangerous sect of the Wahábís, whose policy of subverting the overlordship of the British had been, and continued to be, extremely active. A great disaster in western Bihár in the early days of 1857, any time, that is, before the end of August, would, if energetically followed up, have been fatal for the moment to British interests in Calcutta. Had, for instance, the rebel Sipáhis taken Árah, the entire province would have risen. Kunwar Singh, who cared little for Dehlí, but who had wrongs,

* Vol. III. pages 24-89; Vol. IV. pages 310-44.

deeply felt, to avenge in Calcutta, would, there can be no doubt, have directed the risen masses towards the capital.

There was nothing to stop his progress. There were, ^{Kunwar} Singh, in eastern Bihár, and at Barrackpúr, native regiments

who would have joined him. He was one of the few of the rebel leaders who had the instincts of a real general. It is difficult to see how, under such circumstances, Calcutta could have escaped. That it did escape, was due, primarily, to three men : to William Tayler,* for maintaining order throughout western Bihár until reinforcements could reach Calcutta ; to Mr. Vickers Boyle, for his prescience in preparing, victualling, and storing with ammunition, a house in which the residents of Árah could find refuge and defence ; to Vincent Eyre, for his relief of the Árah garrison—a relief attempted on his own intuition, on his own responsibility, with a force considerably smaller than the force which had previously failed. That other men most gallantly assisted is most true ; but except for the action of the three men mentioned, all the gallantry in the world would have been ineffectual to save the territories under the rule of Mr. Halliday from a convulsion infinitely more dangerous, and fraught with greater permanent misfortune for British India, than either the seizure of Dehlí or the rising of Oudh. The survivors of the bearers of those names may be assured that to them, and not to the tardily acting Government which they served, history, and posterity instructed by history, will attribute the saving of the province of Bengal from a disaster, which, though it would ultimately have been retrieved, would have dealt a blow at British domination in India, the effects of which would have been felt even in the times yet to come.

The sister-division, that which divides the province of Bihár, is called eastern Bihár, though, in ordinary parlance, it, too, has taken the name of its capital and chief Eastern Bihár. district under English rule, the name of Bhágulpúr. Eastern

* The mealy-mouthed men of the present day, who apparently think that murder and mutiny can be repressed with rose-water, have attributed it as a crime to Mr. Tayler that he caused mutineers, taken in the act of rebellion, or proved to be accomplices of that act, to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. They do not care to reflect that it was the conviction spread amongst the population that, so long as Mr. Tayler should remain Commissioner of Patná punishment would follow crime, that acted as the great deterrent to outbreak.

Bihár comprises the districts, Munger, the capital of Bengal under Mír Kásim (1762–3), possessing a very solid fort; Bhágalpúr; Púrniá; the Santál parganahs, and the town of Rájmalhall, to the north-west of which, on the right bank of the Ganges, stands the once famous fort of Teliágarhí, regarded in ancient times as the key of Bengal. In the days of Muhammadan rule, that is, in the period anterior to 1757, the district of Púrniá and the Santál Parganahs were not included in the province of Bihár. In 1857 the Commissioner was Mr. George Yule.

What Mr. Yule was, and the great services Mr. Yule rendered, I have already described.* In an earlier page of this chapter I have shown how the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dreading lest the mutinously-disposed troops stationed at Dhákah should get out of hand, quit that station, and make their way towards Kishanganj, Púrniá, and Tírhút, had (October 27) applied to the supreme Government for permission to enlist sailors to defend those places from an ugly rush; and how, having obtained that sanction, he enlisted and despatched those sailors to the places indicated. With respect to the action of the Sipáhis at Dhákah, the prevision of Mr. Halliday was amply justified. They did break out; they did escape; and they did make their way towards the places he had indicated. But those sailors had not reached Púrniá when Mr. Yule heard, towards the end of November, that the rebel Sipáhis were on their way thither. How he at once marched on Púrniá, how he, by his prompt action, saved Kishanganj, has been told in some detail in the fourth volume.* The same volume has also recorded the difficulties caused to Yule at an earlier period by the revolt of the 5th Irregular Cavalry at and around Bhágulpúr, and by the rebellion in Chutiá Nágpúr. His vigorous energy, nobly supported as he was by the civilians and planters of his division, by a small detachment of the 5th Fusiliers; later, by a small body of Europeans and Gurkhás from Darjiling under Captain Curzon, and, a little later still, by the Volunteer Cavalry under Major Richardson, completely "countered" the initial blow dealt by the mutinous Sipáhis from Chitragáon and Dhákah.

The hilly division called Chutiá Nágpúr, occupies a long

Mr. George
Yule and his
noble com-
rades.

* Vol. IV. pages 297–302. See also pages 91–2.

stretch of land along the south face of Bihár, the west face of Bengal proper, the northern face of Orísá, and the south-eastern face of the central provinces. It comprises several petty states which had had their day of independence, and whose rulers generally were glad to try to profit from the existing turmoil. As a consequence, the rebellion throughout this division was almost general. The acting Commissioner, Captain Dalton, was a man of vigour and intelligence. He was ably seconded by the officers serving under him, Captains Davies and Oakes, by detachments of Rattray's Sikhs, and by other officers whose regiments had mutinied. The Rájah of Rámgarh, a petty chief whose domains were situate in the Hazáríbágh district, displayed also a loyalty that was proof against temptation. Yet the difficulties Dalton had to encounter were enormous. How, by the aid, sometimes of the Madras troops, sometimes of detachments of European troops moving along, and momentarily diverted from the grand trunk—a road which the mutineers often threatened and sometimes invaded—he sometimes staved off, and sometimes retrieved, disasters, has been told in the fourth volume.* The incidents were sometimes almost tragic, the position always difficult, often dangerous; the perseverance and energy of our countrymen unsurpassed. Amongst those who specially distinguished themselves, in addition to those already mentioned, were Lieutenant Graham, Lieutenant Earle, of Rattray's Sikhs; Lieutenant Stanton, of the Engineers; Major Simpson; Colonel Forster, commanding the Shekawátí battalion; very specially, Mr. Cockburn, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Katak; Mr. Lushington, Commissioner of Singbhúm, and the military officers mentioned in the pages referred to. Few officers were engaged in work more harassing. Throughout the disturbances in the north-west—indeed, to the very end of 1858—Chutiá Nágpúr continued to be the weakest point in the very centre of Mr. Beadon's famous line of six hundred miles. This line was at any moment liable to be pierced. It often was pierced; and, by reason of the continued turmoil in Chutiá Nágpúr, the danger in traversing it was always considerable.

Such were the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The points of danger, it will be seen, were, speaking

* Vol. IV. pages 95-100; and 304-8.

broadly, six in number. There was Calcutta, dangerously near to Barrackpúr, yet resting practically on the base by which -The principal dangers to Bengal. the reinforcements necessary to meet the rebellion must arrive. Calcutta was safe, then, if she could avert insurrection till the middle of August. How

nearly she approached the dangerous point; in January when, but for the precautions taken by Cavenagh, Fort William would have been seized, and the garrison massacred; in March, when the timely change of day for the *fête* to Mahárájáh Sindhiá again averted an outbreak which would in all probability have led to a similar result; on any day in June up to the fourteenth, when the disarming of the troops of the Barrackpúr brigade prevented a demonstration, always till then possible, and the consequences of which might have been fatal; again, when Dunbar's detachment was beaten back from Árah, and the military authorities at Dánápúr, thoroughly cowed, were intrenching themselves at that station; once again, when the mutineers from Dhákah and Chitragáon broke from their stations, and poured into eastern Bihár. The other points of danger have been sufficiently indicated. They were western, and, a little later eastern, Bihár; Jalpaiguri, saved by the splendid audacity of Sherer; and Dhákah and Chitragáon, in eastern Bengal. There was danger, though not so near a danger, from Chutiá Nágpúr, which, like western Bihár, remained, long after the other places had been secured, a festering sore. Times had changed since the Mughuls administered the affairs of their empire from Ágra or from Dehlí. Then, it was all-important that the successful claimant to the throne

The importance of Bengal. should maintain himself in the heart of Hindustán; should secure the possession of those two central and important cities. Then, Bengal counted for little.

She was a dependent province, governed by a viceroy. From her unwarlike people no recruits were drawn. The possession of her fertile plains, though desirable, was not vital to the cause of the ruler of Hindustán. She was the very last on the list of the provinces it was advisable for him to acquire. But, in 1857, Bengal possessed an importance infinitely greater. She held the gate by passing through which British interests were to be saved. That gate was Calcutta. For some time, then, Calcutta was the most important point in India. Dehlí might be taken, the province of Oudh might rise in revolt; the provinces nearer, those of eastern and western Bihár, of

eastern Bengal ; the stations of Jalpaiguri and Barrackpúr might be in flames, but so long as Calcutta was held, hope—a hope amounting to certainty—of ultimate success still remained. How the watchfulness of Orfeur Cavenagh, in the very front line, and of Wauchope, in the second, saved Calcutta from the dangers within the Maráthá ditch which encompassed her ; how those threatening from Jalpaiguri were averted by Sherer, and those from Barrackpúr by the formation of the Volunteers, and the insistence of the non-official European inhabitants of the town : how William Tayler, Vincent Eyre, Vicars Boyle and his heroic comrades at Árah crushed the danger threatening from western Bihár ; how George Yule thrust the rebels from the eastern division of that province, has been told in these volumes. Thenceforward Calcutta was safe. Warfare continued, indeed, in western Bihár and Chutiá Nágpúr, but it was not warfare of a nature threatening to Calcutta. The capital had been saved, and, in January, 1858, Lord Canning was able to quit it for the scenes near to which rebellion was still combating for victory. Thither I propose to follow him.

CHAPTER II.

THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

THE BANÁRAS DIVISION.

THE North-Western Provinces received the name of the "North-West," not because they formed the actual north-west boundary of British India, but because, when the Bengal Presidency was divided in 1833, they constituted the north-western portion of that Presidency. At that time the Panjáb and Oudh were still independent. But after the conquest of the Panjáb in 1849-50 the territories between Bihár and Dehlí retained the name which had been bestowed upon them in previous times, though, strictly speaking, that name was no longer applicable. The territory still officially retains the designation of the "North-West Provinces."

In 1857, the several divisions of the North-West were classified as follows. There were the Banáras division, comprising, besides the city which gave it its name, the districts of Mírzápúr, Jaunpúr, Gorákhpur, Gházípur, and Ázamgarh; the Allahábád division, with the districts, Allahábád, Fathpúr, Kánhpúr, Bandah, and Hamípúr; the Ágra division, containing the districts, Ágra, Mathurá, Mainpúrí, Itáwah; the Barélí division, comprising the districts, Barélí, Sháhjahánpúr, Murádábád, Bijnáur, and Budáon; the Mírath division, with the districts Mírath, Muzaffarnagar, Saharánpúr, Bolandshahr, Dehrá Dún, and Áligarh; the Dehlí division, comprising the imperial city, and the districts, Gurgáoñ, Hisár, Páníput, and Rohtak. I propose now to relate the events which occurred in these several divisions and districts, except so far as they may have been told in the previous volumes, in the order in which I have placed them.

To begin, then, with the Banáras division. The Commissioner was Mr. H. C. Tucker, the judge was Mr. Frederick Gubbins, the magistrate and collector was Mr. F. M. Lind, his deputy or assistant, Archibald Pollock: another assistant was Mr. Jenkinson. There were others in subordinate positions, but, at this distance of time, it is difficult to ascertain the names of those who were temporarily located in a great station.

The district of Banáras has an area of 998 square miles, and a population of, in round numbers, 900,000. It is bounded to the north by Gházípúr and Jaunpúr; to the west and south by Mírzápúr; and to the east by the Sháhábád district of western Bihár. Its chief towns are Banáras and Rámnagar, the latter the residence of the Rájah, about two miles above Banáras. The population of the city is of a very fluctuating character. Being a holy city, the headquarters of Hinduism, it attracts, at certain seasons, pilgrims from all parts of the country. A population, then, which normally might be reckoned at about 200,000, was often considerably higher.

In the second volume of this history, Sir John Kaye has given a glowing description of the character of the Commissioner, Mr. H. C. Tucker. Mr. Tucker was, in every sense of the term, a good man, but his nature was but ill-adapted to deal with a crisis such as that which was coming upon Banáras in the early days of 1857. Readers who will refer to that chapter,* will find that even his panegyrist is constrained to avow that Mr. Tucker's policy was a policy of absolute inaction. He would have met death as calmly and heroically as the most gallant soldier that ever lived, but he would not, by any act of his, have given even the appearance of provoking an attack. Fortunately the other civilians, Messrs. Gubbins, Lind, Pollock, and Jenkinson, were men of a different type, fully impressed with the necessity of doing all that men could do to meet, and, by precautionary measures, by measures involving, it might be, the taking of an offensive attitude, of averting the dangers which threatened the Englishmen and the Englishwomen who were practically to be defended by their exertions, or lost by their supineness. The defence of the city and the civil station passed, then, really into their hands, and,

District of
Banáras.

Statistics of
district of
Banáras.

Mr. H C.
Tucker.

* Vol. II. pages 149-62.

by the measures they took, and which are fully recorded in the chapter referred to in a footnote, they saved it till the arrival of General Neill relieved them from their most pressing danger.

It is no part of my scheme to describe again scenes which have been narrated at length in other parts of this history. But I wish to record a few words regarding the noble men to whose determination and firmness Banáras was saved from pillage, and the Europeans living there from slaughter, in 1857.

Prominent among these is Mr. Frederick Gubbins.

Mr. Frederick Gubbins. It was my good fortune to know Mr. Gubbins well.

I was with him on the occasion referred to by Sir John Kaye,* when "by a grand display of energy in a local crisis," he acquired "an immense ascendancy over the minds of the people." It was indeed an occasion which not every man would have met so calmly and so decidedly. The people of Banáras, angered by the enforcement of a regulation which was not pleasing to them, had risen upon Mr. Gubbins whilst he was visiting the city unattended, save by an orderly—had driven him from it with stones and brickbats, and had then shut their shops defiantly, declaring they should not be re-opened until the obnoxious regulations were repealed. Mr. Gubbins, who was then magistrate, gave them forty-eight hours for consideration, made meanwhile his plans, and then entering the city attended by one or two friends and some native orderlies, went from shop to shop, directing the owner, as he stopped before each, to take down the shutters. The hours given for reflection had done something; the calm and resolute manner of the magistrate did the rest. The shopkeepers obeyed his orders. They recognised in Mr. Gubbins a man whom they must obey, and thenceforth they obeyed him.

I have never known a braver man than Mr. Gubbins. For nearly four years I was in the habit of seeing him daily, and I never knew him flinch from any duty or from any responsibility. His manner was the calmly resolute manner of the man who knows what his duty is, and does it without pomp or bluster. He would have made a splendid soldier. His self-possession never deserted him. He could think and reason clearly when all around him might have lost their heads. He was never at fault. He always did well what he felt he could do at all.

Fitly associated with Mr. Gubbins was the magistrate, Mr.

* Vol. II. page 151.

F. N. Lind. Tall of stature, resolute in character, brave, clear-sighted, and ever ready for action, Mr. Lind was an invaluable coadjutor to such a man. How, acting ^{Mr. F. N. Lind.} together, they prevented the retreat of the military to Chanár, and thus saved the situation, has been told in a previous page.* Full justice has never been rendered to this excellent public servant. It is certain that to his exertions and those of Mr. Gubbins it was due that the most important city between Ágra and Calcutta was maintained until the arrival of Neill conjured the danger for the time.

Mr. Archibald Pollock, the youngest son of the Field-Marshal who, as general, had retrieved in 1841, the reputation of our arms in Afghánistán, was in all respects ^{Mr. Archibald Pollock.} worthy of his lineage. He was a good civil officer, firm, resolute, and capable of any self-sacrifice in the cause of duty. He continued to render excellent service for many years after the mutiny had been suppressed, and when he died some ten years ago, India mourned the loss of one of the best officials of whom the Civil Service could boast.

Mr. E. G. Jenkinson was inferior to none of these. He was then very young, with light hair and a pleasant face, full of energy, zeal, and daring. He was ^{Mr. E. G. Jenkinson.} always on horseback, and was almost always doing something which endeared him to the community. On one occasion when a carriage was conveying Mr. Gubbins and two companions to the treasury to take possession of the moneys deposited there, the roar of guns, indicating the outbreak of mutiny at the military cantonment close by, was heard. The carriage proceeded on its way in the direction of the sound. At length it approached a bridge which it was necessary to cross.

* Vol. II., page 152 and note. With reference to that note I may be allowed to state that the report of Mr. Tayler referred to by the author, and quoted by him, is absolutely correct. The Commissioner implied his approval of the plan suggested by Colonel Gordon to retreat on Chanár. It was then that Mr. Gubbins, backed by Mr. Lind, used the words mentioned in the text: "I will go on my knees to you not to leave Banáras." Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., who has gone over the same ground, supports this view. In his interesting book, *Fifty-Seven*, he thus writes: "Mr. Lind, strongly dissenting" (from the view of a retreat on Chanar) "refused to stir from his post without the decision of a council; and when the council met, and Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner, seemed almost inclined to give way, Lind and Gubbins used the strongest arguments against the movement." He then relates the passionate appeal of Gubbins given in the text.

Jenkinson, who was riding, noticed that some rebels located in the vicinity were about to take the opportunity of discharging their guns at the inmates of the carriage. With characteristic gallantry he dashed forward and interposed his person between the carriage and the assassins. Fortunately the aim taken did not prove true. In other ways he rendered yeoman's service, maintaining the communications with Allahábád, and raising levies to repress the revolted Rajpúts in the Ázamgarh and Jaunpúr districts. If Gubbins and Lind were the heads who planned and directed all the operations, Pollock and Jenkinson were the hands to carry out their suggestions and orders. Never were there two more willing and able coadjutors: They were noble specimens of their service and of their countrymen. Of the four who contributed so much to the safety of the Banáras division, Pollock, as I have said, has gone to his last home. Frederick Gubbins, made a Companion of the Bath for his services, lives in a foreign land. Lind, I believe, is still alive. Jenkinson, after an honourable service in India, retired. He was subsequently employed as police under-secretary in Ireland, and for the good services he rendered was made a Companion of the Bath. He still lives.

It happened that a great scarcity of food came, in 1857, to add to the difficulties of the situation. But no difficulties, howsoever mounted, were too great for the noble-hearted men whose names I have mentioned. How Messrs. Gubbins and Lind took measures to meet all emergencies; how they constantly patrolled the streets, and exercised their influence with the dealers in grain to procure an abatement in prices; how they persuaded the Commissioner to authorise the sale of grain to the Sipáhis at a price lower than that prevailing in the markets, the Government bearing the loss caused by the difference, has been told in the second volume. It has been told also how, the Mint, a central building, was fixed upon as the place to which all the residents should resort in the event of an outbreak; how it was to a certain extent fortified, and placed under an European guard. The watchful care of Messrs. Gubbins and Lind did not stop there. Looking at the events which had happened at Kánhpúr, they felt that no place of refuge could be secure which did not actually touch the river. They pressed, then, upon the military authorities the advisability of fortifying the high ground on the bank of the river, at the

Wise pre-cautions initiated by Gubbins and Lind.

point where the ferry crosses to the opposite bank during the rainy season—and where the bridge of boats was fixed during the drier periods of the year—the point known as Rájghát. To assist them, and lighten the financial burden of such a work, they offered the labour of the convicts in the gaols. The sanction of the Government was obtained, though not until much pressure had been exercised, to the scheme, and in a very short time there was seen standing on the site of an old Hindu castle, and commanding the approaches to Banáras by river and by land, a fortification irregular but strong, quite capable of maintaining the point, now become the most important point, in the line between Calcutta and Allahábád.

Prominent amongst the other members of the community of Banáras who rendered splendid service during those troublous times, was Súrat Singh, a Sikh gentleman of good family, who was detained by the Government at Banáras on political grounds. Súrat Singh, though exiled from his own country, was loyal and more than loyal to the nation which had annexed that country. He had imbibed a very great admiration for the character of Mr. Gubbins. Quiet and unostentatious in manner, he had been supplied by nature with a calm resolution which made him equal to any emergency, however pressing. Prior to the outbreak of the mutiny of the native troops in the cantonment adjoining the city, he had shown his goodwill by the exercise of his influence with those of his own countrymen, who formed one of the regiments there located, and in calm and judicious counsel. At length the day came when he was to be tried. On the 4th of June, the attempt made to disarm the Sipáhis culminated in mutiny.* The civilians and the other non-combatants knew that the crisis was upon them, and they had assembled to await its result on the roof of the Treasury over which there was then a guard composed only of Sikhs. Amongst them was Súrat Singh, calm and cheerful as it was his wont to be. He had been standing by the side of Mr. Gubbins. Suddenly he left him. Almost immediately after he had left, the sound of firing from the direction of cantonments proved that the game had begun in earnest. The sound had scarcely reached the ears of the assembled party, when Súrat Singh returned bearing in his hand a double-barrelled gun. The firing still continued. A

* Vol. II. pages 162-65.

few minutes later, and it was announced that the Sikh guard over the Treasury had received information that their countrymen were being slaughtered, and that they were displaying symptoms which might possibly terminate in action. Immediately Súrat Singh went amongst them. He had in his hand the life of the Englishmen on the roof. One hostile exhortation from him, and the massacre would have commenced. But he spoke words of a different bearing. He found the Sikhs indeed excited, questioning one another whether the hour had not arrived when they should take advantage of their position. But Súrat Singh quickly calmed them. He pointed out to them that the conflict then proceeding in the cantonment must have been unpremeditated, or the Europeans on the roof would not have placed themselves in their power; that he was quite sure of the good faith of the English, and that he intended to stand by them. These and similar arguments had the effect of calming the apprehensions of the guard, and the danger was stayed.

The good services of Súrat Singh did not stop there. After the mutiny had been suppressed in the manner described in the second volume, he took up his abode in the house of Mr. Gubbins, and, in those thousand and one ways, in which a loyal native can, in times of suspicion amongst his own countrymen, render unequalled service to the paramount power, gave himself, heart and soul, to the cause of order. After the suppression of the mutiny, the Government bestowed upon him a title and a reward.

Another loyal native of Banáras was the Ráo, Devnaráin Singh. He was loyal from the first whisper of disaffection, and placed all his influence, which was great, at the disposal of the Government. After the disbanding of the native troops, he, too, came to live in Mr. Gubbins's house, and aided greatly in the task, still a difficult one, of maintaining order in the city. I say, still a difficult one, because, although immediate danger from the Sipáhis on the spot had passed away, the districts around Banáras were surging with revolt. For a very long time afterwards, Ázamgarh, Jaunpúr, and western Bihár, continued to be overrun with rebels, and at one time the city of Banáras itself was in very great danger.* Under such circumstances, the aid rendered by Ráo Devnaráin Singh was invaluable. He was

* Vol. IV. pages 310-44.

specially useful in procuring trustworthy agents who ferreted out the counsels of the rebels ; watched the movements of disaffected men within the city, and the intrigues of the land-owners without, and thus gave Mr. Gubbins the information upon which he was able to act with vigour and success. To the very last he was a tower of strength.

In a less marked manner, but not less sincerely, did the Rájah of Banáras cast in his lot with the British who had established his family in the position he had inherited. He was constitutionally a timid man, but his heart was in the right place, and he never for a moment flinched from the loyal course he laid down for himself from the first moment. Pandit Gokal Chand, a Brahman of the highest caste and possessing considerable influence, rendered excellent service by the support he gave to the British cause.

Of the Englishmen, some indigo planters, some traders, who lived at Banáras or in its vicinity, were many who behaved with zeal and daring. Of these not one was more prominent than Mr. F. C. Chapman, an indigo planter. His energy in scouring the country could not be surpassed. Jenkinson placed at his disposal some of the native levies which he raised, and the name of F. C. Chapman, as the leader of these, became a terror to the disaffected. In the month of June or July Chapman was sent to Calcutta in charge of a powerful native whom he had made prisoner, and who was believed to be a man of importance. He was received with effusion by Lord Canning, who, in response to his wishes, appointed him second in command to Major Richardson in the corps of Yeomanry Cavalry, the formation of which Chapman was the first to suggest. With this corps Chapman continued to render good service.

I must now pass on to the second district in the Banáras division, the district of Mírzápúr.

The district of Mírzápúr has an area of 5224 square miles, and a population, now considerably in excess of a million, but, in 1857, just short of it. It is bounded to the north by the districts of Banáras and Jaunpúr; to the east by those of Sháhábád and Lohardága; to the south by one of the small states in Chutiá Nágpúr, known as the Sargujá state; to the west by the Allahábád district and the state of Rewah. It is crossed by the Vindhya and Kaimúr ranges, and

The Rájah of
Banáras.

Pandit Gokal
Chand.

Mr. F. C.
Chapman.

is watered by the Ganges, the Són, and the Karmnásá. Its chief towns are Mírzápúr, and Chanár, the latter guarded by the famous historical fortress of the same name.

The town, Mírzápúr, is situated on the Ganges fifty-six miles from Allahábád, and twenty-seven from Banáras. The fortress of Chanár, situate on a rock commanding the Ganges, is sixteen miles to the south-west of Banáras. It had been used in times then recent as a state prison, and not ten years had passed since the Rání of Láhor, the mother of Maharájah Dhulip Singh, confined there as a state prisoner, had managed to elude the vigilance of her guards, and to escape.

The civil officers at Mírzápúr, in 1857, were Mr. Lean, the judge; Mr. St. George Tucker, the magistrate and collector; and Mr. Balmain, his assistant; Mr. Moore, the joint magistrate. The troops consisted of a wing of the Sikh regiment of Fírzúzpúr, but the mutiny had shown its earliest symptoms when the station received the unwelcome visit of the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, then on its way from Prome to Allahábád. This regiment was commanded by Colonel Pott.

The mutiny of the 10th of May at Mírath affected every station in India, especially those in the North-Western provinces. Mírzápúr was no exception to the rule. The slightest occurrence sufficed to cause alarm. The result was the display of watchfulness and a desire to meet promptly any sudden emergency on the part of the Englishmen stationed there. Mírzápúr passed unscathed through the trying days of May, and it was only when on the 7th of the following month, when a wing of the 47th Native Infantry arrived, that the Magistrate,

Mr. St. George Tucker, felt the imminence of the danger. By that time it had come to be understood that the arrival of the 47th N.I. whilst a station unguarded, or guarded by Europeans or Sikhs, might escape an outbreak, the presence of a regiment of native infantry demanded constant and unwearying care and caution. Mr. Tucker was thoroughly alive to the danger of the situation, and he was fortunate in finding in Colonel Pott, the commanding officer of the new arrivals, a gentleman absolutely free from the prejudice in favour of his own men which affected the action of so many native infantry officers. The difficulty was how to remove the evil without causing the very commotion it was sought to avoid. It was necessary to act promptly, to assume responsibility, to cast regulations to the winds. Colonel Pott was equal to the occasion. He decided to give furlough

to the majority of the men of his wing, retaining a certain number only, whom he believed could be trusted.

Taking possession of the magazine, he threw into the river all the spare cartridges, and the nipples of the spare muskets, thus rendering the weapons useless. Prudent conduct of Colonel Pott.

On the 8th some of the treasure was despatched with the Sikhs to Allahábád: on the day following, the rest of it was placed on board a river-steamer and despatched to Banáras. Notwithstanding these heroic measures, which had the effect of removing all temptation to outbreak, many of the residents got frightened, and made for Chanár. St. George Tucker, in charge of the district, was a worthy comrade of Gubbins and Lind of Banáras.

On the 10th, a small party of Sipáhis of the 50th Native Infantry arrived from Nagód, bringing with them a prisoner. St. George Tucker.

Tucker, believing from the demeanour of these men that he could employ them usefully, marched with them a few miles on their return journey, and attacked and chastised some marauders who had plundered the property of the East India railway. A few days later he was able to accomplish much more. The inhabitants of a village called Gaurá, situate on the right bank of the Ganges, near the borders of the Allahábád district, had been particularly given to outbreak and plunder. Tucker took advantage of the arrival of a small detachment of the Madras Fusiliers to march against this village with that detachment, and the

loyal men of the 47th Native Infantry. Whilst he made this movement, the Deputy Magistrate, Mr. P. Walker, made a simultaneous march along the lower part of the same district. The result was the occupation of Gaurá, the capture

of some of the leaders of the outbreak, and the pacification of the district on the right bank of the Ganges. Energy of St. George Tucker.

The Rájputs on the left bank, however, still continued contumacious. There were a number of townships which acknowledged as their chief a relative of the descendant of that Rájah of Banáras, who had been dispossessed by Warren Hastings, and were in open insurrection.

Their chief, taking the title of Rájah of Bhudoí, appointed agents to collect the revenue, enrolled a force, plundered those of his neighbours who refused

to acknowledge him, and closed the grand trunk road to the English. Against this man and his companions, Mr. Moore, the joint magistrate of Mírzápúr, and who had charge of the

He clears the right bank of the Ganges.

Dangers on the left bank.

estates of the Rájah of Banáras, was making head as best he could. It happened that by a fortunate chance, one of his agents managed to secure the person of the rebel chief and one of his accomplices. These, caught red-handed in the act of rebellion, were tried by court-martial, condemned and hanged.

A reward offered for the head of Moore. This act of summary justice, far from intimidating the rebels, incited them to defiance. The widow of the late chief offered a reward of 300 rupees to the man who would bring her the head of Moore. Moore

was brought to trial in effigy before a pancháyat,* condemned to death, and measures were directed to apprehend him, and execute the sentence. It happened that, on the 4th July, Moore arrived at the indigo factory of Pálí, bringing with him some rebels whom he had captured. There he was suddenly attacked by the followers of the widow of the chief of Bhudoi. Moore defended himself vigorously, and, believing that a counter-attack would have its effect, sallied forth accompanied by the two managers of the factory, and some of his men, and charged the besiegers. These, however, were too numerous, and after a

desperate fight, Moore and the two managers were captured. They were immediately put to death. Moore's head was severed from his body, and carried

Moore is captured and slain. to the widow, who paid for it the reward she had offered. The same day, a party of the 64th, led by Lieutenant Woodhouse, arrived on the spot, but the rebels had already left. They were joined the day following by St. George Tucker, with

some of the 47th Native Infantry, and by F. C. Chapman, the planter I have already spoken of under the head of The rebels are chased from the district. Banáras. These pursued the rebels. They had, however, to be content with driving them out of the district, for the insurgents were too agile in their movements, and knew the country too well to be caught. The district was momentarily pacified, and continued quiet for about a month.

On the 11th August, however, the disturbances were renewed.

Arrival and defeat of the Dánápúr Sipáhis. In a previous page of this history I have told how Vincent Eyre † had, on the 3rd August, relieved Árah, and how the rebel Sipáhis, after their defeat,

* Pancháyat, a court of arbitration, so called because originally it consisted of five members. In course of time the numbers have been indefinitely increased.

† Vol. III. pages 66-67.

had disappeared from the vicinity of the beleagured house. The district of Sháhábád, of which Árah is the chief station, adjoins the district of Mírzápúr, and into this Sipáhis, to the number of about fifteen hundred, repaired, after the rough handling which Eyre had given them. From the 11th to the 20th August they plundered the richer villages; then, on the last-named day, they set out for the station of Mírzápúr. But the delays they had made had given time to a party of the 5th Fusiliers, about three hundred strong, to arrive. These encountered the rebels about seventeen miles from Mírzápúr, and totally defeated them. They fled, then, into the Allahábád district, and ultimately made their way into Oudh.

But the district was not yet safe. I have shown how, on its southern side, the district touches one of the smaller districts of Chutiá Nágpúr, then, and for many months afterwards, in a state of open rebellion. It was natural that occasional irruptions should take place from this quarter. Of these, one occurred on the 14th July; another, headed by Kunwar Singh himself, on the 8th September. The rebels, however, merely passed through, doing comparatively little damage. The southern part of the district was then transferred to the charge of Mr. F. O. Mayne, an officer of great energy and resolution, and he, by strenuous efforts, succeeded in keeping that part of the grand trunk road which bordered his charge, open for traffic and the passage of troops. The district continued, however, more or less disturbed up to the period when the last rebel had laid down his arms. The fact of the close vicinity to the Sháhábád district, and the presence there of Kunwar Singh, and after his death, of his brother, Amar Singh, rendered it impossible that it should be otherwise. It may be added that, to the very last, Mr. St. George Tucker continued to display the energy and foresight which characterised his proceedings at the earlier stage; that he was ably supported by his uncovenanted assistant, the Walker already spoken of; and by a young civilian, then recently arrived in the country, Mr. C. A. Elliott, who distinguished himself on more than one occasion; that he received valuable support throughout from the Rájah of Kantit and his brother, whilst the enmity of the Rájah of Singráulí added to his difficulties. It was most creditable that a district so important, liable to incursions on at least two sides by rebels, should have been sustained with means

Mutineers
from Chutiá
Nágpúr
arrive.

Energy of
St. George
Tucker, of
Walker, of
Elliott, of
Mayne.

so inadequate, and the credit of having produced such a result is due to the three officers I have just named ; and, associated with them, to Mr. F. O. Mayne.

The next district of which I would speak is Jaunpúr. The town, very famous in the Muhammadan period of Jaunpúr. Indian history, lies thirty-six miles from Banáras, and eighty-three from Faizábád in Oudh. In the district, as in all the districts of the North-West Provinces, the system introduced unsparingly by the late Mr. Thomason, the system of ruling an eastern people by cut-and-dried western ideas, a system already described as to its working for evil in a previous volume,* was in full force. It had produced there more than usual dissatisfaction, for Jaunpúr had been a most important district, the seat even of a Government, and there were settled there many noble and ancient families. Under the hard and fast rule of Mr. Thomason, many of these had been dispossessed in favour of men without lineage or consideration. They remained, however, in the district, daily witnesses of the wrongs they had suffered. It will easily be understood that, when there arose signs of a general uprising against the foreigner, these men sympathised rather with their dispossessed brethren across the Oudh frontier, to which they were contiguous, than with the ruling power. How, acting with these, and with the revolted landowners of Ázamgarh and Sháhábád, they fought to the very last, has been told in the preceding volumes.

In 1857, the judge of Jaunpúr was Mr. R. J. Taylor ; the magistrate was Mr. H. Fane ; the joint-magistrate Civil officers at Jaunpúr. was Mr. Cuppage.. But when the events of the 10th of May took place at Mírath, I rather think Mr. Taylor was absent. The troops consisted of a detachment of the Sikh regiment of Lodiáná, the head-quarters of which were at Banáras, under the command of Lieutenant Mara.

The story of the occurrences at Jaunpúr of the 5th of June has been told in a previous page.† It will suffice here to say that nowhere in India was the overthrow of the British authority more sudden and more complete. Those who had lost their estates under our rule, writes Mr. Taylor, who made a special report to the Government on the occurrences in this division, "thought this a good time to regain them ; those who had not, thought they could make a little profit by plundering their

* Vol. V. pages 61-4.

† Vol. II. pages 178, 179.

weaker neighbours; the bolder spirits thought to secure more brilliant advantages by intercourse with the rebel powers in Oudh ;” and in this state they remained till the arrival of the Gurkhás on September 8th, restored a semblance of authority to the British Government. Then, a change was inaugurated in the *personnel* of the district. Mr. F. M. Lind, of whose high qualities and great services I have spoken when dealing with the Banáras district, became magistrate, and Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, already favourably mentioned in connection with the same district, his immediate subordinate. Acting with them, as deputy collector, was Mr. P. Carnegy, well known at a later period for the valuable services * he rendered, when serving with the force under General Franks. The campaign that followed the arrival of the Gurkhás has been told in different detail in the fourth volume of this work. But it has not yet been sufficiently narrated how, in that campaign, Lind, and Jenkinson, and Carnegy, performed the duties of soldiers in addition to their own; how, as the Commissioner reported to the Government, they exhibited great gallantry in the field, and were most indefatigable in the performance of their duties. The same high official reported likewise the names of other Europeans, who, not in the service of the Government, contributed greatly by their zeal and energy to the restoration of order. Of such were the brothers Waleski, who, he reported, out of pure loyalty, accompanied the authorities on their return to Jaunpúr, and then shared the whole of the subsequent campaign. Of the loyal natives, he specially mentions, Hingan Lál, who, during the outbreak in June, sheltered the European officers at the risk of his own life, and continued to act loyally to the end; Madhú Singh, Zamindár of Bisháratpúr, who gave shelter to a considerable party of planters, and subsequently evinced on every occasion, zeal and energy in the cause of his masters; Rájah Sheo Ghulám Dubé, the chief of the Dubé clan, who watched over the interests of the English after the events of this 5th of June, and, who subsequently exerted himself on their behalf; Rájah Mahésh Naráin, who, on the re-occupation of Jaunpúr by Mr. Lind and his comrades, and the troops who accompanied them,

Mr. F. M.
Lind.
Mr. Jenkin-
son.

Mr. Patrick
Carnegy

renders splen-
did service.

The Waleskis.

The loyal
natives.

* Vol. IV. page 238.

brought all his matchlockmen to the fore, and rendered excellent service. There were others of an inferior rank or power. But Pandit Krishn Singh, who fought for his alien masters, and, though beaten in the field, returned to render what service he could, must not be forgotten. Of Messrs. Venables

Venables and Dunn.

and Dunn, whose exertions, and whose services were unsurpassed and unsurpassable, I shall write fully under the head of the district with which they were more particularly associated, the district of Ázamgarh.

I have dealt at so great length in the fourth volume with the military events in the Jaunpúr district, that I should only be guilty of repetition if I were to dwell further on the subject here. My object in this volume is to place on record the deeds performed, under very difficult circumstances, by men who, though not soldiers, displayed presence of mind, readiness of resource, courage of the highest order, and that carelessness of responsibility, which, in difficult times, is the truest test of a really great man. These qualities were displayed to the full in the Jæunpúr district by the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned. The district, and the neighbouring district of Ázamgarh, continued in a state of unquiet during the first six months of 1858, nor could it be said to be thoroughly secure until after the death of Kunwar Singh, recorded in the fourth volume.*

The next district in the order arranged at the commencement of this chapter is the district of Gorákhpur. To that district I now pass on.

The district called, after the chief town within its borders, Gorákhpur, is bounded to the north by Nipál; to the east and south-east by the district of Sáran; to the south by Ázamgarh; and to the south-west and west by the kingdom of Oudh. It covers an area of 7346 square miles, and possessed, in 1857, a population somewhat exceeding three millions.

In 1857, the judge of Gorákhpur was Mr. William Wynyard, already mentioned in these pages;† the magistrate and collector was Mr. Paterson; the joint-magistrate was Mr. Bird. In such times as were those of 1857, the lead taken was independent of the actual position and rank of the officer. The strongest man invariably came to the front. Sometimes, as at Patná, that strongest

* Page 336.

† Vol. IV. page 223.

man was the senior in position. At other times, as at Banáras, the second in rank quietly took into his hands the direction of affairs. At Gorákhpur, the senior in position was essentially a man of action. Mr. William Wynyard, therefore, was at once recognised as the man to direct and to execute the plans which might be necessary for the preservation of British authority within the district.

William Wynyard joined to great activity of body and a love of field sports, a nature that knew not fear, a mind well stored, and a thorough acquaintance with the character of the natives of his district. He had noted early in 1857, the tendency of affairs, but, his station being some distance off the main line of postal communication between Bengal and the North-West Provinces, he did not hear of the mutiny at Mírath till a full week after it had occurred, the 17th of May. It happened that Mr. Paterson, the magistrate, was just on the point of quitting the station on leave of absence, for which he had applied and which had been granted. In the presence of the crisis then impending, and which he saw could not fail to bear with particular severity upon a place so near the Oudh frontier as was Gorákhpur, Wynyard took it upon himself to delay Paterson's departure. I mention this fact not because in itself it was of great importance, but because it produced from the Commissioner of the division a reply which indicated a belief common to almost all the high officials in India. Mr. Tucker thanked Wynyard for his action in having delayed Mr. Paterson's departure "till he has heard of the annihilation of the rebels." It was evidently not thought that the delay would be long !

Wynyard,
seeing the
approach of
storm, takes
the responsi-
bility

to retain Mr.
Paterson.

Mr. Tucker's
opinion re-
garding the
duration of
the mutiny.

The troops of Gorákhpur consisted of two companies 17th regiment Native Infantry and a small detachment 12th Irregular Cavalry. The head-quarters of the former were at Ázamgarh, of the latter at Sigáuli. Very few days after the news reached him of the mutiny, Wynyard received information that the 17th Native Infantry could not be depended upon. The 12th Irregulars bore then a good character, and their commanding officer, Major Holmes, whose name was a household word in the army, was known to trust them implicitly. But, even granting that they were loyal, their numbers were few, and Wynyard felt that it would be necessary for him to look elsewhere for sure support.

The troops at
Gorákhpur.

Happily, at this conjuncture, the commissioner, Mr. Tucker, placed Wynyard in civil charge of the district, warning him that trouble might be on him at any moment, that Banáras was shaky, recommending him to act boldly and on his own judgment, and giving him authority to assume any amount of responsibility, civil or military. The way thus made plain to him, Wynyard proceeded to act. He enlisted recruits for the gaol and other local guards; he caused similar enlistments to be made in the districts; he wrote to the well-affected native landowners and to the European planters, authorising them to enlist well-affected natives for the Government service; he appointed a place of rendezvous in case of attack; and he despatched a hundred and twenty-five of the 17th Native Infantry and a detachment, thirty-four men, of the 12th Irregulars to Banáras in charge of treasure. This still left him burdened with one hundred and twenty Sipáhis and sixty Sawárs.

From that day forth for a long time to follow every post brought bad tidings from outside. One day it was the mutiny at Firúzpúr, the next the outbreak at Lakhnáo, then those at Nímach and Nasirábád. But the news received on the 5th of June was still more ominous for Gorákhpur. It told of the mutiny at Ázamgarh of the 17th Native Infantry, a detachment of which regiment was, as we have seen, on duty at Gorákhpur.

That detachment was commanded by Captain Steel, an excellent officer. He at once paraded his men, Paterson having disposed the cavalry and local levies so as to attack them if they should mutiny. Steel then addressed them, apparently with effect. They displayed no outward sign of discontent. But this apparent loyalty lasted only for the day. The very next morning Steel endeavoured to march the Sipáhis to Ázamgarh, but they refused to obey his orders, and one of them, whom the rest were evidently disposed to follow, was heard to declare that the money in the treasury should not leave the station without a fight.

The day following, the 7th of June, the prisoners attempted to break out from the gaol, but they were baffled by the gaol-guard, energetically led

Steel ad-
dresses the
men of the
17th Native
Infantry,

who, never-
theless,
refuse to
obey his
orders.

which he
uses judi-
ciously.

Wynyard
receives
from the
Commissioner
powers,

by Mr. Bird, the joint magistrate, and Mr. Dcsmazures, an indigo-planter. Eight of the prisoners were killed in the attempt, and ten or twelve were wounded. That night the Sipáhis, apparently, resolved to join their comrades. They seized empty carts, and with these marched, armed, the following morning, towards the treasury. Their purpose was evident. They had determined to go, but not without the money. In this crisis, Steel and Wynyard, who, from the verandah of the former's bungalow, saw them approaching, went out to meet and to harangue them. Their arguments were effective, for the Sipáhis returned to their lines. Still business was at a stand-still. Everyone felt that one day, sooner or later, the trial would come. There seemed no means of averting it.

Another attempt at mutiny is checked.

Next morning, however, Wynyard received from Major, afterwards Major-General the Honourable Sir Henry, Ramsay, the British Resident at the court of Khatmandu, a letter, in which he promised to send him two hundred Gurkhás from Pálpa, just across the border. This was cheering news. With the aid of that number of trustworthy troops, it seemed possible still to maintain the district.

Major Ramsay offers to send a reinforcement of Gurkhás.

But the following day showed that events were marching too fast for the Gurkhás. I have already told how, towards the end of May, Wynyard had sent money to Ázamgarh escorted by a hundred and twenty-five of the 17th Native Infantry and thirty-four men of the 12th Irregulars. On the morning of the 11th, the Irregulars returned, telling how, after leaving Ázamgarh, the Sipáhis had mutinied and had seized the money; how the Gházípur district was in revolt, and how the loyalty of Bihár depended upon the power of the Commissioner of Patná to maintain order in that turbulent city.

The Sipáhis in the district mutiny.

Nevertheless, Wynyard did not lose heart. Trusting to the 12th Irregulars, whose loyalty had, up to that time, been proof against seduction, he sent detachments to Ázamgarh, to Bastí, and to other parts of the district, under his own officers or European residents, to restore order. And he succeeded. He proclaimed martial law in the district, suspended the ordinary forms of trial, and showed a zeal, an energy, and a resolution which had an extremely deterring effect upon the disaffected. They

Great and successful measures adopted by Wynyard.

argued that no man would act with such boldness unless he had resources of which they knew nothing.

And yet, all this time, Wynyard had not only no resources,

The com-missioner attempts to prevent the coming of the Gurkhás. but his superior officer was doing his best to deprive him of those whose timely arrival would still have saved the district. Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of Banáras, wrote at this crisis to tell him that no troops could be spared from that city. This was true, and was probably anticipated. But what was

not anticipated, what in its result was fatal to many European lives, was the fact that at the same time Mr. Tucker was exerting all his efforts to prevent the arrival of the Gurkhás, whose number was now swollen to three thousand, in British territory. To accept the aid of Jang Bahádur was, in Mr. Tucker's opinion, an evil; but surely it was a lesser evil than that involved in the occupation of British territory by rebels! Yet that was, as the result proved, the only alternative.

On the 17th and on the 19th fugitives from Oudh arrived in Gorákhpur. On the 20th, Wynyard sent off all the ladies in the station—the wives of the clerks, who at the last moment refused to leave, excepted—to

Banáras under an escort of twenty-five men of the 12th Irregulars, seventy men belonging to the Rájah of Banáres, and accompanied by six officers and a sergeant who had escaped from Oudh. This party reached Ázamgarh in safety; but the districts were swarming with rebels; all the landowners were up. The road to Banáras was unsafe, and the party diverted their course to Gházípur.

On the 28th, the two hundred Gurkhás originally promised by Ramsay arrived from Pálpa. It must have been a satisfaction to Wynyard thus to have saved for seven weeks a district on the borders of revolted Oudh, contiguous to other districts in which the torch of mutiny had been lighted, and whose landowners had followed with light hearts the example set them by the Sipáhis. If, in the presence of adverse circumstances which he saw rising around him, Wynyard could not feel very sanguine as to the immediate future, at least he had grounds for hope. It needed but a decisive blow struck at some rebel centre to pacify the district, and it always seemed possible that any day might bring the good news.

The one thing requisite to pacify the district.

It was encouraging to Wynyard at such a crisis that he should feel that his conduct had been approved not only by his local superior, but by the Governor-General. Mr. Tucker, just at this time, wrote him a letter fully approving of his arrangements and of the manner in which he had carried them out, and on the 28th of June Lord Canning sent him an autograph letter expressive of his gratitude for the excellent service which, in conjunction with Mr. Paterson, Mr. Wynyard had rendered at Gorákhpur, and concluding with a hope that he might be still able to hold his ground ; "if not," wrote Lord Canning, "have no scruple as to retiring in time. You have long ago saved your honour."

Wynyard receives an autograph letter of thanks and commendation from the Governor-General.

It was known on the 25th of July that more Gurkhás were approaching. The districts, however, were greatly disturbed. During the preceding three weeks many untoward events had happened. The slaughter of Kánhpúr had become known; the mutinies at Gwáliár and Barélí; the Ázamgarh district had been the scene of warfare, marked by the splendid gallantry of Venables and Dunn. The only counterbalancing news was that of the victories obtained by Havelock over the rebels and of his arrival at Kánhpúr. But Wynyard still kept his hold on the district; the Nipál army was near, and having accomplished so much Wynyard was still hopeful that he might accomplish more.

Despite the arrival of news,

Wynyard maintains his hold on the district.

But on the 28th of July the fatal news of the mutiny of the 12th Irregulars at Sigáulí, of the murder of Holmes and his noble wife, and of the doctor, and the intelligence that the regiment was marching on Gorákhpur reached him. Instantly he sent off an express to the first division of Gurkhás to push on. They pushed on and arrived that evening.

News of the mutiny of the 12th Regular Cavalry arrives.

The Gurkhás march in.

The arrival of the Gurkhás produced a double effect. It saved the lives of the Europeans, but it necessitated the evacuation of Gorákhpur. How this was so is capable of easy explanation. The Gurkhás were under orders to march; by way of Ázamgarh, for Alla-hábád. At that time Ázamgarh had again fallen into the hands of the rebels. The officer commanding the Gurkhás, Colonel Pahlawán Singh, declined to leave a detachment at Gorákhpur, or in any way to divide

The colonel of the Nipál troops imposes the necessity of abandoning Gorákhpur.

his forces. Information had been received from English sources that the 12th Irregulars, red with the blood of their own officers, were marching on Gorákhpur. For the few English officials to remain there after the Gurkhás should have left it, and to meet alone the 12th Irregulars, accompanied by all the rabble of the districts, seemed indeed to be madness utterly wanting in method.

Two or three days were left for Wynyard and his colleagues to consider the course to be adopted. These days were well employed. On the 1st of August the men of the detachment 17th Native Infantry were peaceably disarmed. The few men of the 12th Irregulars were less successfully dealt with. These men gave up their arms, it is true, to their own commandant, Risáldár Muhammad Bakhsh; but they had scarcely done so when some of them made a rush at the arms, recovered them, mounted their horses, and galloped off. They were pursued by their own comrades under Captain Warren; six of them were killed, one was wounded and died of his wounds. The eighty-three loyal men remained staunch to the end.*

The news which arrived two days later of the defeat of Captain Dunbar's detachment near Árah, and the receipt the following day of a letter containing Mr. Tucker's approval of a retirement upon Ázamgarh and Jaunpúr, decided Mr. Wynyard and the other gentlemen of the district to accompany the Gurkhás. The district was no longer tenable. "Have no scruples," Lord Canning had written, "in retiring in time—you have long ago saved your honour." Mr. Wynyard and his companions then, on the 13th of August, made over charge of the district to the loyal landowners, and rode that evening into the Gurkhá camp.

One, and one only, remained behind. This was the assistant magistrate, Mr. Bird. Mr. Bird was a great sportsman, affected the society of natives, and believed he could trust them. He, therefore, declined to accompany his countrymen. He soon had reason to repent it. Gorákhpur, after the departure of the Gurkhás, was contested for by the zamindárs of the neighbourhood, and Muhammad

* These men did good service in the mutiny, and marched with Havelock and Outram to the relief of Lakhnáo. The Risáldár, Muhammad Bakhsh, was made extra Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General.

Husén, calling himself the Názim, from Oudh. Eventually the latter took possession of the place. But before this happened one of the zamindárs, the Rájah of Gopálpur, entered the town and released the prisoners. One of these, a man whom Bird himself had committed for forgery, forced his way ^{insulted,} into the presence of his old committing officer, and seated himself on the table. The native guards declined to remove him. Bird then wrote to his European comrades for assistance, but it could not be given. The Gurkhá commandant declined to send a man. After four or five days of stirring adventure, going about with his life in his hand, Bird eventually escaped into the jungle. Muhammad Husén, who had by that time occupied Gorákhpur, offered a reward of five thousand rupees for his head, and whilst he despatched two hundred men to cut him off, sent as many more on his track. But Bird, a sportsman who knew thoroughly the bye-ways of the jungle, succeeded in baffling both, and in reaching Bétiah, in the Champáran district, eighty-two miles from Gorákhpur, in safety.

Meanwhile the Gurkhá force, accompanied by Wynyard and his comrades, marched towards Ázamgarh. On the 20th of August they repulsed a spirited attack made upon their camp by the rebels at Gagha. On the 21st the force crossed the Ghághrá river and marched without further interruption on Ázamgarh which was reached on the 27th. Mr. Wynyard was then nominated chief civil officer of the Ázamgarh district. On the 4th September left Ázamgarh to recover Jaunpúr. How both districts were fought for and maintained has been told in a previous volume.*

The state of Gorákhpur immediately upon the departure of the English officials fully justified that departure. In few parts of India did the districts become more infested with men thirsting for European blood than in the districts bordering on Oudh. To have maintained Gorákhpur for three months without assistance, in the presence of disaffected Sipáhis, and surrounded by turbulent landowners, was a feat worthy of the highest praise—a feat which testified

and forced to
flee for his
life, with a
price upon
his head.

The Gurkhá
force mean-
while, pro-
ceeds to
Ázamgarh.

The mainte-
nance of
Gorákhpur
for three
months re-
ounds to
the credit of
Wynyard and
the other
officials,

* Vol. IV. pages 318 and following.

to the courage, the tact, the judgment of those by whom it was accomplished, and which redounded greatly to their honour.

But, notwithstanding Lord Canning's emphatic declaration in this respect, notwithstanding the services subsequently rendered, Mr. Wynyard and his companions were not admitted within the favoured circle of official approbation. The more necessary is it, then, that admiration should be accorded to them by their countrymen.

The next district in the order in which I have placed the districts of the Banáras division is the district of Gházípur. In that district, in 1857, Mr. Trevor Plowden was the judge; Mr. A. Ross the magistrate and collector; Mr. J. R. Best his deputy. The native regiment at the station was the 65th Regiment, but recently returned from Burmah.

Mr. Ross was a strong man. The district, like all the districts in the North-West Provinces, had been much disturbed by the application to it of Mr. Thomason's system, and many of the dispossessed landowners had, prior even to the event of the 10th of May at Mírath, displayed turbulent symptoms. The treasury was full, and its contents were, apparently, at the mercy of the Sipáhis of the 65th. But the 65th, I have said, had but just returned from Burmah, and to that country the emissaries of the Mauláví, and the fiery spirits who had directed the plans for the corruption of the native army, had not penetrated. The quiescent attitude of the men of that regiment gave Mr. Ross, who at once took the lead at Gházípur, the one thing he required, viz., time.

He utilised that time to the best advantage, and, according to the opinion of no mean judge, Mr. Frederick Gubbins, "his prudence and firmness as magistrate had a great effect in preserving the peace of the district." May passed over without serious disturbance. But when the troops at Ázamgarh mutinied, and the fugitives from that station

came pouring into Gházípur, but forty-four miles distant, on the 5th and 6th of June, the real difficulties began. The district rose almost as one man. Even in the station itself order was with difficulty maintained, for, to use the language of the official report, "the police were helpless, and robberies were perpetrated to the very door of the

Reasons
for the qui-
escence of the
65th Native
Infantry.

Effect of the
Ázamgarh
mutiny.

Court House itself." Had the 65th risen at this moment, Gházípur must have been lost. But the men of that regiment had openly declared that so long as the regiments stationed at Dánápur should remain quiet they would continue to do their duty. Mr. Ross displayed under these circumstances combined judgment and daring. He shipped the contents of the treasury on board a river steamer, and despatched it to Banáras; and, proclaiming martial law, stimulated the military authorities to employ their men to restore order in the district. His measures so far succeeded that by the 16th June a great improvement was manifest. Doubtless the vigorous action of General Neill at Banáras and Allahábád was not without its effect on many of the more timid of the evil-disposed, for the month of June passed by and Gházípur remained quiet. Another cause which contributed to this result in the following month was the arrival, in succession, of river-steamers carrying troops to the north-west. The presence of these troops off the ghat greatly impressed the natives, and their report of what they had seen penetrated into the interior. Occasionally some of these were landed, and, in the beginning of July, a company of the 78th Highlanders was ordered to remain for the protection of the station. These men did good service. On the 7th July Mr. Bax, a district magistrate, accompanied a handful of these and some native horsemen to protect a threatened indigo factory, and to burn a recalcitrant village. This service was well performed, and produced a good effect. On the 14th, however, came a rumour that Kunwar Singh, chief of Jagdíspúr, angered at the action of the Government* which had beggared him, was preparing to take forcible measures for the retention of his hereditary possessions. On the 27th, news arrived of the successful revolt of the three native regiments at Dánápur on the 25th, and of their march towards Árah. To the residents of Gházípur it was incomprehensible why the Sipáhis of the 65th did not then rise. The term fixed by themselves to the rendering of allegiance to their foreign masters had arrived, and they made no sign. Fortunate that it was so, for had the 65th risen, Eyre could not have attempted to relieve Árah. Doubly fortunate, too, that that daring leader reached Gházípur before the

Quiet is main-
tained in
June;

Mr. Bax.

Vincent Eyre.

* Vol III. page 50, and note.

news had arrived there of Dunbar's disaster. How Eyre arrived there on the 29th, and how he at once took prompt measures to attempt, with an inferior force, a task in which Dunbar had failed with a larger, has been told at length in a previous volume.* His triumph did more than effect the relief

The 65th are disarmed. of the Árah garrison. Amongst the many important measures which it rendered possible was the disarming of the 65th at Gházípur. This was effected the first week of August without bloodshed.

From that time until the incursion of Kunwar Singh into the Ázamgarh district in March 1858, order was maintained, thanks to the incessant exertions of Mr. Ross and of Mr. Bax, in the Gházípur district. "Mr. Ross had the satisfaction,"

Good effect of Mr. A. Ross's exertions. writes Mr. H. G. Keene,† "(in which he stood almost alone amongst his colleagues at that time) of being

able to carry on his duties in comparative tranquillity. A part of those duties was, however, of an extraordinary character and exceptional usefulness, namely, the collection of stores, supplies, and carriage for the European troops constantly hurrying westward. These modest labours deserved, perhaps, more recognition than they have hitherto received."

The result of Kunwar Singh's incursion into the Ázamgarh district has been told at length in the fourth volume.‡ There, also, it has been related how the retreat of the Jagdíspúr chieftain led him into and across the Gházípur district. This action completely demoralised the eastern portion of that district. Discontented chiefs, discontented landowners, discontented villagers, turned

The district remains disordered till October 1858. out to swell the army of the retreating chief. To them he owed in a great measure, that he was able to deceive his pursuers as to the exact point at which he would cross the Ganges. In the operations conducted by Brigadier Douglas in the Gházípur district, Mr. Bax and Mr. Leslie Probyn rendered signal service. Their task of reorganization began after the British troops had followed Kunwar Singh into Sháhábád. That task was difficult, but it was accomplished, and by the end of October order was completely restored.

* Vol. III. pages 60-7.

† *Fifty-seven.* By Henry George Keene, C.I.E., M.R.A.S. London : W. H. Allen and Co.

‡ Pages 317 to 334.

The last district to be mentioned is Ázamgarh. This district has an area of 2147 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of nearly a million and a half. It is bounded to the north by the Ghághrá, to the south by the Gházípur district, to the west by Oudh and the Jaunpúr district. Its vicinity to Oudh, and the Thomasonian policy of the Government of the North-West Provinces, had made it one of the most disaffected districts in India.

Ázamgarh was held, in the early part of 1857, by the headquarters of the 17th Native Infantry, commanded by Major Burroughs, and a detail of native artillery. The civil officers were—Mr. Henry Astell, the judge; Mr. Horne, the magistrate and collector. There were likewise the indigo-planters, Messrs. Venables and Dunn, and uncovenanted servants of the Government, such as Messrs. Legge, Dodsworth, Niblett, and others.

An account of the rising at Ázamgarh on the 3rd of June, caused by an attempt to remove the moneys in the local treasury to Banáras, has been given in the second volume * of this history. But, connected as the events which succeeded the rising were with the actions of two men who were amongst the noblest characters produced by the great mutiny, I mean Messrs. Venables and Dunn, I think it necessary to enter more into detail than was required in a mere military narrative. The true story of the events at Ázamgarh was first told in the *Red Pamphlet*.† Mr. H. G. Keene has also related it in his very interesting book,‡ and it is given in the official records. It is only necessary here to state that, on the outbreak of the mutiny, the civil officers and some of the planters and other Europeans abandoned the station and fled into Gházípur. At the moment they could scarcely do otherwise. Many, however, of the less prominent Europeans and Eurasians were unable to get away. Amongst these was Mr. Niblett, head clerk to the Collector. This gentleman found refuge on the night of the 2nd in the house of a loyal Muhammadan, his colleague in the Collector's office, Alí Bakhsh by name, and was by him sheltered till the 16th. Nor was this, as will be seen, the only way in which this loyal man rendered excellent service to his foreign masters.

Amongst the indigo-planters who had quitted the district to

* Pages 160-2.

† Pages 84-5.

‡ *Fifty-seven*.

proceed to Gházípur for safety were Messrs. Venables and Dunn. They had had no more power than the civilians and the officers of the 17th Native Infantry to re-occupy Ázamgarh. to resist the first mutinous onslaught of a native regiment in full mutiny. But, on counting nose at Gházípur, it was discovered that some planters and some clerks had been left behind. These men were in danger of their lives, if indeed they had escaped. The first thought which occurred to Messrs. Venables and Dunn was that at all hazards an attempt must be made to search for and rescue these men.

They communicated with Mr. A. Ross, the energetic magistrate of Gházípur, who approved the idea, and offered them a few native constables, mounted, to accompany them.

The civilians who had quitted Ázamgarh were, however, less willing to share with the two indigo-planters the risk of returning. They declared that without the sanction of the Commissioner of the division they would not budge. A message was instantly despatched to obtain the Commissioner's sanction. Had the Commissioner been Mr. Gubbins or Mr. Lind, there can be no doubt as to the answer which would have been returned. But the

Commissioner was Mr. H. T. Tucker, and that gentleman sent back the very extraordinary reply that whilst he did not object to the return to the district of Messrs. Venables and Dunn, the civilians were on no account to risk their lives. The two planters set out, then, the next day, with the few mounted constables Mr.

Ross had given them. Venables, being the more prominent man of the two, though, as Mr. Keene justly states, "in no degree the superior in moral qualities," for they both bore the stamp of Nature's nobility, directed his course to his estate near Durí Ghát, strengthened his force by adding to it some of his tenantry, then searched the villages near Ázamgarh for any refugees who might be lurking in them, and succeeded in finding some. He then marched on Ázamgarh, induced, by his daring action, the men of the 13th Irregular Cavalry, who held the place, to abandon it, and then took possession of and held it.

His labours, alike in recovering and holding it, were greatly facilitated by the action of Alí Bakhsh, the loyal clerk in the Collector's office above referred to. This man, who seems to have possessed a

Mr. H. T.
Tucker
supports
them in their
refusal.

Splendid con-
duct of
Venables and
Dunn.

Courage and
ability of Alí
Bakhsh.

genius superior to his station, had so contrived, during the fourteen days the place had been held by the rebels, as to baffle every attempt made by the revolted to form a native administration, and that, apparently, without exciting suspicion. He had even done more. He had formed a Committee of Public Safety, and had managed to convey to the Commissioner at Banáras daily reports of his proceedings. The arrival of the two indigo-planters and their following was cordially welcomed by this man, who continued to render the most excellent service.*

Ázamgarh, “abandoned by all its official guardians and administrators”—to use the true and emphatic language of Mr. Keene—“was dependent on the courage and vigilance of a few planters and subordinate employés.” Truly may the same writer exclaim, “it was no sinecure.” The Rájputs, the men who had lost their estates, the disaffected, the scheming, had risen all over the district. “The police,” wrote Mr. Taylor, in his official narrative of the events at Ázamgarh, “helpless with terror, the Provisional Council unable to rule even the neighbouring villages, had not dared to cope with these audacious plunderers, and Mr. Venables soon found that he must try his power against them in the field, or be forced to save his own life by again abandoning the station.” The first of these courses was that which was most congenial to Mr. Venables and his companions. Fortunately, from the cause I have stated in a previous page of this chapter, the 65th Native Infantry had remained loyal, and a hundred and fifty Sipáhis of that regiment had been placed at the disposal of Mr. Venables. With these, seventy-five mounted constables, and an old gun, this gentleman took the field against the rebels. At first their numbers prevailed. Five hundred of them attacked and stormed the police-station at Ázamgarh in broad daylight, and released their friends who had been confined there. Still Venables persevered. On the 16th July, having obtained an additional number of Sipáhis, he attacked the Rájputs of the Palwár clan, who were then threatening

Disordered
state of the
district.

First
ill-success.

* Mr. Keene tells us that Alí Bakhsh was rewarded by promotion. I am confident that my readers will echo the sentiment expressed by that able writer and excellent administrator, that “his name deserves to be recorded perpetually as that of a true hero and faithful servant of an alien Government whose salt he had eaten.”

Ázamgarh, at Koilsá. But the Sipáhis, half-hearted in t cause, or possibly secretly hostile, failed him at the decisi moment, and he had to fall back, followed by the rebels, on t station. Had the rebels pushed on with anything like vigou it would have gone hard with Venables. They moved, howeve with a caution which testified to the respect with which had inspired them, and on the 18th they were still two march

distant from the station. On that very day their

Arrival of re-inforcements.
Davies,
Simson,
Catania.

arrived Messrs. Davies and Simson, of the Civ Service, accompanied by ten officers detailed to joi the force despatched by Jang Bahádur from Nipál by twenty-five sawárs of the 12th Irregular Cavalr

and by a levy of loyal natives commanded by a gentlema called Catania. Venables then sent back the bulk of his u reliable Sipáhis to Gházípur, and, with a portion of the levi that remained, marched out to seek the rebels, leaving Simso and Catania's men in the station for the protection of the publi

offices. But on this, the third occasion, he w equally unsuccessful. He found the rebels s strongly posted that with his inferior force it woul have been madness to attack them. The rebel

noting his hesitation, and divining the cause, became then th assailants. Venables, unwilling to risk the fate of Ázamgar on the result of a pitched battle, in which he had but a sma chance of success, began an orderly retreat, covering a retrograd movement with his few horsemen and his one gun. Thes rendered yeoman's service. Constant discharges of grape fro the gun kept the rebels at bay, whilst the horsemen, splendidl led by Venables and Dunn, made charge after charge on th advancing foe. He was thus enabled to re-enter Ázamgar without much loss, except, indeed, that of prestige. Bu prestige is a living and very powerful factor amongst Asiatics Knowing this, and ignorant at the moment of the full extent o

but his gallantry

the damage inflicted upon the rebels by the con tinued discharges of his one gun and his repeate cavalry combats, estimating it and the effect pro duced far below the actualities, Venables and his Englis comrades debated that evening as to the propriety of retirin on Gházípur. At this improvised council-of-war the theor that such a council never fights strongly asserted itself. Bu three voices, it is stated, were raised in favour of maintainin the position, and those were the voices of Venables, of Jame

Simson, and of Charles Havelock.* But, the next morning, before any action had been taken, it was discovered that the rebel losses had been severe enough to cool their ardour. In that well-conducted retreat two hundred and fifty of them had succumbed to the grape shot or the sword, and the remainder had retreated, disheartened, to their villages.

This retreat completely disposed of the question debated by the council-of-war. But a few days later another misfortune, not in itself so immediately serious, but rendered more so by the manner in which it was treated by the Commissioner of the division, Mr. H. C. Tucker, came to disturb their minds. On the evening of the 25th of July the 12th Irregular Cavalry, stationed at Sigáuli, mutinied, and murdered their noble commanding officer and his wife. Noon of the same day had witnessed the mutiny, caused by the most culpable mismanagement, of the three Sipáhi regiments stationed at Dánápúr.† The news of the first-mentioned of these events reached Ázamgarh on the 28th; of the second on the 29th of July. With the second item of news came a letter from Mr. Tucker, authorising the evacuation of Ázamgarh. Under the circumstances, such a letter was tantamount to an order, and it was treated as such. The men who had so bravely fought for the retention of British authority in the district quitted the place on the 30th, accompanied, on this occasion, by the clerks and other Europeans and Eurasians, and by the loyal natives, and after some difficulty reached Gházípur. Behind them they left chaos. All the police-stations but two, and all the sub-stations but two, were deserted in consequence of their departure. The two sub- stations were those of Nagra ‡ and Muhammadábád, and these were loyally held by the native officials, Asghar Alí and Muhammad Takí, both Muhammadans.

I have now brought down the story of Ázamgarh to the point where it re-enters into the military history of the suppression of the Mutiny. How the Nipálese reached Gorákhpur at the end of July, and disarmed the Sipáhis there on the 1st of August; how they re-occupied Ázamgarh on the 13th of that month, has been

* Afterwards killed in action at Tigrá. Vol. IV. pages 329-30.

† *Vide* vol. III. pages 42-7.

‡ Nagra is forty-five miles east of Ázamgarh on the road to Chaprá; Muhammadábád is some twenty miles from Nagra.

told in the fourth volume. In the interval between the period and the incursion of Kunwar Singh, Archibald Pollock assumed charge of the district and, aided by Mr. Hercules Ross, likewise of the Civil Service, an officer of signal merit, succeeded, by heroic exertion, in maintaining order. Amongst other achievement he completely broke, by his energetic measures, the mutinous spirit of the Palwár clan. Then came the occupation of Kunwar Singh, and the splendid achievement of Lord Mark Kerr also related in the fourth volume. In that volume, too, I have recorded the untimely death of the heroic Venables, and have given in full the tribute rendered to his memory by Lord Canning. Mr. Dunn survived the Mutiny, and, I am informed, still lives. In gallantry, in resolution, in devotion to the best interests of his country, Mr. Dunn fell in no way short of Mr. Venables. If his name did not come before the public so prominently, it was because, in circumstances of great danger, the man whose character is the strongest will always take the lead. Venables was a born leader of men. Dunn, in no way his inferior in other respects, was an unrivalled right-hand man. He was to Venables what Berthier was to Napoleon. The services he rendered were great. His reward lay in the approval of his own conscience, and in the gratitude and esteem of those whom he served. He was the companion of Venables in all his exploits. It is only proper, therefore, that in the tribute paid by history to the splendid achievements of the one, the name of the other should be equally associated.

After the relief of Ázamgarh by Lord Mark Kerr, that place remained in the permanent occupation of the British. The district quieted. Then followed the expulsion of Kunwar Singh, and his retreat across the Ganges. That having been accomplished, order was speedily restored, not again to be disturbed.

CHAPTER III.

THE ALLAHÁBÁD DIVISION.

THE Allahábád division, immediately adjoining to the north-west the division of Banáras, comprised, in 1857, the districts of Allahábád, Fathpúr, Kánhpúr, Bandah, and Hamírpúr. Of these I propose now to treat in the order in which I have named them.

Allahábád is a very famous place at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jamnah, 498 miles by land from Calcutta, 70 from Banáras, 130 from Kánhpúr, 298 from Ágra, and 121, by the straight road, from Lakhnáo. The place was called by pious Hindus "Prayága," meaning "Confluence," not only by reason of the two rivers already mentioned, but because, according to tradition, the Saraswatí, a river which disappears in the sands of Sirhind, joins the other two below the ground. The ancient Hindu town was rebuilt by Akbar under the name "Iláhbás," subsequently changed to Allahábád. The same illustrious ruler also built the fort, which occupies a strong position on the Jamnah, in 1572. Allahábád thus constituted the river gate to the North-West Provinces to the north-west of Banáras. Immediately to its north lay Oudh, the focus of the rebellion; to the north-east the districts Ázamgarh and Gorákhpur, mutinous to the core; to the west and south the important province of Bundelkhand. It was thus, when the great mutiny broke out at Mírath, surrounded by revolt. At the same time it was the key to the position. Had the rebels obtained possession of it, as at one time was quite possible, the communication between Calcutta and the North-West would have been entirely severed. The fort, well defended, would have required a long and costly siege, and the movements recorded in the preceding volumes would, have been impossible. The possession of the fort of Allahábád by the rebels would, in fact, have changed the history of the Mutiny.

The rising of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry, and the securing of the fort at Allahábád have been related in the second volume,* but the heavy duties which devolved upon the members of the Civil Service have been but incidentally referred to. Yet those duties were of a nature to tax all the energies even of men accustomed, as are the members of the Indian Civil Service, to give themselves, heart and soul, to their country.

In 1857 the commissioner of the Allahábád division was Mr. C. Chester; the magistrate was Mr. M. H. Court, a glorious specimen of an Englishman, a good sportsman, a generous friend, and one whose hospitality was famous even in India. The news of the mutiny at Mírath reached Allahábád on the 12th of May; on the evening of the 5th of June the 6th Regiment Native Infantry mutinied. That mutiny was the signal for a general revolt. That same night the rabble of the city, the whole of the native police, joined in the outbreak; the gaol released its prisoners, two thousand in number, and the inhabitants of several adjoining villages, men renowned for lawlessness and plunder, sprang forth, and the work of incendiarism, riot, and plunder commenced.† The Europeans and Eurasians, men, women, and children, all who could escape the fury of the revolters, had, meanwhile, taken refuge in the fort, where they remained beleaguered till the 11th of June.

How, on the afternoon of the 11th of June, the gallant Neill relieved the anxieties of the garrison, has formed a portion of the military history of the mutiny. It will suffice here to state that from the date of his arrival Allahábád formed the base of military operations undertaken against Kánhpúr, the most eastern part of Oudh, and the Ázamgarh districts. My subject now relates solely to the civil officers and their duties.

No sooner had Neill restored the British power in the fortress and the city, than the European residents returned to the smoking ruin of their houses. In the city it was comparatively easy to restore matters to the condition antecedent to the Mutiny. From the date of the 11th of June, Allahábád itself was never in danger.

* Pages 180-201.

† "A District during the Rebellion"—*Calcutta Review*. This article forms one of many subsequently published in a separate volume by its accomplished author, Mr. R. N. Cust, C.S.

European troops were constantly arriving and passing through, and the inhabitants of the city were thoroughly aware that any other course but submission to the law would bring upon them sure and swift destruction. But in the districts the case was quite different.

The effect of the junction of the streams of the Ganges and Jamnah just below Allahábád has been to form three great natural divisions of land. These divisions contain more than one thousand villages and towns, and a population of nearly a million. Now in the centre division, that between the left bank of the Jamnah and the right bank of the Ganges, no vestige of police remained. The villagers had everywhere commenced the career of plunder, and led on probably by some notorious criminal escaped from gaol, had "commenced reprisals on their neighbours, paid out old scores, removed old boundary-marks, and ejected purchasers of land."* In this division disorder was rampant; Europeans were hunted down, the telegraph posts were torn up, the iron sockets converted into rude cannon, and the wire into slugs.

In the division on the right bank of the Jamnah a far different order prevailed. There one or two large proprietors exercised great influence, and they were wise enough to see that their interests were bound up in the maintenance of the dominant power which had ever afforded them protection. They therefore at once offered to undertake the protection of their own villages if the Government would give them a subsidy. The Government complied, and the result was that in this division order was maintained. In due course, when the back of the Mutiny had been broken, the magistrate was able to re-introduce his own police. But not the less was he thankful to those who, when he was powerless, had taken the initiative to maintain order.†

From the third division, again, on the left bank of the Ganges, British authority had disappeared. The vicinity to Oudh, now in full revolt, had

The three natural divisions of Allahábád.

The centre division utterly lawless.

converted

In the division on the right bank of the Jamnah order is maintained by the land-owners.

From the third division British authority had disappeared.

* Cust, who enters into much fuller details than I have space for.

† Mr. Cust well says:—"This opens out another and a serious question whether our established policy of cutting off the heads of all the tallest poppies, and leaving nothing betwixt the Imperial Government and the cultivating owners of the soil, is a wise one."

proved fatal to that authority. The neighbouring districts o Jaunpúr, of Ázamgarh, and of Gorákhpur, had fallen into th hands of rebels, to be recovered only by the sword.

To maintain order in the first and third of these divisions, very considerable powers of life and death were given by the Government to the commissioner, the Means taken to maintain order. judge, the magistrate, the deputy magistrate, and the assistant magistrate; and so great was the panic at Calcutta, that, as if this had not been sufficient, similar powers were conferred upon two private individuals and the civil surgeon. No doubt some examples were required. Most

The lawless-ness of amateur autho-rit-y. certainly they were given. "Zealously," writes Mr. Cust, "did the three volunteers use their new powers, and in the short time which elapsed before their recall, one of the private individuals had sentenced sixty, the second sixty-four, and the civil surgeon fifty-four, to the gallows. No record remains of the crime or the evidence, but we gather that one man was hung for having a bag of new copper coin in his possession, presumed to have been plundered from the treasury, or, most probably, abandoned by the mutinous Sipáhis, who were surfeited with silver. More than a month after our power had been restored in the city, we find fifteen sentenced one day and twenty-eight the next, for rebellion and robbing the treasury; but it does not appear that they were Sipáhis. Thirteen were hung another day for a similar offence. Six were hung for plying a ferry for the convenience of the rebels." It is a relief, after the

The measured justice of trained officials. perusal of this disgraceful record, to find Mr. Cust declaring that "the investigations of the officers of Government, men trained to the consideration of

evidence, and conscious of the necessity of supporting the character, as well as vindicating the authority of the Government, were more deliberate." They had, indeed,

Responsibi-ty resting on the Government. need to be so; but the question occurs, how was it that the same Government which refused to disarm the Sipáhis at Dánápúr, and thus imperilled the safety of Calcutta, delayed the advance of Havelock, and caused an enormous amount of slaughter, should have complacently invested the three untrained gentlemen referred to with the terrible powers of life and death?

To return. In addition to power over life, the magistrate was entrusted with authority to confiscate property, real and

personal. In the hands of Mr. Court this authority was used with judgment and discretion. Judgment was tempered by mercy. But, nevertheless, the amount of property which changed hands was considerable. Some men had died, their relatives were not forthcoming; some had absconded; some had openly joined the rebels. But there is reason to believe that in every instance justice was meted out with a hand more inclined to leniency than to its opposite.

The measures enforced regarding property.

It devolved upon Mr. Court likewise, in his capacity of collector of revenue, to furnish money and collect it. I cannot do better than transcribe the graphic account given by Mr. Cust of the manner in which these duties were performed.

"All this time the executive officer of the district was not idle in his duties of collector. Money poured in by every steamer from Calcutta and poured out like water, leaving the tale of unadjusted items to be told in tens of thousands of pounds. There was constant payment of sums for saving European life or distinguishing bravery, for it was then no light service for a native to stand by an Englishman, as he was liable to attack by the rebels for so doing. The terrorism of the rebels is scarcely appreciated by us to its full extent. There were compensations for losses or for wounds, or advances made to starving Christians or faithful natives, driven with only the clothes on their backs from out-stations. There were rewards to be paid for the arrest of notorious rebels and criminals escaped from gaol; spies and messengers to be paid handsomely for their services generally, by dipping their hands into a bag of silver, and securing as much as they could grasp; advances to be made to officers engaged in raising regiments of low-caste men; and rewards for the restoration of Government horses, cattle, and stores. State-prisoners had to be maintained. Supplies of cash had to be furnished to every advancing column, or placed at the disposal of the commissariat and the ordnance department. No wonder that in these hasty remittances the tale of rupees ran short, that boxes of treasures were found violated, and, in one instance, a box of five hundred pounds was found missing. In the general moral debasement, we cannot be surprised that the European sentry was not always trustworthy. In the treasure chamber also was stowed away the plunder

The monetary arrangements of the division.

belonging to the army, the spoil of captured cities, valued at hundreds of thousands of pounds, and fastened down in beer-barrels until the end of the war. Among these spoils were the crown jewels of sovereigns, the gold plate of princes, ear-rings, and nose-rings, and jewels of women, ornamented daggers and diamond necklaces, all the pomp and wealth of oriental monarchs, wrung from a plundered and oppressed people, and now captured by the English army.

Duties devolving on the collector. “At the same time the collector had to look after the revenue of those parts of the district in which his orders were respected. He had to suspend collections from such villages as had been plundered, burned, or deserted. He had to determine where he should remit and where enforce the demand; as it is a grave moral question how far a Government is justified in demanding the payment of taxes, when it has notoriously failed in its duty of protection, owing to no fault of the people. No sooner was the danger past than red tape raised its head again, and a gentleman, sitting in comfort and ease at Calcutta, *The red-tape of Calcutta.* reminded the excited collector of unattended-to forms and discontinued returns. With hundreds of boxes of stationery and stamps in his charge, directed to districts in the hands of the rebels, the collector, without a pen or sheet of paper belonging to him, dared not use the consignment of his neighbour without special authority. As he returned *Difficulties of the collector.* to his half-ruined home from his morning-duty of hanging rebels, flogging rioters, and blowing up temples, he found letters from the Head of the Finance Department, reminding him that he was personally responsible for every rupee missing in a treasury guarded by European soldiers in a fort three miles off. On his table he found notes from an officer with the force of Jang Bahádúr, requesting a daily supply of a hundred he-goats for the hungry Gurkhá; from the post-master, requesting him to hunt for a missing mail-cart; from the commanding officer, requesting him to close the grog-shops; from a cavalry-commandant to know whose grass was to be cut, and where a farrier was to be found; from the pension-paymaster requesting him to attend a committee on the confiscation of pensions. Telegraphic messages up and down were tumbling in all day long, sometimes announcing a victory, sometimes heralding a traveller, for, in addition to his other duties, he had to keep a ‘Réd Lion’ tavern for strangers,

examine the passport of every native traveller, and ascertain the contents of every native letter.

"Thus passed six months away, and if some grey hairs had shown themselves in his beard (for since his razors were plundered, he had remained perforce unshorn), ^{The collector's reward.} If his heart sometimes palpitated from over-excitement, and his liver sometimes troubled him, no wonder. If his temper was somewhat soured, if he hated the natives with a deep hate, if he talked too lightly of cutting the thread of human life, and scoring the backs of poor devils, no wonder. He had had much to bear, and the rebellion had fallen heavily on his estate, his family, and his health. He was mentioned in no despatches; the thanks of Government reached him not; and, when he saw that the tide had turned, and that the country was saved, he hurried to England, on the chance of quiet restoring tone to his body, and change of scene bringing back equanimity to his mind."

The concluding portion of the description appears to me to be somewhat overdrawn. No; though he had lost many friends, probably some relations, though he had worked hardly under difficulties, and had earned ^{The picture somewhat overdrawn.} the thanks and the honours which he did not receive, the magistrate and collector harboured no hatred against the natives. I shall never forget the last exhortation of one of those noble servants of the East India Company, a man who had served many years at that very Allahábád, Mr. Arthur Lang, on my return to India in 1858; they were words of exhortation to be kind, to be mindful of the many excellent qualities of the natives of India; to balance their virtues against their faults. Mr. Arthur Lang was a type of the class to which he belonged. Mr. M. H. Court, who lives yet, honoured and respected, is another test-representative of that noble service whose members gave the best part of their lives to the service of the Company.

The station of Fathpúr,* which gives its name to the district, lies seventy miles to the north-west of Allahábád, and fifty south-east of Kánhpúr, on the high road ^{Fathpúr.} between the two. In 1857, Mr. Robert T. Tucker was the judge,

* The name is derived from two distinct words: "Fath," victory, and "pur," city. The early English settlers, ignorant of the language, smothered the original appropriate meaning by writing the name, "Futtypore," or by spellings equally incorrect and equally barbarous.

Mr. Sherer the magistrate, Sir T. J. Metcalfe the deputy collector. The native troops consisted of a detachment of fifteen men from the 6th Regiment Native Infantry, stationed Allahábád. Besides the officials above referred to, Fathpúr could boast of an opium agent, a salt agent, a doctor, three or four gentlemen connected with the railway then in course of construction. The deputy magistrate was a Muhammadan named Hikmat Ullah.

In the second volume of this work,* Sir John Kaye has told how in the early days of June calamity fell upon the European residents of Fathpúr, and how, while the others fled to Bandah, the judge, Robert Tucker, remained to be killed by the rebels. I have nothing to add to that thrilling story, a version of which, in all essentials similar, I had given, many years previously, in the *Red Pamphlet*. Fathpúr was subsequently the battle-ground whereon Havelock, three days after the death of Mr. Tucker, defeated the troops of Náná Sáhib. How it became, after the relief of the garrison of Lakhnáo by Sir Colin Campbell, the centre-point of operations, designed to clear the district, by Brigadier Carthew and Colonel Barker, has been told in the fourth volume. I have only to add that it was not until order had been completely restored, that the civil authorities resumed their functions.

The story of Kánhpúr, the third district in the order I have given of the Allahábád division, has been told at Kánhpúr. length in the second, third, fourth, and fifth volumes of this history. There remains, however, something to be added with respect to the transactions at that station alike prior and subsequently to the period when Sir Colin Campbell's army quitted it to reconquer Rohilkhand and Oudh.

Mr. Sherer, the magistrate of Fathpúr, had quitted that station with the other European residents on the 9th of June, and after travelling with them to Bandah, had turned back and joined Havelock's force on its march to Kánhpúr. At that place he had attempted to exercise some kind of magisterial authority; but the angry passions and excited feelings of the ruffians who still thronged the district had compelled him to hold his hand, and a military police, directed by a very able and energetic officer, Captain Bruce, of the Bombay Army, was organized for the

* Pages 274-6.

maintenance of social order. Sherer, an accomplished and energetic official, rendered Bruce all the service in his power. In co-operation with that officer, he took charge of the transit and commissariat duties, and, with the help of a loyal and intelligent Brahman, Bholánáth by name, who had been employed in the revenue department at Fathpúr, rendered efficient service. The time at last arrived when the landowners of the district, awed by the defeat of the Náná, and beginning to realise that the English might possibly prevail, began to negotiate regarding the payment of land revenue. But, recognising a little later—with all the astuteness of men who were prepared to recognise the strongest as their master, whether he were English or a countryman of their own—that Havelock had no immediate intention of employing his troops to repress the district, they drew back, and waited for events. The fall of Dehlí, supplying the district, as it did, with an infuriated and demoralised soldiery, did not move them to a decision. And when, shortly afterwards, the Gwáliár contingent advanced, and forced Windham to seek refuge in his intrenchment, they were more than ever disinclined to come to terms with their former masters. The defeat of the contingent by Sir Colin, and the safe despatch to Allahábád of the ladies and children rescued from Lakhnáo, followed as it was by prompt and efficient measures for general restoration of order, produced, however, a quieting effect, and when, in the spring of 1858, Sir Colin stormed Lakhnáo, and shortly afterwards Sir Hugh Rose defeated the rebels at Kalpí, the people of the district recognised that the rebel game was up, and, of their own accord, began to pay the revenue to the collector's officers. There was no need for special measures of coercion. The landowners had been waiting to ascertain beyond a doubt, the issue of the struggle, and when it was absolutely made clear to them, they paid like men. In Kánhpúr itself, though the place had been the scene of atrocities, the very mention of which is sufficient to curdle the blood, and the members of the lower class had made themselves specially notorious by their evil deeds, no severe measures of reprisal were adopted. A fine was imposed on the city, of a nature to impress the people with the enormity of their offence, and yet not too exorbitant to cripple their resources. It was paid with promptitude, and with only one protest. Special commissions,

Good services rendered by both.

The land-owners of the district.

Gradual re-storation of order.

four or five in number, were instituted, to try individual accused of crime. The proceedings of these commissions were conducted with all the deliberation and all the forms of regular courts. Every latitude of defence was allowed to the accused, and sentences, in some cases of death, in others of acquittal, based on the evidence taken, were duly reported to the Government. Never, in the world's history, was there displayed by conquerors dealing with a rebellious people, some of whom had distinguished themselves by their fiendish propensities, a spirit so pure judicial. Inquiries were likewise made into the conduct of the leaders of the revolt, especially of Náná Sáhib and his brother Bálá Sáhib, of Tántiá Topí, of Ázimullah, of Bábá Bhatt, and others, with the result that the planning of, and the participation in, the horrible deeds of the 27th of June was brought home to these men. These inquiries were conducted on behalf of the Government by Colonel Williams, who, as we shall see further on, had distinguished himself with the Mírath volunteers, and whose report may be accepted as a true record of the facts. In other matters above alluded to, viz., the restoration of order in the city and cantonment, the names of Mr. Sherer, of Mr. Batten, Mr. Power, Mr. Lance, all of the Civil Service, and of Captain Bruce, of the Bombay Army, deserve recognition and gratitude. The splendid services they rendered were not less splendid because under circumstances of great difficulty, and in a time when the cry for vengeance was loud, they had the courage to temper judgment with mercy.

The district of Bandah is the next to claim notice. The district covers an area of three thousand and sixty-one square miles. It possessed, in 1857, a population of about six hundred thousand souls. To the north and north-east it is bounded by the Jamnah; to the west by the Ken, by the state of Gaurihar, and by the district of Hamírpúr; to the south and south-east by the states of Pannah, Charkhári, and Rewah; to the east by the district of Allahábád. It is a purely agricultural district, its black soil producing in great abundance and perfection wheat, barley, maize, millet of various sorts, and pulse. Its cotton is considered the best in India, and it produces likewise indigo. The chief station, also called Bandah, is distant from Allahábád ninety-five miles; from Ágra, a hundred and ninety miles; from Calcutta, five hundred and sixty miles. The famous Vindhya range traverses the district. Its chief

towns are Bandah, Kírwí, and Rájahpúr ; its chief fortress, the famous Kálínjar, besieged by Mahmúd of Ghazní in 1023, and taken by the English in 1812.

There resided at Bandah, in 1857, a mediatised prince, called the Nawáb, the representative of a Maráthá family, which, in the troublous times which characterised the fall of the Mughul empire, had taken possession of the district, and had embraced the religion of Muhammad. The magistrate and chief civil officer was Mr. F. O. Mayne, a man of great energy and quick decision, possessing the rare faculty of impressing his will upon those with whom he was brought in contract. He had before him a very difficult task; for whilst the chiefs and large landowners had been rendered discontented by the pressure of the Thomasonian system, the people had—to use the language of their magistrate—"been ruined by over-assessment," and were "half-starving." The resident Nawáb, though professing loyalty, was weak in character, whilst, to maintain British authority, Mr. Mayne had the very doubtful support of three companies of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry, the headquarters of which were at Kánhpúr. These Sipáhis were commanded by Lieutenant Bennett.

The general feeling that some great commotion was about to take place had been not less prevalent at Bandah than at other places, and Mr. Mayne, careful and energetic, had taken such precautions as were in his power to provide against any emergency. It was not, however, till the mutiny of the 10th of May at Mírath, and the immediate seizure of Dehlí, gave the signal throughout India, that he recognised the precise quarter whence danger would come. Then, so far as his means allowed, he took a strong line to preserve order in his district. He strengthened his native police force at the outlying stations; posted trustworthy men at the ferries across the Jamnah to keep out dangerous mischief-makers; caused the roads to be patrolled by horsemen, and stationed strong posts guarding the approaches to the town of Bandah. The officers of the native force seconded him to the best of their power, and he induced the Rájah of Ajaigarh,* in the neighbouring district of Bundelkhand, to lend

Resources available to him.

Precautionary measures adopted by Mr. Mayne.

* Ajaigarh is a native state in Bunkelkhand, with an area of eight hundred and two square miles, bounded to the north by the Charkhári State and the

him aid. By these and similar means he succeeded for a time in staving off the evil he saw looming in a very near future. At last he could stave it off no longer. Despite his precautionary measures, adventurers, gaol-birds, men bent on stirring up disorder, crowded into the district. Still Mayne did what was possible to do. Though the Sipáhis were not trusted they displayed at first no disloyal designs, and Mayne, forced to act, adopted the bold and hazardous course of sending, under the charge of a detachment of them, much of the specie in the treasury to safer stations in the neighbourhood, whilst he confided the balance to their comrades who remained behind. Aware that the first scramble would be for the money, he thus enlisted on his side for the moment the Sipáhis against the scum of the population. It was a bold game, but Mayne played it boldly.

In a previous page of this chapter, when describing the events at Fathpúr, I have told how, on the early days of June the residents at that station, led by Mr. Sherer, had, with the exception of Mr. Tucker, fled towards Bandah. On the morning of the 8th of June, Mayne was sitting in his kachahrí, when

Arrival of the fugitives from Fathpúr. information was brought him that a body of horse was approaching the bridge of boats which spanned the Jamnah at Chillahtará, twenty-two miles distant. The news reached the native population at the same time, and the leaders of these, evidently impressed with the idea that the new arrivals must be their friends, rose in insurrection, and began to plunder. Mayne, however, never for a moment losing his head, employed the still faithful police to suppress the disorder, whilst he had the ladies removed into the Nawáb's palace. It soon transpired that the body of horse consisted of the fugitives from Fathpúr. They arrived the same evening; but, unfortunately, the native officer who had been stationed at the bridge accompanied them. His abandonment of his post left the way of ingress still more open to the disaffected of surrounding districts.

Still, Mayne and his coadjutors did all that could be done.

The crisis arrives. The Nawáb continued to profess loyalty, and accepted, apparently with enthusiasm, the charge of

district of Bandah; to the south and east by the state of Pannah; to the west by the state of Chhatarpúr. The famous fortress, which gives its name to the state, is picturesquely situated on a lofty hill. At the foot of this hill is the town of Naushahr, in which the Rájah resides.

the English ladies. Some of the English residents guarded the palace in which they were. Others patrolled the town. Their numbers, however, were comparatively few, and it became every day more and more evident that the situation could not last. At length it became intolerable. On the 14th, it was known that the regiments at Kánhpúr had mutinied. The three companies of the 1st at once displayed symptoms of revolt, and their officer, Bennett, in consultation with Mayne and the Nawáb—who, though he seemed for a time to waver, gave his adherence to the course proposed—resolved with the aid of the Nawáb's troops, to disarm them. The attempt was made, and failed. There was an evident understanding between the Nawáb's troops and the Sipáhis, and the latter chased Bennett's two subalterns, Fraser and Clark, with jeers from the parade-ground. It became evident at the moment, that the Bandah crisis had arrived. But one course then was possible—to retire with the women and children to a place of less danger. The point selected was Mírzápúr. The English quit Bandah. Towards that place, then, that same evening, the party set out, Mr. H. B. Webster of the Civil Service, a very excellent officer, who subsequently rose to high positions, leading with a few volunteers to clear the way. They reached their destination without being molested *en route*. Scarcely, however, had they quitted Bandah, than the rebels set fire to the houses which had been occupied by the Europeans, and the disorder was complete.

Of the large party which thus escaped it will suffice to refer the reader to that part of the last chapter which deals with Mírzápúr. In that district Mr. Mayne displayed the same zeal, the same energy, the same power of influencing others, which had distinguished him at Bandah. Mr. Sherer's movements have been dealt with under the head of "Kánhpúr," in the present chapter.

To return to Bandah. Of the district it will suffice to state that nowhere were the signs of British supremacy so speedily obliterated. The decree-holders and Anarchy in Bandah. auction-purchasers of estates who, under the system inaugurated by the Government of the North-West Provinces, had ousted the old families, were deprived of the holdings they had thus obtained, and these were restored to those, who, in the juster appreciation of the population, were the rightful owners. "Never," writes Mr. Mayne in his narrative, "was revolution

more rapid, never more complete." Those who had no title property took advantage of the suspension of law to enrich themselves at the expense of those who possessed it. As for the Sipáhis, they marched on the 19th to Kánpúr with their treasure and ammunition.

Something must be said regarding the Nawáb. He was rather a weak, than a wicked or ill-disposed man and, though he had no great love for the English he preferred them to anarchy and to the Sipáhis. After the event of the 14th, he had many misunderstandings with these latter. But they left on the 19th. The Nawáb found himself then face to face with anarchy. He did his best to form a government which should preserve order, and attempted to open negotiations with Mayne for that purpose. He did all he could likewise to save the lives of the English fugitives from Nágáoñ,* and in a great measure succeeded. Mayne rejected his offers by not answering his letters. The Nawáb managed, notwithstanding, to maintain a kind of doubtful authority until the approach of Whitelock's force in April, 1858. How he then suddenly collapsed has been told in the fifth volume of this history. The collapse of the Nawáb was followed by the return of Mayne, with a sufficient force at his disposal to ensure the re-establishment of order. Mayne found that the revolution had indeed been thorough. To

The English
re-occupy
Bandah.

The English
re-occupy
Bandah.

Painful posi-
tion of the
Nawáb.

The English
re-occupy
Bandah.

Mayne's wise
policy

use his own language, "there was not a village marked on the map that had not, more or less, committed itself." But Mayne was a merciful man. He desired no cruel reprisals. He therefore, following the lines indicated by the Government of which he was the representative concerning the general uprising, selected only the most guilty men, the ringleaders, in fact, in each *parganah*, for the extreme penalty exacted by the law, punishing the less guilty by fine. This policy, carried out with the humanity compatible with the necessity of restoring order imposed upon

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 129-31.* I take this opportunity of correcting an error which has crept into the reference there made to Bandah. I have stated that the detachment at that place belonged to the 56th Regiment Native Infantry whereas it came, as stated in this chapter, from the 1st. Both regiments were at Kánpúr, and provided by turns detachments for duty at Bandah. The detachment of the 56th Native Infantry had been relieved by a detachment from the 1st Native Infantry immediately prior to the outbreak of the mutiny.

him, and supported by a strong column of demonstration, speedily pacified the district. In June Kírwí was occupied without resistance. About the same time Sir Hugh Rose delivered the final blow to disorganisation by his victory at Kalpí. It had been necessary to burn a few villages, the inhabitants of which had distinguished themselves by their violence, and to hang one or two head men. But flogging had done the rest, and in a comparatively short time, under the able direction of this excellent officer, the produces its effect. district, which had been "revolutionised" by the mutiny, was brought back to order and prosperity. Mr. Mayne's services were much appreciated by his contemporaries. When he died a few years since, these erected to his memory at Allahábád, his last station, a handsome The memory of Mr. Mayne. monument testifying to their respect and admiration.

Hamírpúr, the fifth district in the Allahábád division, has an area of 2289 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population somewhat less than half a million. The Hamírpúr. district is bounded to the north by the Jamnah; to the northwest, by the Báuní State and the Betwah; to the west by the Dhasán river; to the south by the States Alípúrá, Chhatrpúr, and Charkhárí; to the east by the Bandah district. It is traversed by the Vindhyan range. The chief towns are Ráth, Mahobá, Máudhá, and Hamírpúr. The last name, the capital and chief station, is situated at the confluence of the Betwah and the Jamnah, on the right bank of the latter. It lies on the route from Bandah to Kánhpúr; distant from the former, thirty-six miles; from the latter, thirty-nine; from Kalpí, twenty-eight; from Ágra, a hundred and fifty-five; from Allahábád, a hundred and ten. The chief civil officer, the magistrate, was Mr. Thomas K. Lloyd, the joint magistrate, Mr. Donald Grant. The troops were a detachment of the 53rd Regiment Native Infantry, the head-quarters of which were at Kánhpúr.

If we consider the geographical position of Hamírpúr, nearly midway between revolted Kánhpúr and revolted Bandah, we shall be prepared to find that it did not Mutiny and slaughter of Europeans at Hamírpúr. resist the impulse which had affected those places. And so it was. The story is a short one. After the usual alarms occurring almost daily subsequently to the 10th of May, the detachment of the 53rd Native Infantry broke into revolt the 14th of June, the day on which information was received

that the troops at Kánpúr had mutinied. The Sipáhis of the detachment were particularly bloody-minded. They shot down their officers, and then went to attack the representatives of the civil power. Against such an attack Messrs. Lloyd and Grae were practically defenceless. They managed, however, to quit the station, and to take refuge in the ravines of the Jamna. It seemed just possible that the Sipáhis engaged in plunder might leave them there in peace. But, in that detachment were men who had vowed to shed the white man's blood wherever, and whenever, it might be possible. The Sipáhi pursued the civilians into the ravines, gave them no respite, and finally shot them down. Their comrades, meanwhile, had made short work of the Europeans and Eurasians who had remained. The Sipáhis then went to swell the force besieging General Wheeler at Kánpúr. The district remained in a state of anarchy until Sir Hugh Rose's victory at Kalpí enabled the civil authorities to pursue a course similar to that followed by Mr. Mayne in the adjoining district of Bandah.

Anarchy prevails till Rose's victory at Kalpí.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ÁGRA AND ROHILKHAND DIVISIONS.

THE Ágra division adjoining that of Allahábád, comprised, in 1857, the districts of Ágra, the seat of the administration of the North-Western Provinces, Mathurá, Farrukhábád, Mainpúrī, and Itáwah.

I propose to leave the district of Ágra, though the first in the order above given, until I shall have told the stories of the other stations. The third, fourth, and fifth District of Ágra. volumes have recorded so much affecting the fortunes of the station of Ágra, that the subject could not be formally re-entered upon without going over ground that has been traversed. What remains to be told will be related incidentally in the record I propose to give of the other stations of the division. Should any material fact be omitted, it will be supplied later.

I shall begin then with Mathurá. The district of Mathurá covers an area of 1453 square miles. Its population Mathurá. (671,690 in 1881), exceeded half a million in 1857. Its chief towns are Mathurá and Brindaban, Shergarh, and Mahaban, the latter famous as the birthplace of Krishná. The exploits of that mythological hero have made the district, and especially the towns of Mathurá, Govardhan and Gokul, very dear to the Hindus. In 1857, the magistrate and collector was Mr. Mark Thornhill.

Of all the books written regarding the mutiny not one is more interesting than that in which Mr. Thornhill records his personal adventures and experiences as a magistrate in 1857-8.* Mr. Thornhill was specially qualified, by his character, his courage, and his lofty sense of duty, to

* "The Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate during the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Indian Mutiny," by Mark Thornhill, Bengal Civil Service, retired. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1884.

take a leading part in the events of that memorable period. I regret that space will not permit me to do more than give epitome of that part of his narrative which affects Mathurá, b I trust that a perusal of that epitome will induce the reader turn to the book itself.

Mathurá lies thirty-four miles from Ágra, on the high road between that city and Dehlí. It would seem that ^{The winter of} _{1856-7.} Mathurá, as at most other stations in the North-West the year 1857 dawned precisely as preceding year had dawned. There was nothing in the atmosphere to war that influences hostile to the sway of the British were being nurtured. Mr. Thornhill was at the time engaged in visiting the district. Such visits are made annually by the officers of the Civil Service for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the wants of the people, and remedying, so far as they can, any inequalities in the treatment of individuals and classes. The tour of 1856-7 had brought no new light to Mr. Thornhill. He returned to Mathurá towards the end of January without having noticed any symptom presaging discontent. In fact, and it is a very curious circumstance worthy to be noted, at that period no such feeling existed. It is evident that up to the end of January 1857, no attempt had been made by the instigators of the revolt to disturb the minds of the inhabitants of the Mathurá district. But towards the end of January such an attempt was made.

Mr. Thornhill records that at the end of January 1857, just after his return from his tour, he entered his office ^{The Chapátís.} one day, and found there, on the table, four dirty little cakes of the coarsest flour, about the size and thickness of a biscuit. "A man," he continues, "had come to a village and given a cake to the watchman, with injunctions to bake four like it, to distribute them to the watchmen of adjacent villages, and to desire them to do the same. The watchman obeyed, but at the same time informed the police." The bringing in to the magistrate of the four cakes followed. The next day similar reports came from other parts of the district. Then followed a statement in the newspaper that a similar course was being pursued all over Upper India. These cakes were the famous Chapátís. That they were signals to those in the secret to hold themselves ready for some great explosion can scarcely be doubted. Mr. Thornhill pertinently remarks: "after being a nine days' wonder the matter ceased to be talked about, and

was presently for the time forgotten, except by those few who remembered that a similar distribution of cakes had been made in Madras towards the end of the last century, and had been followed by the mutiny of Vellur." *

Mr. Thornhill proceeded a little later to Ágra for change of air. He was there when a telegram from Mírath, received the 12th of May, announced the rising of the 10th at that station. The telegram was addressed to a lady at Ágra from her niece at Mírath. After its despatch the telegraph wire ceased working. The contents of the telegram were naturally discussed. Some doubted, some thought it exaggerated. But that evening Mr. Thornhill read in the manner of his brother, who was Secretary to Government and who had been absent all day at Government House, that a great crisis was at hand. He threw up therefore his remaining leave, and started that night for Mathurá.

The first letter he opened on his return was far from reassuring. It was from an engineer of the railway then in course of construction, marked "urgent," and informing the recipient that a party of mutineers had attacked and burned his house, and that he had heard that the main body was advancing towards Mathurá. Mr. Thornhill at once summoned to his house the other English residents, and they decided to send off the ladies and children to Ágra. The remaining part of the night was passed in receiving the members of the European families as they came in, and in waiting till the palanquin bearers should arrive from the city. The rest of the story is so graphic, so realistic, and gives so accurate a picture of the trials our countrymen had to bear in that terrible year, that I shall tell it in the writer's own words.

"It was near daybreak before the party started. I sent with them an escort of horsemen, and, as a further protection, all the Englishmen whose duties did not compel them to remain in the station. In the course of the day I got intelligence from the north of the district that no mutineers had as yet entered it, but from the

The first news of the mutiny at Mírath.

Thornhill decides to send the ladies and children to Ágra.

He receives a visitor from the Mírath district.

* The italics are mine. If the reader will refer to page 179 of the first volume he will see that even experienced officers of that time laughed to scorn the portents and mysterious hints by which the mutiny of Vellur had been presaged.

direction of Dehlí could be heard the sound of heavy cannonading. About midnight I was awoke by the arrival of a messenger from Ágra; he brought a letter from Mr. Colvin, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor. I went to my room to write an answer. As I was writing I heard through the open doors the tramp of horses; in a minute or two a servant entered and announced that an English gentleman had arrived and was dismounting at the entrance. Almost immediately after the gentleman entered, he was quite a young man, he was armed with sword and revolver, and wore twisted round his head a large native turban—he looked very tired and exhausted. He informed me that he was the assistant to the magistrate of Gurgáon,* the district that lay between mine and Dehlí. The mutineers, he added, had entered the district, and the country had risen in insurrection, and he was on his way to Ágra to convey the information to the Government; his horse had knocked up, and he had ridden to my house to request the loan of another, as also one for his servant.

"I sent for horses, and also for refreshment for my guest. While it was getting ready, he informed me of the particulars of the mutiny of the regiment at Mírath, and of the events that had followed their arrival at Dehlí; how the native troops at Dehlí had joined them, how they had marched down to the palace, placed the king on the throne and massacred all the English and Christians they could lay hands on. While narrating the story he had been much agitated. When I inquired the names of the victims he broke down altogether, for among them was his only sister, a young girl of eighteen, who had but a few months previously arrived in India.

"When he had eaten and drank, I persuaded him to lie down and rest, for I thought him too tired to proceed, and I sent on his letters by a horseman of my own to Ágra. A little after dawn he left me, and soon after came the magistrate of Gurgáon and his clerk, and succeeding them at short intervals came all the English and Christians residing along the road to Dehlí. Some were accompanied by their wives, their sisters, and their children—these I sent on under escort to Ágra—the remainder, some five-and-thirty sat down with me to breakfast. When breakfast was over I left my guests and went to my own room, where my office people were assembled.

* Gurgáon is a district in the Dehlí division to the immediate north of the Mathurá district. It will be described more fully hereafter.—G. B. M.

"I had hitherto kept silence about the mutiny, so far at least as was possible, partly from fear of exciting alarm, partly lest if the news should prove false I might appear ridiculous. There was now no longer any object in concealment. I told them what I had heard, they expressed great astonishment, but ere long I perceived from the remarks they let fall that they had heard it all before, and, indeed, as regarded what occurred at Dehlí that they were much better informed than I was. All regular work was suspended, when a few papers had been signed and some orders issued, there remained nothing more to do. However, to while away the time, I continued to chat with them about the events at Dehlí. They soon got so interested in the subject as partly to forget my presence. Their talk was all about the ceremonial of the palace, and how it would be revived. They speculated as to who would be the Grand Chamberlain, which of the chiefs of Rajpútáná would guard the different gates, and who were the fifty-two Rájahs who would assemble to place the Emperor on his throne.

"As I listened I realised, as I had never done before, the deep impression that the splendour of the ancient court had made on the popular imagination, how dear to them were its traditions, and how faithfully, all unknown to us, they had preserved them. There was something weird in the Mughul empire thus starting into a sort of phantom-life after the slumber of a hundred years.

"The rest of the day passed wearily away, the rooms were darkened to exclude the glare; there was nothing to do, my guests got tired of chatting, one by one they lapsed into silence or fell asleep; the water splashed on the frames of scented grass, the punkahs swung monotonously to and fro. At length the light softened, and began to stream in nearly level through the chinks with the Venetian blinds; then the servants threw open the doors, we dined, and strolled out into the garden. ✓A messenger presently galloped in to inform me that Captain Nixon was approaching with the Bhartpúr army. About dusk the army arrived; Captain Nixon brought with him several officers, whose presence still further swelled our party. But in India guests are easily accommodated—the heat made it pleasant to sleep out of doors. I had beds arranged in the verandah and on a terrace beyond; soon after nine all the party were slumbering on them, all but

The native
"chat" about
the mutiny.

The Bhartpúr
army arrives.

myself and a few others, who preferred to sit up later, a watch the moonlight."

The arrival of Captain Nixon and the Bhartpúr army somewhat changed the position. Captain Nixon was the chief assistant to the English administrator of the native state Bhartpúr, and he, on hearing of the action of Sipáhis with respect to Dehlí, had proposed to the Government to employ the Bhartpúr troops to coerce them. His offer had been accepted and he had been entrusted with its execution: that is, he had been authorised to march on Dehlí, via Mathurá. By some mistake this order had not been communicated to Mr. Thornhill. To him, therefore, Captain Nixon's arrival was a surprise.

However, there Captain Nixon was, for the moment master of the situation. He at once proceeded to develop Captain Nixon's plans. As the information he received led him to believe that the mutineers were marching on Mathurá, he resolved to suspend his movement on Dehlí, and to give them a warm reception on their arrival at the former place. Accordingly, at his suggestion, Mr. Thornhill erected barricades at the principal entrances into the city, which, in other respects was very defensible, enlisted men as guards, and adopted measures to enable the inhabitants to co-operate with the soldiers.

Mr. Thornhill had then in the treasury over half a million of silver rupees, and about ten thousand pounds worth of other coins. These were under the charge of a guard of Sipáhis. At an earlier period, doubtful of the fidelity of the guard, Mr. Thornhill had asked, from Ágra, permission to send the money into the fortress, and had packed it and had supplied carriage so as to be ready to move at a moment's notice. The day after Captain Nixon's arrival, two brothers, the Séths, the wealthiest Hindu bankers in Mathurá, called upon Mr. Thornhill, and assured him that the Sipáhi guard was bent on carrying off the treasure at the first opportunity; that Captain Nixon's opportune arrival had prevented the movement the previous day, but that it was settled. Thornhill thereupon wrote again to Ágra for the required permission, sending off his messenger on horseback. During the day information arrived that the rebel Sipáhis had halted at Dehlí, resolved to fortify that capital. Upon this, Captain Nixon announced his intention of continu-

ing his march in that direction the following morning. He issued orders accordingly.

After many delays, the cause of which are graphically told by Mr. Thornhill, the Bhartpúr army set out on its march to Dehlí, Thornhill accompanying it as far as the little town of Kosí, the limit of his district, twenty-nine miles north-west of Mathurá. He had found the district in a state of anarchy. With the spreading of the news that the King of Dehlí was seated on the throne, the villagers imagined that the dominion of the British had ceased, and acted accordingly. To add to his embarrassment, Thornhill received a despatch from Ágra informing him that his apprehensions as to the behaviour of the Sipáhi guard were not shared by the Lieutenant-Governor, and that the treasure must remain at Mathurá: Thornhill was not convinced by this display of foolish and untimely confidence, and he felt satisfied that when the new guard, then expected, should arrive to relieve the old guard, the explosion, which he saw looming in the future, would take place. However, lie set his face towards Mathurá, and had put up for the day at the small town of Chatá, when he heard the clatter of horses, and was told by his servant that some Englishmen had arrived.

These proved to be his assistant, a son of the Lieutenant-Governor, a second assistant, Mr. Dashwood; Mr. Joyce, his head clerk, and an officer, bare-headed, and with his hand swathed in a bandage, who was introduced to him as Lieutenant Gibbon. From these gentlemen he learned that the new guard had reached Mathurá that morning, the instructions being that the old guard, on being relieved, was to return to Ágra with the treasure. The preliminaries were gone through; the treasure counted and placed on the carts; the guard was about to start, when, as the relieved British officer turned to say good-bye to his friends, a shot was fired. This was followed by a rush of the Sipáhis into the office, and their opening a musketry fire upon the Englishmen. These, unharmed and unprepared, jumped through the window, and ran for their lives, followed by the Sipáhis. In the garden, situated on the very banks of the Jamnah, the Englishmen halted. There were six of them: Gibbon, who had received a bayonet wound in the hand, the two civilians, Colvin and Dashwood; Joyce, the head clerk, and two assistant clerks named Hashman. After a moment's

The Bhartpúr
force sets out
for Dehlí.

Hears of the
revolt of
the Sipáhi
guard at
Mathurá.

colloquy, they descended to the river, and ran along its bank towards the city, roused with some difficulty the head of the police, a native ; found him apathetic and indifferent, but persuaded him to supply them with horses, and on these had ridden to Chatá. In their flight to the police-station, they had lost touch with the brothers Hashman. They knew nothing, moreover, as to what had become of Burlton. What followed must be told in Mr. Thornhill's own words :

“ It took me some time,” he writes, “ to hear their story, for I had many questions to ask before I quite understood it. I immediately sent off a horseman to Sends information to Ágra to inform the Government, desiring him to proceed by a circuitous route to avoid the mutineers. This done, I ordered my carriage and riding horses to be in readiness should we require them to convey us to the Bhartpúr army. I sent scouts along the road to ascertain if the Sipáhis were approaching, and I despatched a message to warn Captain Nixon.

“ While these arrangements were being made, my visitors had had their tea and fallen asleep, all but Mr. Gibbon, whose wound had become very painful. It was now past midnight; on account of the heat, Mr. Gibbon and I left the bungalow and sat by the side of the road, which ran just in front; the others in a little while awoke and joined us. Before we had sat long, I had an impression that there were people near us, and as my eyes got accustomed to the darkness, I perceived, not altogether to my satisfaction, that all the men of the village had flocked down and were standing before and around us; but so perfectly still and silent were they, that neither by whisper nor movement had I been aware of their presence. The sight of this crowd made me conjecture that the news of the mutiny of the guard had got abroad, and also made me a little anxious as to what the effect of the news on the country would be.

“ When the villagers saw that I perceived them, their Meets professions of loyalty in profusion. headmen came forward, made some respectful salutations, and informed me that they had assembled to express their loyalty to the Government; they added, that if I would allow them, they would give proof of their attachment to our rule, by defending the caravansarai should the mutineer Sipáhis advance to attack it. Their professions of loyalty were so vehement, and apparently so genuine,

that for all my experience, I was induced to put credit in them. I committed the caravansarai to their care. It just then contained the Government record and treasure of that division of the district, and also horses and other property of my own."

Just at this time the chief of Thornhill's horsemen informed him that the mutineers were advancing in his direction, and that at the moment, they were but five miles distant from it. Recognising that "there was time to escape, none to delay," Thornhill pressed upon his companions to start at once. Despite the warnings of the chief horsemen, Thornhill thought himself in honour bound to make for Nixon's camp. He set out for it accordingly; met on the way the revenue officers of the town of Kosí, who warned him that the Bhartpúr troops were not to be trusted; at length reached the camp. There he exchanged confidences with Nixon as to the fidelity of the Bhartpúr men, Nixon being rather trustful, Thornhill doubtful. Whilst they were at breakfast, news came that the mutinous Sipáhis were within a mile of them. There followed, almost immediately, the mutiny of the Bhartpúr troops.

The situation was serious. The European officers and the native escort numbered only seventy-five persons. Of these, one-half were natives. The mutinous troops amounted to five thousand, including a formidable cavalry and much artillery. The one chance of escape was to retreat before the natives should proceed to extremities. But Nixon, hoping he might yet prevail with the Bhartpúr chiefs to be true, went to make to them a personal appeal. The rest of the party remained, their horses saddled and their carriages put to, ready for a move at a moment's notice. Nixon was a long time absent. The Englishmen, impatient, mounted their horses, and collected together on the plain. A quarter of an hour later, Nixon returned, having failed. As he told his story, the Alwar cavalry were mounting their horses, and the artillery were pointing their guns. Then came a message to say, that unless the English moved off at once, the guns would open fire. They consequently moved a short distance, uncertain which direction to take. The leaders of the majority, Mr. Harvey and Captain Nixon, decided at length to make for the army before Dehlí. Thornhill, with greater foresight, thought the decision unwise, and urged that

The Bhartpúr force mutinies.

Divided counsels of the English.

they should return with him to Mathurá. But they would not. So whilst they set out on their uncertain errand, Thornhill and his chief clerk, Joyce, turned their horses, and, followed by their escort, twenty-three in number, cantered south. After they had progressed a mile or so, Thornhill, happening to turn

Thornhill and Joyce set out for Ágra. his head, noticed a party of horsemen, apparently following them. But almost immediately afterwards,

the pursuers took another direction. The party then rode on till the tracks became so confused that the guides were at fault. Some ominous words uttered by one of the escort, left the impression on Thornhill's mind that it would be wise to avoid certain towns and villages. Accordingly they kept as much as possible to the bye-lanes, avoiding inhabited places, which they noticed to be full of armed men. After riding many hours, they were approaching a large village, when Joyce's horse stumbled and fell. In the fall, the saddle-girth was broken. Joyce himself was hurt, but he would have remounted at once but for the necessity to mend the girth. The delay brought around them many armed men, rude and threatening in their manner. At length Joyce remounted, and the party rode off, entered and rode through a wood, on the further side of which they halted by the straw hut of a Brahman. The holy man gave them a refreshing drink of water. On leaving him they held a track which took them past several villages. As they rode by two of these, the mobs there collected, shouted and brandished their weapons. At the third village, the mob ran after them; at the fourth, they fired. The firing was responded to from another village, and in a few minutes the whole country resounded with the noise of firearms. At this, the escort showed unhealthy symptoms. Their manner became less respectful, and, what was more serious, they began to desert us."

Still the party pushed on, occasionally losing their way.

They reach Sahar, The evening had fallen when they reached the village of Sahar.* It had been the intention of the party to strike from this place to the east, and get into the high road. But the information they received showed them that the high road was being patrolled by a party of cavalry looking out for Thornhill. They continued their journey then along the bye-lanes, meeting some inevitable accidents,

* Sahar is fifteen miles to the north-west of Mathurá.

and disturbed all the way by the increasing sound of firing. At length, about nine o'clock, they reached the town of Raal, through which the road ran, and which, therefore, they were bound to traverse. Here their greater difficulties began.

The road, I have said, ran through the town, and the night was too dark to allow them to attempt to escape round by the fields. Accordingly, Thornhill proposed that he and Joyce should disguise themselves, and winding turbans round their heads, and girdles round their waists, should walk through the town, the centre figures of a group formed by the mounted troopers. Unfortunately, it was the time of the celebration of the Hindu festival of the Daserah, and the village was in consequence full of people, and the shops were lighted. The column, however, started in the order noted, and encountered no difficulty till, making a turn into the principal street, the glow of light attracted to it the attention of the people. But the column, though sharply questioned passed safely through, and reached the open country unmolested. The members of it then halted in a grove for water, and here they were delayed some time in consequence of the breaking away of two horses of the escort. However, the horses were caught and re-saddled, and Thornhill and his party resumed their journey. Travelling all night they reached, still in darkness, the gardens that border the city of Mathurá to the west. After some more adventures, Thornhill halted, and sent two horsemen to report as to the state in which his house had been left by the rebels. After a time they returned to report that it had been completely wrecked and plundered. Uncertain whither to direct his steps, Thornhill suddenly recollect ed that one of the Bhartpúr regiments was still in Mathurá. Making sure that the men composing that regiment were imbued with the same sentiments as those who had mutinied, Thornhill felt that it would be better to continue his journey to Ágra, as Mathurá was lost for the time. He and Joyce proceeded then, still with the escort, to a village on the Ágra road, called Aurangábád. Here they rested, and ate, and drank; disguising themselves, resumed their journey, and after many narrow escapes, reached Ágra,* the first Reach Ágra.

* For fuller details the reader is referred to Mr. Thornhill's excellent book, "The Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate in the Indian Mutiny."

bearer of the news of the mutiny of the Bhartpúr soldiers. He and Joyce had ridden a hundred miles, and had been in the saddle nearly continuously for eight-and-twenty hours, without food or sleep for two nights and nearly three days.

At Ágra, Mr. Thornhill twice saw the Lieutenant-Governor, but Mr. Colvin's mind was too unhinged by the suddenness of the general calamity to listen attentively to his story. On the second occasion, Thornhill went to inform him that he had received information that the mutinous troops had left Mathurá, and that he proposed to return thither if he could procure European troops to go with him. Mr. Colvin told him he could spare neither troops nor guns, but that he might enlist what volunteers he could from amongst the clerks. With much trouble, Thornhill collected eight volunteers, and with these he set out for the town of Farah. Here he remained some hours till a carriage sent by the Séths, the great Hindu merchants of Mathurá, should arrive. Reflecting, then, that the eight volunteers would be too few to fight, and would prove an encumbrance if flight should be necessary, Thornhill sent them back to Ágra, and went on his journey accompanied by his chief clerk, Joyce.

All the European houses at Mathurá having been sacked, Thornhill and Joyce put up with the Séths. The mode of living of the Hindus differs so widely from the mode prevalent among Europeans,* that the two guests were not very comfortable. However, they made the best of it, and they had the gratification of meeting again the brothers Hashman, the separation from whom at the time of

* "Our hosts were the richest men in India; they maintained an army of servants, they possessed whole chests of gold and jewels, and they resided in a house which, for size and architectural beauty, would compare with the palaces of the nobles of Europe. But, on ordering our dinner, I found they were destitute of what to us are the most ordinary conveniences. They had neither plates nor dishes, nor, beyond a few tea-cups, did their house contain glass or china of any description. The supply of food was equally limited in variety. We had to make our meal on rice and coarse cakes of unleavened flour, and they were so saturated with oil and some perfume that it was with difficulty I could swallow a few mouthfuls. They could supply us with no drink but water, and milk that had been simmered over a fire, and which had in the process acquired an overpowering flavour of smoke. They procured us some tea, very bad, and an immense teapot of solid silver, but the establishment did not contain a kettle, and we had to make tea in water brought up in brass bowls."—Thornhill's *Personal Adventures and Experiences*.

the flight from Mathurá has been recorded in a previous page, and of paying the last rights to Burlton who had met his death on the same occasion.

Whilst the Séths were loyal to the core, many of the other large merchants were only "watchers of the atmosphere," and the vast masses of the people regarded the return of Thornhill with anything but favour. However, he represented there the British Government, and like the true man that he was, he resolved to do his duty. The first care that occupied his attention was the defence of the city. To arrange for this he summoned a great meeting of the wealthy inhabitants of the city. It was well attended, and every man was profuse in his expressions of loyalty. "I learnt afterwards," writes Thornhill, "that, in the course of the night, private assemblies were held to consider if their promises should be carried out. It was decided that they should be, at least for the present. This decision, however, was not unanimous, and letters were at the same time despatched to the King of Dehlí, informing him of the unprotected state of the city, and requesting he would send troops, and take possession of it." At the moment Thornhill did not know this. Believing the promises made to him were sincere, he proceeded with untiring energy to disarm the mob, and to re-establish his authority. He then endeavoured to provide for the defence of the place. His great difficulty was to induce the Hindus to combine for a common purpose, a difficulty which brought home to him the reason why the Muhammadans, few in number, but united in purpose, had found it so easy to conquer India. Suddenly he ascertained that the Bhartpúr regiment, which he thought had left with the rest of the Bhartpúr force, was in the city. Inspecting it, he found it composed of "timid villagers," possessing the one great virtue of military obedience. He had some difficulty in persuading these men to accept him as their leader, but when they had done so, he found them excellent instruments for his purpose. Thanks to the use he made of them, the city was removed from immediate danger, and life in it resumed the course it had temporarily abandoned when the Sipáhi guard mutinied.

For a time there ruled quiet in Mathurá itself. There was, indeed, occasionally a passing excitement, once when some Sipáhis entered the city, and twice subsequently when the guards posted over the Séths' Succeeds for
the moment.

house attempted to murder the two Englishmen. Outside its walls matters were not so quiescent. Across the river several villages coalesced under one Débé Singh, who proclaimed himself Rájah, and expressed his intention of expelling the two Englishmen from Mathurá. Just at this time, the arrival of a small force of the Kotá contingent under Captain Dennys, allowed Thornhill to think of taking the offensive. For this purpose he caused a bridge of boats to be laid across the river. But before he could use it, the Kotá contingent was recalled to Ágra. The pseudo-rájah then began to threaten in his turn. Upon this Thornhill, encouraged by the sudden return of the contingent, resolved to make a dash at Débé Singh. He crossed the river, attacked the principal village, and took many prisoners, among them the pseudorájah himself.

Thornhill remained some days at the scene of his victory, when he marched eastwards, and, under orders from the Government, halted on the confines of the Mathurá district, at a distance of sixteen miles from Ágra. He was still on this spot when, one morning, Captain Dennys received instructions to intercept a body of mutineers. An hour later the troops were on their march. horse, foot, and artillery. So far as intercepting mutineers was concerned, the expedition was a failure, and a few days later the contingent was ordered to Ágra, just then threatened by mutineers from Nímach. Thornhill accompanied the small force in its march to Ágra, taking with him some revenue that he had collected. The next day, he returned with one of his assistants, Clifford, to his position on the borders of the Mathurá district. There he busied himself with raising and training levies to be prepared for the storm which he did not doubt would soon burst over his head.

Soon, however, sooner even than he had expected, the toils began to close around him. Ten or twelve miles from him was encamped a detachment of the Gwálíár contingent. That contingent had already mutinied, and it did not seem at all improbable that the detachment would follow the example set them. They did so, in fact, a few days later, differing, however, from many of their comrades, in that they insisted upon seeing their officers in safety as far as Ágra. The senior officer, Captain Alexander, urged Thornhill and Clifford to accompany him, but Thornhill

Accompanies
a force under
Captain
Dennys.

the Government, halted on the confines of the Mathurá district, at a distance of sixteen miles from Ágra.

The toils
close around
him.

had but recently sent two of his assistants—Dashwood and Colvin—to Mathurá. He, therefore, declined the tempting offer, and at midnight started, accompanied by Clifford, on the chivalrous errand of rescuing his subordinates.

Chivalry
of Thorn-
hill.

They reached in safety the bungalow which had been prepared for Dashwood and Colvin, and found them. The next day Thornhill recognised the greatness of their common peril. He learned, in fact, that the Europeans at Ágra had been compelled to take refuge in the fort, and that Mathurá would probably be occupied within a few hours. Flight was the only resource. Even the Séths came to counsel it. But whither? The debate amongst the Englishmen was long. Thornhill was for trusting to the road; the others were unanimous in favour of the river. Just then, the native officials, who had heard from the servants of the intended departure, came into the room to ask if it were true. "I told them," writes Thornhill, "our intentions, and then I asked them to answer me faithfully whether they thought that in going by land I was doing wisely. Among my attendants was an old man; he had served the Government from his boyhood. As I spoke he stooped down, clasped my knees, and raising his face, he implored me not to set foot in the boat. "On your horse," he said, "you can ride to the right or to the left, but once in the boat you can go only where the stream may carry you." Two hours later, after leave-takings from the Séths and other events full of the most interesting details, Thornhill and Joyce, the two old companions, set out on horseback, leaving the others to make their way, as they had selected, in the boat. The two horsemen had a small escort, amongst whom was a landowner and his son, to whom Thornhill had then recently rendered some kindness.

Divided
counsels of
the English.

They rode through the streets silently, and effected an egress from the gates by representing, through the advanced men of the escort, that they were Government horsemen going to patrol the road. They traversed safely the village of Aurangábád, and after progressing somewhat further were joined by another party of native horsemen sent by the Séths from Mathurá. This increased the escort to forty. A little further they came upon two men mounted on a camel, who had been sent by the

Thornhill
and Joyce
make for
Ágra.

Séths to collect news, and who were returning to Mathurá. From these Thornhill learnt that the rebel army was marching on Ágra; that the road as far as that place was quite quiet; but that the enemy's pickets were stationed along the road, and that a detachment of 120 horsemen occupied the town of Farah just ahead of them.

This information was alarming, and the men of the escort counselled a return to Mathurá. Thornhill and his companion, however, resolved to proceed. By taking a circuitous route they managed to escape the danger at Farah; but when they halted some distance beyond it, they found that of the forty men of their escort but eight remained. The rest had deserted. Among those absent were the landowner and his son, previously referred to, who had with them two out of the four guns. Undismayed, however, they advanced at a walk, when, after they had, with difficulty, cleared a ravine, they were joined by the landowner and his son and four of the missing men. They still proceeded slowly on account of the badness of the road, when, on reaching the high road, the clouds broke, and a deep, dull, lurid glare some distance beyond them gave evidence that Ágra was in flames.

They still pressed on, however; traversed safely a village which was to be feared; and, wet to the skin, for it had rained during nearly the whole night, moved on as quietly as they could, when they were alarmed by a clanking sound which they recognised as proceeding from chains. A few minutes later the sight of "a row of dark figures, proceeding in single file, one behind the other," and clanking a chain with every movement, brought to them the conviction that the gaol-birds of the Ágra gaol had broken loose.

The men glided by apparently not caring to notice the strangers. A little later, another danger seemed to present itself. Joyce, who was riding beside Thornhill, suddenly called upon him to be on his guard. A fresh long file of gaol-birds, encumbered with their chains, passed them "so close that," writes Thornhill, "I could have touched them." As they pushed on they encountered many similar groups, all passing without attempting to molest. At last came the crisis. A little beyond a village which they had passed the fugitives came upon a hut, outside of which were tethered horses, one of them saddled with an English saddle. The hut was full of men. Thornhill had

Bengal Library
101

1857.] ARRIVAL OF THORNHILL'S PARTY AT ÁGRA

but just taken in the scene when the chief of his horsemen, Diláwar Khán by name, called out : "Gallop for your lives; for your lives gallop your horses!" whilst, in reply to the inquiries proceeding from the hut, he called out that they were horsemen of the Emperor, proceeding to Ágra on urgent business. As the Englishmen fled they were conscious of pursuit. After galloping half a mile Thornhill's horse began to tire, and he proposed to Diláwar Khán to pull up and walk. But Diláwar only answered : "Use the whip; use the whip; push on for your life!" At the end of another half mile, however, the horse was so blown that Thornhill had to pull up and walk. When they counted heads they found that the party now consisted only of Thornhill, Joyce, Diláwar Khán, two guides, and a lad. Many other dangers were encountered. They were all met, as danger to be successfully encountered must be met, with boldness and presence of mind. Soon they heard from a Fakír of the disastrous defeat sustained by Brigadier Polwhele at Ágra. They pushed on notwithstanding, and reached the village of Sikandrah. Ágra was still four miles distant, and they had been told that the victorious rebels were besieging Ágra. Over the country between them and the fortress "hovered the glow as of an expiring bonfire." They passed several smouldering bungalows, the wall of the gaol, several groups of men, and finally the dangerous Kotwálí, ruled over by a Kotwál in the interest of the King of Dehlí. They were now comparatively safe, unless indeed they should have been suspected and pursued. At length they reached the fort, and after some preliminaries, which might have been dispensed with, Thornhill and Joyce were admitted. But the garrison refused to admit Diláwar Khán and the guides. The two Englishmen were safe, but, Mr. Thornhill writes, nothing had saved them but "the darkness of the night, the torrents of rain, and the fidelity of Diláwar Khán." I would add that there was something else which he was too modest to mention. There was the brave spirit, the resolute heart, the determination at all hazards to go forward.*

Imminent danger of the party.

Reach Sikandrah,

and finally are received within the fort.

* The reader is again referred for fuller details to Mr. Thornhill's most interesting book. It would seem that he and his companions had ridden through the rebel army; that if, on reaching Sikandrah, they had followed

Mr. Thornhill remained in the fort until the fall of Dehl
 and the subsequent defeat of the rebels before
 Recovery of Ágra by Cotton and Greathead (October 10, 1857)
 Mathurá. made it possible to resume the offensive. Cotto
 then marched on Mathurá, accompanied by Thornhill. He
 indeed, would have infinitely preferred that a smaller force
 should have been sent—"a few soldiers and a couple of guns",
 but he was overruled. As it was, Thornhill was re-instated at
 Mathurá, but when the column had reached the extremity of
 his district, it was suddenly recalled. Remaining with Thornhill
 at Mathurá were the gallant and faithful Joyce, the gallant
 de Kantzow, whose name has been often mentioned, never except
 to praise him, in previous volumes of this history, and a young
 Customs' officer who had been Thornhill's companion at Hodal.
 Gradually, under Thornhill's able management, the district
 quieted down; ladies returned to the city; and the peace was
 not again disturbed.

Farrukhábád, Mainpúrí, and Itáwah have been so fully treated
 in previous volumes that but a slight notice of them
 will suffice.

Farrukhábád and Fathgarh. Of the Nawáb of the first of these, Tafazzul
 Husain Khán, there has been told all that is necessary in the third and fifth volumes.* In the same pages of the
 third volume have also been related the catastrophe that
 attended our countrymen at, and in endeavouring to escape
 from, Fathgarh. That station, the civil station of the district,
 is about eighty miles above Kánpúr, three from the town of
 Farrukhábád. The story of it in 1857 comes entirely within

the advice of Diláwar Khán, and taken the road which avoided the city, they would have met the main army of the mutineers. Further, Thornhill ascertained, many years later, that it was only by apparent accident that he had escaped being murdered just before he left Mathurá. "When we entered the Séths' house in the afternoon," he writes, "their Muhammadan guards proposed to murder us all as we sat on the terrace. The manager heard of the plot; he ran and informed his masters. They were terrified, half stupefied. He implored them to exert themselves, warning them that if we fell the English Government would take a terrible vengeance, and that utter destruction would fall on them and their house. Urged thus by their manager, the Séths went down to their guards, and by threats, persuasions, and some display of force, they succeeded at length in inducing the men to abandon their design." The Muhammadans did not renounce their design, but proposed to kill the two Englishmen as they left the house. But in this they were equally baffled by the generous Séths.

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 224-32; Vol. V. page 191.*

the category of military events already related at, I trust, sufficient length.

Similarly with Mainpúrī and Itáwah. The events at the former station are told in the first, third, fourth, and fifth volumes; at the latter, in the third, fourth, ^{Mainpúrī and Itáwah.} and fifth.* These stations were, throughout the period of the mutiny, on the very field of military operations.

The same may likewise be said of Ágra. To that station I have devoted two chapters of the third volume; ^{Ágra.} one of the fourth, and a portion of one of the fifth. I could not write more without giving to the events at this station, important as they were, an undue prominence.

I propose now to ask the reader to accompany me into those districts of Rohilkhand, the occurrences in which have not been told in sufficient detail.

Rohilkhand is a division in the North-Western Provinces comprising the districts of Barélí, Murádábád, ^{Rohilkhand.} Bijnaur, Budáun, Shahjáhánpúr, and the Tarái Parganahs. Of these I have told at sufficient length of all except Bijnaur.† To that district I propose to devote a few pages.

Bijnaur is a district in Rohilkhand, containing an area of eighteen hundred and eighty-two square miles, ^{Bijnaur.} and a population of nearly seven hundred thousand souls. It is bounded on the north-east by the hill district of Gahrwál; on the east and south-east by Murádábád; on the west by Mírath, by Muzaffarnagar, and by Saháranpúr. In 1857 the magistrate and collector of this district was Mr. A. Shakespear; but at the station of Bijnaur, which gave its name to the district, were likewise Mrs. Shakespear; the joint magistrate, Mr. G. Palmer; the civil surgeon, Dr. Knight, and Mrs. Knight; Mr. Robert Currie, C.S., on his way to the hills; Mr. Lemaistre, the head clerk; Mrs. Lemaistre and three children; Mr. Johnson, a clerk; Mr. Murphy, a clerk; Mrs. Murphy and four children; and Mr. Cawood.

Mr. Shakespear and the European residents of Bijnaur.

Though Bijnaur was but forty miles distant from Mírath, the

* For Mainpúrī, see Vol. I. pages 117-19; Vol. III. pages 103-4; Vol. IV. pages 200-6. For Itáwah, see Vol. III. pages 106-7; Vol. IV. page 200; Vol. V., pages 214-16.

† For the other districts, *vide* Vol. III. pages 202-22; Vol. IV. pages 349-80.

news of the terrible events there of the 10th of May did not reach Mr. Shakespear till the 13th, and then only through natives. That officer at once endeavoured to ascertain the real facts of the case by communicating with Mírath. But the whole country was

up. The hereditary instincts of a marauding section of the population, extremely prolific in those parts, known as the Gujars, had been thoroughly roused, and their appetite for plunder had been whetted by the rivalry of the convicts escape from the Mírath gaol, who, spreading over the country, stoppage

and plundered everyone, not excepting the means of a traveller. It seems probable, also, that they stopped the communications near Mírath, for it is a curious fact that the horsemen sent by Shakespear to the

station on the 13th of May, took the first intelligence of the mutiny of the 10th to the police station of Baisúna, which was on the high road between Mírath and Bijnaur.

The indiscriminate plunder of which I have spoken attained in a few days so alarming a proportion, that Shakespear found it was necessary for the retention of British authority to take stringent measures to repress it. He accordingly called on the principal landowners of the district to afford him all the aid in their power, at the same time he sent a notice to all native soldiers on leave at their homes to come to the station and give their services to the State. Both these appeals were responded to fairly well. The chaudhárí* of Haldaur and Tájpúr responded on the 23rd, and a few non-commissioned officers and men, chiefly belonging to the irregular cavalry, came on a few days later. At the same time the police was considerably strengthened.

But events were marching too fast even for these precautionary measures. On the 19th of May the gaol at Murádábád was broken open, and the worst prisoners connected with the Bijnaur district were released. The freedom of these men added enormously to the insecurity of life and property in the neighbourhood. To add to the general danger, three hundred of the sappers and miners who had mutinied at Rúrkí entered the Bijnaur district and entered into negotiations with Mahmúd Khán, Nawáb of Najibábád,

* A chaudhárí is the head man of a village.

The mutiny
of the 10th
of May

rouses the
districts to
plunder.

Shakespear
invites the
aid of the
chiefs, land-
owners,

and of sol-
diers on
leave.

The insecu-
rity increases.

with the view, as it was then suspected, and subsequently transpired, to making an attack on the chief station. Eventually, however, these mutineers preferred to proceed to Muradábád, plundering on their road the town of Naghína.* On the very day, however, the 21st, on which they entered that town, the prisoners broke out of the gaol in Bijnaur itself.

Mr. Shakespear hurried to the spot followed by some horsemen, and succeeded in stopping further egress, some of the prisoners falling under the fire of his followers. While thus engaged, he despatched the joint magistrate, Mr. G. Palmer, to pursue the fugitives. The result would in all probability have been satisfactory but for the accidental refuge afforded to the malefactors by a sand-bank in the river, on which they had collected. To secure them here foot-soldiers were necessary, and before these could arrive night had set in. Under cover of darkness, two hundred and fifteen of them managed to escape.†

It was evident to Mr. Shakespear that the love of liberty had far less prompted this outbreak than a lust for plunder, for the news of the disordered state of the districts had penetrated even within the gaol. Under his charge, in the treasury, within a short distance of the gaol, were the moneys belonging to Government, the collections of the district, amounting to a considerable sum. In a station, the capital of a surging district, where the number of the Europeans could be counted on the fingers, this treasury could no longer be considered safe from the greed of the disorganised rabble. It certainly could not be defended against a determined attack. Under these circumstances the happy thought occurred to Shakespear to throw all the coin, except the small amount necessary for current expenses into a well, the mouth of which could be defended from the roof of the treasury building. He carried out this measure. The result showed his prescience. Even the most covetous felt that the abstraction of the rupees had become a service fraught with certain death to those who should be foremost in the attempt.

The prisoners
at Bijnaur
break out,

but they are
pursued and
partially re-
captured.

Shakespear
secures the
moneys of
the State

in a well.

* Being short of ammunition, they hoped at Muradábád to obtain the co-operation of the 29th Native Infantry, but, instead of co-operation, that regiment robbed them of their spoil.

† Seven had been killed, and one hundred and twenty-six, of whom twelve had been wounded, were recaptured.

The precaution had not been taken one hour too soon. That very evening Mahmúd Khán, the Nawáb of whom I have already spoken, arrived with a number of empty carts, and announced his intention to carry off the money to Najibábád. Even he quailed before the prospect of extracting it from the well. Yet the station seemed at the mercy of this man and his Pathán followers, evidently unsettled and dangerous, disappointed, too, in their hopes regarding the rupees. The two days that followed were very critical. On the third day, fortunately, the retainers of the Hindu

The station is relieved by the arrival of loyal Hindu landowners and others. zamindárs arrived, and having in the interval raised some horse and taken measures for the protection of the station, Shakespear felt able to think of offensive measures. He was further confirmed in this view

by the arrival, on the 28th, of fourteen sawárs, nearly all leave men, under the command of a Risáldár of the Gwálíár contingent, followed by twenty-five sawárs of the new Muradábád levy, and forty Sipáhis of the 29th Native Infantry—a regiment which, though mistrusted, had not then mutinied.

Shakespear's first act was to send Mr. Palmer with the 29th Sipáhis and thirty sawárs to coerce a large body of marauders near Mandáwar, a large and wealthy town which they were threatening. Palmer struck the rebels most successfully, and quieted the district. The next person to deal with was the Nawáb. This man, baffled in his hopes regarding the rupees, had returned on the 23rd, with

The Nawáb returns to Bijnaur, his carts still empty, to Najibábád. A week later, however, he returned, uninvited, accompanied by upwards of two hundred stalwart Patháns, armed with matchlocks. His demeanour showed that he meant mischief, but that he was prepared to wait for the opportune moment. To get rid of him was difficult yet most necessary.

but is persuaded to retire. Shakespear attempted the task, and after some trouble, persuaded the Nawáb to move to a little distance to settle some Mewátí marauders, hoping, during his absence, to be able to do much to restore confidence.

These hopes were doomed to be disappointed. The mutiny at Baréli on the 31st of May * produced effects which were felt all over Rohilkhand. Shakespear had heard rumours of

the event on the 1st, but rumours in those days were common. He received authentic information only on the 3rd.

The danger was indeed imminent. The Nawáb's Patháns were close at hand, and it was but too clear that the forty men of the 29th Native Infantry would follow the example set them by their brethren at Barélí. But in this conjuncture Shakespear displayed both judgment and decision. He at once recalled Palmer, under whose orders the men of the 29th Native Infantry were serving, and on their arrival despatched them instantly, before they could communicate with anyone, to rejoin their headquarters.

The mutiny
at Barélí¹
changes the
situation for
the worse.

Shakespear
faces the
difficulty.

At this time a party of the 4th Irregulars, commanded by Lieutenant Gough, arrived from Mírath with a string of camels to carry off a portion of the Government money at Shakespear's disposal. The roads were unsafe; a long string of camels carrying coin could not be guarded efficiently by nineteen men, and every one in the district was aware of the purpose for which the camels had arrived. Again did Shakespear display his judgment. For camels he substituted elephants. He loaded these animals with fifty thousand rupees, and Gough was thus enabled, by making a forced march, to accomplish his journey in safety at the same time that he relieved Bijnaur of that which most tempted the miscreants of the period.

By the exer-
cise of judg-
ment Shake-
spear saves
some of the
state moneys.

But darker times were approaching. The revolt at Barélí had, as I have said, produced a ferment all over Rohilkhand. From the 2nd of June communications between English authorities elsewhere and Bijnaur ceased. That place was cut off from the outer world.

Communica-
tion with the
outer world
ceases.

Affairs were in this darkened condition when Mahmúd Khán, Nawáb of Najibábád, suddenly returned from the district. That return was occasioned solely by a report which had reached him that Shakespear was about to make over the remainder of the money under his charge to the loyal Hindu chaudhárís. Mahmúd Khán arrived evidently resolved to take strong measures. To men of his class and country, placed in the extraordinary position in which they found themselves in 1857, the proverb, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*, is specially applicable. Accustomed from their earliest childhood to respect British authority, habit had become a second nature, and it was not

The Nawáb
returns to
Bijnaur.

Mahmúd
Khán

without a very extraordinary effort that they were able to break through the iron bar by which it bound them. But that bar once broken, there remained no extremity of villainy of which they would not be capable. The memory of the old bond, indeed, incited them to extreme measures. They felt, when they had committed themselves, that a return to the former condition was impossible; that thenceforth their safety required the death of those against whom they had lifted their hands. Shakespear was thoroughly cognisant of this feeling. He deemed it, therefore, of the utmost importance to soothe the Nawáb, to persuad him not to take a step which would be irrevocable, which would commit him to murder. Fortunately he had at his hand a instrument for the purpose—a Muhammadan official of proved loyalty and trust named Saiyid Áhmad Khán. This man, sent by Shakespear to the Nawáb, succeeded, by dint of smooth words and assurances, in inducing him to remain still on the further bank of the Rubicon.

Feelings which animated men like the Nawáb.
Shakespear manages him.

He continued, however, in a dogged and perverse humour, and declined to go and see Mr. Shakespear.

Bad news from Barélf.

That evening, the 7th of June, news reached the station of the assumption of authority by the rebel Khán Bahádur Khán, and of the murders committed at Barélf and Murádábád. It was now clear that sentence of death had been pronounced against every European and every Christian in Rohilkhand.

Shakespear makes over charge of the district to the Nawáb,

Under these circumstances, the pressing character of which was increased by the rumour that the detachment of the 29th Native Infantry was on its way to Bijnaur, there remained no hope of saving the station. Mr. Shakespear determined, then, as a first measure of precaution, to place the ladies in safety by escorting them to a point beyond the province. But such an operation could not be undertaken without the consent of the Nawáb. With the Nawáb, then, Shakespear entered into an accommodation, by virtue of which that nobleman agreed to take charge of the district during the ten days for which Shakespear and his companions proposed to absent themselves. The Nawáb was not authorised to collect revenue, but as he would have to meet heavy charges, the money in the treasury was placed at his disposal, and he was required to keep a regular account of its expenditure. In common with almost every other Englishman

in India, Shakespear believed that Dehlí would fall as soon as the English force appeared before it, and that, within the ten days he had covenanted for, he would be able to return with a sufficient force to put down all disturbance.

He and his companions—those whose names have been already given,* had intended to start early on the morning of the 8th for Rúrkí, forty-three miles distant, and, marching all night, to reach it the same evening. The party was, however, so much delayed in crossing the Ganges, that they were obliged to make for Muzaffarnagar instead. Here doubts arose regarding the fidelity of the escort. The travellers, then, after resting one day, pushed on for Rúrkí, escorted by twelve troopers of the 4th Irregulars, a detachment of which regiment was stationed at Muzaffarnagar.† Here they arrived on the night of the 11th of June.

It now became Shakespear's great object to return to his district. He made numberless efforts to organise a small party of Gurkhás or Europeans or other men who could be depended upon to effect this object. But Dehlí had not fallen, and every soldier was required to aid to contribute to its fall. Not a man, then, could be procured.

Meanwhile, Mahmúd Khán was carrying all before him at Bijnaur. His first act was to proclaim himself ruler of the district under the king of Dehlí. He next fished up the remainder of the money from the well, and sent it to his own house at Najibábád. Then, having stopped the posts, placed guards at the ferries, and increased his forces as much as possible, he despatched a confidential servant to Dehlí to endeavour to obtain authority from the king to hold the district in his name. He proceeded at the same time to alter the weights and measures, substituting for those of the Company others of a different character, bearing the imperial stamp of Dehlí.

The cause which, perhaps, more than any other contributed to the downfall of the Mughul dynasty was the system of persecution for religion, inaugurated by Aurangzíb. It is

and marches
with the
ladies and
Europeans to
Rúrkí.

He finds it
impossible to
return.

The Nawáb
at Bijnaur

accepts the
King of Dehlí
as his lord.

* Page 103.

† This detachment rose a few days later and murdered the adjutant, Lieutenant Smith.

remarkable that, whenever and wherever the Muhammadans India obtained supremacy during the period of t
 Character of his rule in Bijnaur. mutiny they showed the same inclination. T Nawáb was no exception. He had scarcely conso dated, as he thought, his usurped authority than began to use it against the Hindus, leaguing himself with th object with co-religionists without birth and without characte and whose co-operation under other circumstances he woul have spurned. His first operations were successful. Umrá Singh, chaudhárí of Sherkot, was compelled to flee the countr with the loss of a great part of his property. This success was however, fatal. It impelled the Hindu village chiefs, who ha hitherto stood aloof from each other, to combine. An oppor tunity soon offered which enabled them to make their com bination felt.

To carry on his plans against the Hindus the Nawáb had weakened his own forces at Bijnaur, where he himself remained. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the younger of the Chaudhárís of Haldaur, combining with the Chaudhárís of Bijnaur, suddenly attacked the Nawáb on the morning of the 6th of August and drove him in precipitous flight to Najibábád. The immediate result was not altogether satisfactory. It is true that the town was saved ; but the public and private property outside it fell into the hands of the rabble, who had joined the Chaudhárís simply with the hope of plunder, and who were altogether beyond control.*

Before the events of the 6th of August could be made known to Mr. Shakespear, that gentleman, satisfied that the Nawáb was not be trusted, had resolved to cancel the written authority he had given him to adminster the district. He wrote a letter to that effect on the 7th, and by the same opportunity directed the Chaudhárís to consider themselves responsible for their respective properties and the quiet of the district. But when, a little later, information of the events of the 6th reached him, he saw that more decisive measures were required. It happened that there were on the spot two Mu hammadan gentlemen of conspicuous loyalty—Muhammad

* A type of the proceedings which would certainly take place all over India if the protecting hand of England were to be withdrawn.

Rahmat Khán, the deputy collector, and Saiyid Ahmad Khán, already referred to. Shakespear then directed these gentlemen to assume charge of the district. They obeyed his orders, assumed the office on the 16th of August, and devoted to it the loyal zeal and true-hearted decision by which their conduct had been always characterised.

But every day now saw a fresh complication. The quarrel between the Muhammadans and the Hindus became so embittered that the Nawáb sounded the religious war-cry of the former, and, at the head of an infuriated band, marched to the vicinity of Bijnaur on the 23rd. He first burned and plundered a Ját village, and then marched on Bijnaur. There there were no defenders. The Hindus had gone to Naghína to oppose there an anticipated attack from another party of Muhammadans. Under these circumstances the two loyal officials above cited deemed it advisable to retire to Haldaur. Meanwhile the Muhammadans had taken and sacked Naghína. They then advanced on Haldaur, defeated the Hindus who moved from that place to meet them, and were only prevented from destroying it by the outbreak of fires in all directions, which hindered their advance. Bijnaur, however, fell into their hands. The two loyal Government officials fled across the river, and one or two of the Hindu Chaudhárís quitted the district which no longer offered them a safe habitation.

From this time the district was a prey to civil war between the members of the opposite faiths, each alternately gaining some advantage. Some attempts were made at reconciliation, but neither party had sufficiently felt its inferiority to the other. At length, on the 18th of September, the Hindus experienced a decisive defeat, and another attempt was made to induce them to submit to Mahmúd Khán and his followers. Nothing, however, could tempt the younger Chaudhárís to place themselves in the power of the Muhammadans, and towards the end of the month they escaped across the Ganges to Mírath.

Just about this time a wanton massacre of unoffending Hindus confirmed the supremacy of the Muhammadans. But as always has happened in such cases—as, till the race greatly changes, always will happen—no sooner was their supremacy uncontested than disputes

Fresh complications arise,

and the loyal Muhammadans are forced to flee.

The Hindus are finally defeated,

and flee.

Disputes arise amongst the victors.

broke out among themselves. Finally, these disputes arranged by the conferring on the Nawáb the chief author with an allowance of twelve thousand rupees a month, hav under him Márah Khán, a noted bad character, his own el son, and his nephew. The two first were to contribute t thirds, the last one-third, of his salary. This arrangement las till the 22nd of February, 1858.

The Muhammadans now became so strong that notori freebooters from neighbouring districts gathered their party ; they even attracted three princes of imperial family of Dehlí. They then began to m successful raids across the border, and to burn a plunder at their will. They did this on seve occasions in December 1857 and January 1858. On the 5th the latter month they crossed the Ganges with a large force a two guns, burned the station of Miránpúr, proclaimed the Naw' and retreated before the British troops could intercept the Two days later they carried out the same programme at Khank and Hárdfwár. On the 9th, emboldened by their success, th again crossed the Ganges—this time only to repent the audacity, for they had the misfortune to fall in with a par sent from Rúrkí under Captain H. Boisragon. This affai which redounded greatly to that officer's credit, merits speci notice.

As soon as the news regarding the three raids into Britis territory, just referred to, reached Rúrkí, the officer commandin at that place, Captain Reid, directed Lieutenant T. Boisrago commanding at Manglaur, to proceed at once with his detach ment* towards Maiapúr. Lieutenant Boisrago received this order at 8 o'clock on the evening of th 8th of January. He set out at once, and marchin across a country, very indifferent for guns, reache Maiapúr at 9 o'clock the next morning. There he was joine by his brother Captain H. Boisragon, the district staff officer, accompanied by Captain H. Drummond, B.E., Lieutenant Thomason, B.E., Mr. Melville, B.C.S., and a few sawárs. Cap tain Boisragon at once took command.

Accompanied by the gentlemen named and three or four sawárs, Captain Boisragon proceeded down the bank of the

* Consisting of fifty Gurkhás, fifty Sikhs, and two 6-pounder guns under Lieut. St. George, B.A.

river in search of the enemy. After a ride of between two and three miles he came suddenly upon their camp, pitched within a few feet of the water, opposite to the ford of Anjon, a distance of about three miles in a direct line from Khankal. Owing to inequalities in the ground, Boisragon could not gain a clear view of the position, but he ascertained that they numbered certainly five hundred, and that they had at least one gun. Boisragon and his party then fell back leisurely on their camp, to wait till the movement of the rebels should be more pronounced.

His patience was not long tried. The following afternoon, about two o'clock, Boisragon received information that the rebels were crossing the river in force, and that a great number had established themselves to the south of Khankal, which they were about to enter. Leaving a small party to protect his camp and watch the ford, Boisragon marched with the rest of the detachment to Khankal, entered it from the north side, traversed the main street, and went out from the south gate, just in time to prevent the entrance of the rebels. Detaching his few mounted men (sixteen men 1st Panjáb Cavalry) to cover his flanks, Boisragon, with his small force,* advanced to cut off the rebels from the town of Jowálápúr, in which he believed they had many sympathisers. Posting the guns between that town and a large building, he sent the Gurkhás on the extreme right, under Lieutenant Boisragon, to attack their left flank, whilst the Sikhs, who were next the guns, should charge their front. The attack was irresistible. One of the rebel leaders fell by the hand of Lieutenant Boisragon; their rank and file were thrown back on the river, and sought refuge either in the stream or by flight along its banks. In their flight they were followed by the cavalry and considerably cut up. Captain Boisragon ascertained that they numbered about a thousand and that they had two guns. This little affair was the more important as it was the first decisive blow at the rebellion so long rampant in Rohilkhand.

To return to Bijnaur. The effect of Boisragon's victory was immediately felt in that district. No people traverse the space more quickly than the natives of India

*He ascertains
their posi-
tion.*

*Marches to
Khankal,*

*and com-
pletely
defeats them.*

*Terror of the
Nawáb.*

* Eight Europeans, thirty Gurkhás, thirty Sikhs, and two guns.

between exalted elation and bitter despondency. To ciliate the small landowners, the Nawáb's nephew at o announced that all rent-free holdings resumed under Bri rule would be released; but this helped him but little, and declension of the fortunes of the usurpers was followed by a

The disputes between him and his coadjutors are readjusted. newal of their quarrels. Some bitter disputes minated in a new agreement, in virtue of which Nawáb's monthly salary was reduced to ei thousand rupees; his eldest son was declared

heir-apparent; his nephew was nominated as representative; two other Muhammadans were promoted t generals, and assignments of lands were made to provide their salaries; a third was appointed to be commander-in-ch stipends were set apart for all the Nawáb's family, and an gagement was taken from the nephew that he would not as to the succession, or interfere in any way with the claims of eldest son on his father's death.

Jones's force enters Rohilkhand. This tinsel fabric was shattered at the very first push. E whilst it had been building there was being pared at Rúrkí a British force whose very appeara in Rohilkhand would be sufficient to shake it to very foundations. On the 17th of April that fo accompanied by Mr. Shakespear and others, crossed the Gan near the head of the Ganges canal, and in five days effectu cleared the Bijnaur district in the manner described in the fo volume of this history.*

Shakespear resumes his duties. From the date of the crossing of the avenging force into Bijnaur district, Mr. Shakespear resumed his du as the representative of the Government. His res sibilities were extremely onerous. He was the o officer of the column who had any acquaintance the country, so that matters connected with the department of Quartermaster-General were mainly dependent u his opinion and advice, and, added to this, it involved upon him to decide the measures which sho be taken for the punishment of offenders and for restoration of order. In a sketch such as this is, it is imposs to render full justice to all that Mr. Shakespear in a very b period was able to accomplish. The principle upon which acted was to mark in an effective manner the displeasure

* Vol. IV. pages 358-80.

the Government, whilst opening to all, except to actual murderers, a way of reconciliation and pardon. Thus—even before the fight at Naghína—to leave a lasting symbol of the sentiments entertained by the British Government regarding the Nawáb, the hall of audience at Najibábád was destroyed ; the district was at the same time dominated by the occupation of the fort of Patthargarh in the vicinity. These acts accomplished, Mr. Shakespear fixed his headquarters at Najibábád, re-established the collectorships and police posts in the districts, and endeavoured, by conciliatory measures, to induce the rebel Muhammadans, who had not been engaged in any distinct crime in connection with the rebellion, to return to their peaceful avocations. His measures were so far successful that his police were able, even at that early period, to enter the jungles and capture without opposition some relatives of the Nawáb. When, after Naghína, he returned, escorted only by the loyal Hindus and accompanying the guns captured at that fight, to Bijnaur, he ascertained that the population were returning to their normal avocations ; that traffic was being reopened, and that the collection of rebels in the jungles was rapidly diminishing. Mr. Shakespear subsequently visited every part of his district, and his firm, conciliatory, and judicious measures, speedily removed the very last remnant of discontent. As he, at the beginning of the disturbances, had clung to his district longer than any other officer in Rohilkhand, so on their subsidence he was able to bring back the normal routine earlier than was found practicable in the other districts of the same province.*

He re-or-
ganises the
district.

His tact and
conciliatory
measures
speedily re-
store order
and confi-
dence.

The “energy and sound judgment” displayed by Mr. Shakespear were noticed by the cordial approval of Lord Canning. With other civil officers, likewise, he was thanked for his services as a volunteer with the Rúrkí force ; but there the public acknowledgments ended. In the circumstances in which he was placed, no one could have accomplished more than Mr. Shakespear. It must have been trying for him to notice, when the honours were apportioned, that others who had done less were substantially rewarded.

† The Nawáb Mahmúd Khán was sentenced to be transported for life. His property was forfeited to the State.

CHAPTER V.

THE MÍRATH DIVISION.

THE Mírath division comprises six districts, those of Dúñ, Saháranpúr, Muzaffarnagar, Mírath, Bulshahr, and Áligarh. I propose to consider these in the order I have named them. I may premise that the division in 1857 counted four and a half millions of habitants; that the Ganges and the Jamnah watered its borders, and that it was bounded to the north by the Siw Hills.*

I proceed now to deal with the district of Dehrá Dúñ. This district comprising twelve hundred and fifty three square miles, with a chief station of same name, lying two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine feet above the sea-level. The district of Dehrá Dúñ consists of a valley measuring about sixty miles by fifteen, partly for and partly tea-plantations, a hill-tract of less extent, an sanitarium and convalescent dépôt, containing invalids, women and children, to the number of about two thousand. It is bounded on the north by Native States, on the west by Native States, on the south by the district of Saháranpúr, on the east by the district of Bijnaur. In May 1857, the chief ci-

Mr. Keene authority was the superintendent, Mr. H. G. Kee and the European population of the district. his assistant being Mr. J. C. Robertson. The garrison consisted of the Sírmúr regiment of Gurkhas under the command of Major Charles Reid. The Trigonometrical Survey had its head-quarters the

* The Siwálik range crosses the Dehrá Dúñ district in a north-west direction, and dips for a while in the Jamnah valley. Thence it enters Sírmúr and the Simla hill States at a slightly higher elevation, till the river Satlaj forces its way through. Its highest peaks have an elevation of upwards of three thousand five hundred feet above the sea.—*Vide Thornton, editio of 1886.*

under Colonel Scott Waugh of the Bengal Engineers. There was a small establishment under the American Presbyterian Board of Missions. There were also some old officers of the retired list resident at Dehrá, and a very few rich natives, the most prominent of whom was a political *détenu*, the Rájah Lál Singh, formerly regent of the Panjáb.

When the news of the Mírath outbreak reached Mr. Keene—which was on the 16th of May—he was in the heart of the hill subdivision, engaged in a survey preliminary to the settlement of the land revenue. The tracts were being swept by epidemic cholera, and there was considerable difficulty in moving the camp. He came in, however, as quickly as he could, met on the way with further alarms. On arriving at Dehrá he found that Reid's Gurkhás had marched to join the main body of troops about to move from Mírath upon Dehlí. A dépôt of eighty men constituted the total force left with him to maintain order. He accordingly lost no time in raising recruits to guard the passes by which his district could be entered from the plains. Rájah Lál Singh also placed some of his armed retainers at Mr. Keene's disposal. In a few days news arrived of the fall of Bijnaur, brought in by the civil officer of that district. Sahár-anpúr still held out under Mr. R. Spankie. The tract to the westward, under the Sírmúr rájah, was fairly peaceful. The hill tracts to the north were quiescent, except in the British subdivisions already mentioned, where petty outrages occurred which could not just then be punished.

Having made such provisions as appeared proper for his outward defences, the superintendent turned his attention to the maintenance of internal order. For this purpose he appointed the mess-house of the absent Gurkhá officers as a rendezvous in case of alarm, and enrolled a number of European volunteers whose names he placed upon a roster, and with whose aid the town of Dehrá and its environs were patrolled every night at unfixed hours. By this device it was calculated that the native police would be kept on the alert by their ignorance of the exact hour when they might be visited. The success was complete, no post having been found deserted, no beat unkept, during the whole time of trouble.

Matters were in a state of tension, but all remained quiet—

Mr. Keene is
in the heart
of the hills
when the mu-
tiny breaks
out.

He returns
and organises
exterior de-
fensive mea-
sures,

also for the
maintenance
of internal
order.

with the exception of one or two fires, probably accidental
 the middle of June. Then, one evening, a runner
 Bad news from the exterior. in from the Sírmúr territory, bringing news
 four hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry
 the Jalandhar brigade were in full march u
 the district. The messenger brought these tidings in a
 from a British officer, and they were strictly true. The cont

Measures taken in consequence. of the treasury were at once sent up to Masúrī
 hill sanitarium) with a note to the officer comma
 ing the convalescent dépôt, requesting his aid.

A force marches against the rebels, who escape. next day was occupied with preparing carriage
 provisions, for the men of the Gurkhá dépôt were to be marc
 out on elephants and the invalids on horseback. That even

the force started, about one hundred and fifty
 in all,* and marched thirty-six miles during
 sultry June night. In the morning they arrived
 Básdsháh-bágh, the outer end of the Timlí pàss, a
 found that their prey had escaped them. Li
 snakes in the grass, the Sipáhis had slipped away during t
 hours necessarily given to preparation. The force could not
 farther out of the district without draining it of its admini
 trators and defenders; and the rebels had to be left to su
 obstacles as they might encounter in other districts.

This was the most serious military occurrence that to
 place, with one exception, to be hereafter noticed. It had
 important results. Still, it was well planned, showing spirit i
 all concerned. The enemy were well armed and equipped, an
 the cavalry superbly mounted on stud-bred horses. With
 motley force, of which only a small portion was British, an
 that composed of convalescents, the task of bringing them t
 book, though a serious one, would probably have succeeded bu
 for circumstances which no one could control or avoid.

The next trouble that arose was from the lawless state of th
 Saháranpúr district. Mr. Spankie kept such orde
 The protracted length of the siege of Dehlí fomented dis
 order. as the times admitted. His coadjutor, Mr. H. D
 Robertson, was actively engaged in scouring th
 district for the same purpose. But their effort
 were much paralysed by the protracted defence an
 prolonged attack going on at Dehlí; and marauders

* Mr. R. Forrest, of the Canal Department, the Rev. D. Herron, American
 missionary, and some sick officers from Masúrī, accompanied Mr. Keene, as
 also did his assistant.

of the old type, who had given so much trouble in Shore's days, thirty years before, began to appear. One gang of these men came across the border and drove off a herd of cattle after killing the herdsman. They were pursued and arrested, brought to trial, condemned, and hanged within less than three weeks from the commission of their crime. The example proved sufficient; the forays ceased.

The difficulty which next supervened was as to food and money, neither of which are sufficiently produced in the valley, even in common times. Now, when agriculture was almost suspended by war's alarms, when the roads were almost entirely closed for traffic by the disturbed state of the country, the difficulties may well have appeared almost insurmountable. And the population never was so large. The wives and families of officers in the field thronged to the hills, followed by flocks of servants; and the officers—unable to do anything else with their pay—drew it chiefly in the form of orders upon the treasuries of places where their wives were harbouring. Of these the most frequented was that of Dehrá, where a run consequently occurred to meet which the resources of the Panjáb were laid under requisition. John Lawrence and Donald McLeod, the strong rulers of that province, sent in several supplies, which were loyally escorted to Dehrá by the yeomanry of the Dún to whom Mr. Keene entrusted the duty. On one occasion, Mr. Spankie sent a small sum from Saháranpúr, to fetch which the Rev. J. Woodside, an American missionary, and Mr. R. Currie, a young civilian, went over and brought the cash safely through one of the most disturbed parts of the Saháranpúr district.

These resources proving insufficient Mr. Keene—adopting a suggestion made to him by Captain Tennant, of the Engineers—determined to issue paper money on his own responsibility. He, therefore, prepared forms of acknowledgment for sums running from one rupee to fifty (which he marked with a crest press to prevent forgery). He then registered these in his treasury office, and issued them under his own signature in part payment of the drafts that were presented; so much paper and the balance in cash.*

Difficulties regarding food and money,

how partly surmounted.

These resources proving insufficient, Keene issues bank-notes.

* Vide extract from Accountant to Government, quoted in *Letters on Indian Administration*, 1867 (page 2).

Food was also procured through local merchants, and these expedients the troubles of the time, tho
The Dún passes through the ordeal.
 they could not be neutralised, were reduced to minimum. The result was that of all those beings confided to the superintendent's care, not hair of the head of any suffered wrong. The cattle-lifting ab mentioned was the only damage that property sustained in Dún up to the fall of Dehlí. After that date, when a milit officer had been sent to take charge, the Dún was once inva at its extreme corner; but the invasion was repulsed with c siderable loss by a party from Rúrkí before the Dún force co come to the spot.

The next district in the Mírath division to be noticed Saháranpúr. This district contains two thousa
Saháranpúr. two hundred and twenty-eight square miles, a comprises the chief station of the same name, on the Jamn canal, with its Botanical garden; Rúrkí, with its engineeri college; and the sacred town of Haridwár, on the Ganges, the foot of the Siwálik range, famous for its sanctity. To t town flock every twelfth year, on account of the peculi sanctity then attaching to the festival, no less than thr hundred thousand pilgrims. In ordinary years the numb scarcely exceeds one hundred thousand.

In a previous volume I have told briefly of the occurrences Saháranpúr at the time of the great outburst of t
Great services of Mr. Spankie. mutiny.* Much more, indeed, might be told of t coolness, always imperturbable, of the chief civ officer, Mr. Robert Spankie, and of the energy, t daring, and the readiness of resource, of Mr. Dundas Robertso But space fails me for more than a general summary. It ma suffice to state that Spankie, whilst successfully defending h own district, was able to assist the districts adjoining his own to tell how, at a critical period, he poured grain into the Dún how he organised a commissariat, and supplied the superintenden of the Dún with funds; further, how by the prestige of hi energy, Major Baird Smith was greatly aided in his endeavour to do something more than hold his difficult position at Rúrkí.

In his excellent little work, entitled *Fifty-Seven*, Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., has given a further record of the splendi services rendered by Spankie at Saháranpúr. From that

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 198-201.*

propose to make but two extracts—the one typical of the mode in which rewards were dealt out for services rendered, the other showing how those services were appreciated on the spot. “Mr. Spankie’s services,” writes Mr. Keene, “were recognised by the Home Government; the Secretary of State, Sir C. Wood, writing under date, 11th of June, 1860, stated that he was commanded to convey to him (Mr. Spankie) the gracious approbation of her Majesty of his conduct during that critical period. Recognition, it may be thought,” continues Mr. Keene, “need not have stopped here; but in times when decorations are so widely won and worn, it may be a truer distinction, as Talleyrand said of Castlereagh, to be undecorated. And one may feel pretty sure that in preserving life and property, mitigating suffering, and maintaining the prestige and prerogative of his Queen and country, such a man as Robert Spankie found his truest distinction and his best reward.”

The appreciation of the Home Government.

Whilst Spankie and Dundas Robertson was maintaining order in and about Saháranpúr, upon Baird Smith it devolved to secure the station of Rúrkí. What Baird Smith at Rúrkí. Baird Smith was I have told in the first pages of the first chapter of the fourth volume. But able as he was, full of resources, his ability and his resources were heavily taxed to maintain order in a place which was guarded mainly by men who sympathised with the rebels. But he was equal to the occasion, as he was to every other presented to him in his lifetime. He sent away on duty as many sappers as he could manage to send, and though some of those who remained mutinied, he disarmed and dismissed them. Round the workshops at Rúrkí he erected a rough fortification, made over to the European and Eurasian garrison he had enrolled the muskets and ammunition of the sappers he had disarmed, and then, secure of his defences, turned to see in what manner he could best assist the general cause. Daring as he was prescient, he rescued two prisoners whom the Rohilkhand rebels had seized, collected revenue from the country about him, and by his demeanour and readiness of resource contributed greatly to the maintenance of comparative order. No one was more sensible than he of the splendid services rendered by Spankie. How he appreciated those services may best be told in a letter he addressed to that gentleman in 1860, and which, I am sure, Mr. Keene will pardon me for reprinting, in part, from his excellent

book already referred to. "With the exception of the time
was before Dehlí," wrote Baird Smith, "I had c
His apprecia- stant opportunities of judging, from personal know-
tion of ledge, of the influence of your resolute administrati-
Spankie. in maintaining peace and order within a district f
of the elements of disorganisation.

"Having to control the chief town of the district, with population of about six-and-thirty thousand, many among who were discontented and fanatical Muhammadans, with numero other large towns restless and excited, with a rural populati containing an exceptionally large proportion of turbulent aggressive and courageous tribes in active revolt against a law and order, with actual mutiny and attempted violence i the station, you had difficulties to contend with which, I hav ever thought, could only have been successfully met by a rar combination of courage, decision, resource—thorough knowledg of native character, and incessant personal vigilance. Aided b your energetic subordinates, you made law respected through out the district ; saved life and property within and beyond it, to an almost inestimable extent ; for if the disaffected had mastered Saháranpúr, Masúrí must have been at their mercy with but feeble chance of resistance, and the fate of the large and chiefly helpless European community there can scarcely be matter of even momentary doubt. That you were, under God, the chief means of preventing such catastrophes has always been my conviction, and in common with many others I have felt heartily grateful to you for your efforts to avert them.

"On my own behalf I may add, that among the many civil officers from whom the necessities of the case compelled me to seek assistance for the Engineer Park during the siege of Dehlí, there was no one who met my requisitions, whether for men or materials, in a heartier or more earnest spirit of co-operation than yourself. The ability to complete the works necessary for the capture of Dehlí within the short time actually employed, was not more a consequence of the indefatigable exertions of the troops in the trenches, than of the constant and laborious preparations systematically carried on for months beforehand. To the latter your aid was frequent and most important."

This, indeed, is high testimony, equally honourable to the writer and to the man whom he addressed, but Robert Spankie and his associates. Spankie and his associates deserved every word of

it. In a terrible crisis, located in one of the most turbulent districts in the country, close to the capital, which was the heart of the conflict, they not only maintained order, but repressed every rising and baffled every scheme of the revolters. In addition, they freely rendered what aid was possible where and whenever it was required.

The next district to be referred to is Muzaffarnagar. The Muzaffarnagar district is bounded to the north by that of Saháranpúr, to the west by the Jamnah, ^{Muzaffar-}_{nagar.} to the south by the Mírath district, to the east by the Ganges. It thus comprises the northern part of the Duáb. It contains many populous towns, the chief of which are Muzaffarnagar, the capital, Kairána, and Khandlá, and is watered by the Ganges, the Jamnah, the Hindan, the Kalí Nadí, as well as by the Ganges Canal and the Jamnah Canal. Its area is sixteen hundred and fifty-six square miles, and, in 1857, its population was about six hundred and fifty thousand. When the mutiny broke out at Mírath the district officer was Mr. Berford, but his health had previously given way, and he was immediately replaced by Mr. R. M. Edwards, sent from Saháranpúr by Mr. Spankie.

I have described in the third volume * the earlier occurrences at the station of Muzaffarnagar. But with the arrival of Mr. Edwards matters improved. This able officer at once asserted the British authority, sent parties into the district to collect the revenue, and restored his communications with Mírath and other stations.

The people of the district, like all those in the northern portion of the Duáb, were naturally turbulent, and the sight of the success of the Sipáhis in the immediate vicinity was not calculated to curb their instincts. One of the leading zamin-dárs, a man called Mohar Singh, took the lead in the development of this feeling by opening out a correspondence with the court of Dehlí, and by encouraging in their disaffection the Hindu population of Shámlí, a town twenty-four miles to the west of the station of Muzaffarnagar. For the moment Edwards could do little to repress him. Shámlí, indeed, was kept from open revolt by the presence there of a small party of horse under Mr. Grant. But a little later the ever-zealous Spankie sent to the aid of the magis-

Mr. Edwards takes charge of the Muzaffarnagar district.

Edwards receives reinforcements.

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 201, 202.*

trate a detachment of fifty Gurkhás accompanied by tw British officers. With these and two mountain guns Edward occupied Shámlí; then on September 14th, leaving at tha place about a hundred and twenty men under hi faithful Muhammadan subordinate, the sub-collecto Íbráhím Khán, he marched against the fort o Burhána and captured it. His absence from Shámlí, however had been fatal to British interests in that town. There wa a town called Tháná Bhawan containing a temple much fre quented by Hindu pilgrims, situated eighteen miles to the north-west of Muzaffarnagar, and twenty-eight to the southwest of Saháranpúr, the people of which, long passively mutinous, had broken into insurrection on hearing that one of their leaders had been executed at Saháranpúr. Taking advan-

Captures Burhána. Catastrophe at Shámlí. in which Íbráhím Khán and his men were posted.

Íbráhím Khán defended his position all day, but the numbers against him were enormous, and towards the evening these succeeded in setting fire to the thatch which covered it. Then, utterly worn out, blinded by the conflagration, Íbráhím accepted terms of capitulation, which assured to him and his companions their honour and their lives. The terms of the capitulation were broken almost as soon as the capitulation took effect. The rebels murdered a hundred and thirteen persons in cold blood and plundered the office. On hearing of this Edwards set out

Edwards is called back to Muzaffarnagar. Learning there of the partial success of the storming of Dehlí, and receiving reinforcements, he set out

with some Sikhs, infantry and cavalry, some Gurkhás, and two guns. He proposed to march first on the town which was the head and front of the offending, the town of Tháná Bhawan. He arrived before it the 16th September; drove in the enemy's outposts, and attempted to storm. But the business was

Repulse at Tháná Bhawan. strangely mismanaged. The storming party, composed of Sikhs and Gurkhás, led by Captain Smith and Lieutenant Cuyler, drove the rebels from the outbuildings, scaled the main wall, effected their entry into the town and captured two guns. The affair was over if only they had been supported. But the rebels, like the French in Cremona, when that place had been stormed by

Prince Eugene with an inferior force in 1702, perceiving the small force of the stormers, became in turn the assailants, and forced them to retire. A few days later, however, the gallant Dunlop* arrived with reinforcements, Capture of that place. Tháná Bhawan was taken, peace and order were restored in Shámlí, and justice was meted out to the authors of the massacre in that town. It is satisfactory to be able to record that in this case justice was really justice. Mr. Spankie took care that the courts should always be attended by a civil officer. He thus ensured a result which after generations can regard with satisfaction, the offences being judged without passion, and punishment being meted out to those only whose guilt had been absolutely proved. The district is pacified.

I come now to the town and district of Mírath. The district so called has an area of two thousand three hundred and seventy nine square miles. It is bounded to the north by Muzaffarnagar, to the west by the Jamnah, to the south by the district of Bulandshahr, to the east by the Ganges. It thus forms part of the Duáb, and is watered by the Ganges and the Jamnah, and by the canals formed from those rivers. Its chief towns are Mírath and Gházíabad. The population, in 1857 considerably exceeded a million; it was probably just short of twelve hundred thousand.

In the preceding volumes the reader will find, related at great length and in much detail, the earlier history of Mírath in connection with the mutiny. I shall, therefore, confine myself here to the record † of the daring achievements of the chief civil officer and his companions which contributed so powerfully, when all was dormant in the station itself, to ensure the maintenance of British authority in the district.

The officer in question was Mr. Wallace Dunlop, magistrate and collector of Mírath. Mr. Dunlop was travelling in the Himálaya mountains when the mutiny broke out. ‡ He heard of that event at the village of

Dunlop in the
Himálayas

* To be mentioned in the pages that follow immediately.

† *Vide Vol. I. page 437; Vol. II. pages 32-57, and 129-37; Vol. IV. pages 61-4.*

‡ His companion was Speke of the 65th Native Infantry, brother of the African trayeller. Speke was a few months later mortally wounded at the storming of Dehlí. He was a gallant soldier and a noble-hearted man. His dying words were: "Thy ways are not our ways, but they are just and true."

Nagar near the source of the Biás river on the 31st of M
 when the mutiny breaks out. Haste to Dehlí.
 He at once pushed for the plains, passed throu the Simlá sanitarium, the inhabitants of which found "either in the hot or cold fit of panic," a reached Ambálah on the 9th and Karnál on the 10 of June. At the latter place he received a letter fr his commissioner, Mr. Greathed, who was with the Engli army before Dehlí, in reply to one from himself asking for acti employment, summoning him to the camp. It was just aft the action of Badli-ki-sarái had been fought—an action co sidered by every one as a precursor to the immediate stormin of the imperial city. As Dunlop and Speke rode across th plain, still strewn with the bodies of the dead Sipáhis, the onl anxiety they felt was the anxiety lest they might arrive to late for the great event, to attempt which, in fact, the army ha still to undergo three months' toil, fighting and privations.

On the very day of his arrival in camp, Dunlop was informe by the commissioner that the gentleman who ha acted for him at Mírath was dead, and that as it wa of great importance that someone possessing loca experience should take charge of that district, it was incumber upon him to proceed thither at once, and that, owing to the scarcity of cavalry, he must find his way without an escort. Dunlop started that night on a hired horse, accompanied by one mounted orderly* belonging to his district who happened to be in camp, and rode straight for Bhágpat on the Jamnah.
 and rides through the disturbed districts to Bhágpat.

Having travelled three consecutive days and nights Dunlop was overcome with fatigue when he reached Bhágpat. Thence he rides for Mirath. Received with apparent cordiality by the two senior native officials of that place, he threw himself down and slept. When he awoke he found himself surrounded by natives; learned that the Muhammadans were ripe for rebellion, and that the country was becoming every day more dangerous. He devoted a portion of the night that followed to write a report of all that he had heard, accompanied by suggestions from himself to the commissioner, and the following afternoon rode for Mírath, which he reached the same night.

Dunlop at once took charge of his duties. Under ordinary circumstances they would not have been very different from

* There were four orderlies in camp, but one only could be spared.

those devolving upon civilians in other large military stations held throughout the period of the mutiny by British troops. But the circumstances of Mírath were not ordinary.

Only forty miles from Dehlí, and surrounded by districts in which mutiny was rampant, it constituted, in June, 1857, the one spot on the grand trunk road running from Allahábád to the north-west which might serve as an effective rallying-point for loyal natives. Dunlop had early experience of this truth. The morning of the day or the second day after he had taken charge nine Sikh horsemen, without arms, rode to his house to report their arrival to him as district officer. They represented themselves as belonging to the detachment of the 1st Oudh Cavalry which had murdered Fletcher Hayes and two other Englishmen, and had then ridden for Dehlí. They had declined to accompany their mutinous comrades, had surrendered their arms to Mr. Watson, magistrate of Áligarh, and had then ridden to Mírath, there to proffer their services to the British authorities. Dunlop was only too glad to engage them.

Passing over an expedition into the neighbouring district, in which Dunlop served as a volunteer, I come to that part of his conduct which gives a special mark to his proceedings as district officer, and of which the incident regarding the enrolment of the nine Sikh horsemen may be considered as the foundation-stone.

Dunlop had not only found the civil treasury of Mírath almost empty, but that means of replenishing it were wanting. He had no men at his disposal to aid in collecting revenue in the district. Military aid could not be counted upon; whilst the native bankers and merchants of the city, under the circumstances of the time, positively refused to advance a loan to the Government. In this crisis Dunlop, availing himself of the ready co-operation offered by the brigade-major, Colonel Whish, resolved to organise a volunteer troop of European civil and other officers then refugees at Mírath.

The corps were speedily organised. Major Williams, superintendent of police, was nominated commanding officer, Captain Charles D'Oyly* as second in com-

Peculiar position of Mírath.

Dunlop takes loyal Sikhs into his service.

To meet the difficulties of the time,

Dunlop resolves to raise volunteers.

Formation of the Kháki Risála.

* Afterwards Major-General Sir D'Oyley, Bart.

mand and Lieutenant Tyrwhitt* as adjutant. Volunte flocked in, and so actively were the drilling, mounting, arming proceeded with that within three days one troop, composed of Englishmen, Eurasians, and a few Sikhs, was fit duty. The uniform chosen was a suit of dust-coloured clo called khákí, and this cloth gave the name of the Khákí Ris' to the corps.

The Khákí Risála began its career as a regiment by proceeding, towards the end of June, to attack so villages only five miles from Mírath, which t Gújars had occupied. Accompanied by two gu and a few of the Caribineers, they drove out t Gújars, burned three of the villages, killed several Gújars, an took forty of them prisoners. From the date of this successf attack the revenue collections in the district began. At firs the task was not easy, but other expeditions followed that jus recorded, and it was found that every fresh expedition increase the facility of realising the revenue.†

It may be interesting to record some of these expeditions.

On the 8th of July news of the burning of Bégamábád, a important village about twelve miles distant on th road to Dehlí, reached Mírath. The atrocity ha been committed by a large body of Gújars, and had been accompanied by circumstances of singular atrocity, the victims being a number of loyal men of the Ját tribe who had bound themselves together to resist Gújar incursions. On this occasion, greatly outnumbered and despairing of success, the Játs had made a feeble resistance, and had succumbed. Within a few hours of the news reaching Mírath, Dunlop set off, accompanied by the Khákí Risála, fifteen of his armed retainers, twenty armed native Christians, and two mountain-guns, manned by native artillerymen. Pushing on with vigour, this column reached the ruins of Bégamábád by grey dawn of the morning of the day following the commission of the atrocity. The fires were still smouldering, the walls were blackened, the

* Later Major-General Tyrwhitt.

† "Every fresh expedition added to the facility of realising our revenue, and in a few months, amidst the wreck and disorganisation of surrounding districts, the entire government had been collected, with a rapidity and completeness hitherto unprecedented."—*Service and Adventure with the Khákí Risála*: a book upon which that portion of this chapter relating to that Risála is mainly based.

flooring in many places was dug up, and a few miserable fugitives were seen wandering here and there in the fields. The village of Síkrí, two miles distant, was known to be the headquarters of the Gújars. Thither the Khákí Risála proceeded, and before the alarm could be raised surrounded it. The Gújars defended themselves with great obstinacy, and five hours elapsed before the victory was gained. But when gained it was complete.

One of the most enterprising and daring of the Gújar leaders was Sáh Mall, zamindár of Bájrúl, a man who had conquered, and who had since maintained, a kind of semi-independence in the town of Barot, capital of the district of the same name in the Mírath division, but in close proximity to Dehlí. From this district and from Bájrúl, Sáh Mall had been for some time in the habit of sallying to carry fire and the sword into the neighbouring villages. The proximity of Barot to Dehlí seemed to promise him immunity from assault. Not so, however, thought Dunlop. This gentleman, angered at the ruthless destruction wrought by this brigand and his followers upon an unoffending people, sketched a plan for attacking the southern village of the Barot district by a rapid advance of the Khákí Risála and of such assistance as the general would afford him from Mírath. He laid his plan before the general, and obtained his assent to its execution. Dunlop knew well that considerable danger would attend the attempt, as forces would certainly be sent after him from Dehlí; but he trusted to the rapidity of his movements, to the increasing distance from Dehlí, as he should approach Sáh Mall's stronghold of Bájrúl, and to the prestige inseparable from audacity.

Towards the end of July the expedition, composed of two mountain-guns, fifty men of the Risála, forty men 60th Rifles, two sergeants, and twenty armed bandsmen, and twenty-seven armed native retainers, marched to the village of Dalhaura, on the Hindan, little more than twenty miles from Dehlí. There they heard heavy firing in the direction of Déolah, seven miles distant. The chaudhárí (headman) of Déolah, who was with the British force, was despatched at once to learn the cause of the firing. He returned during the night with information that Sáh Mall and his friends were lying at the Muhammadan village of Basáud, with the

*are punished
by the Risála.*

*Devastations
of Sáh Mall.*

*Dunlop
resolves to
check them.*

*His plans for
that purpose.*

*The expedi-
tion sets out*

intention of attacking Déolah the next day. Early next morn
 the small British party marched on Basáud. T
 and marches on Basáud, approach was sufficient. Sáh Mall and his
 lowers evacuated the place, leaving large supplie
 it. Basáud, long used as a store-house for the rebels,
 burned; the prisoners taken were shot. The fo
 and thence on Barot. then marched for Barot. No revenue had b
 collected from this subdivision since the commen
 ment of the mutiny. In fact, the civil establishments had b
 driven out in May, and the country had been more or less ov
 run by the rebels. Dunlop now devised and carr
 out a daring plan to remedy the evil. Whilst
 force marched away along the course of the e
 Jamnah canal he, taking with him a tahsildár * a
 two mounted orderlies, visited all the villages on the left ba
 moving parallel with the force, collecting sheep and supplies
 it as he went along, and trusting to his prestige as distr
 officer for immunity from attack.

The experiment was at first most successful. From the fi
 two villages, indeed, the inhabitants had fled, a
 The plan at first success- Dunlop's care was to send out to reassure t
 ful, zamindárs. The third village, Bichpúrí, was
 Gújar village, the inhabitants of which had taken
 leading part in plunder and destruction. Dunlop, nevertheless
 entered it; and here his prestige served him, for, he record
 "numbers of armed men were leaving it as I arrived." In t
 four villages next visited his reception was not unfriendly; t
 inhabitants "appeared glad to see the tahsildár." From eac
 he carried off one or two of the principal landowners as securit
 for the Government revenue. The people of the next villag
 Barká, were known to be friendly. To his surpris
 but, on reaching Barká, signs of disturb- then, on arriving before it, Dunlop found the gate
 ances are apparent. A whisper from one of them sufficed to give th
 information that they were expecting an attac
 from Sáh Mall.

Dunlop stayed for a few minutes, endeavouring to calm the
 fears of the villagers, when a tremendous noise of shouting and
 bellowing from a neighbouring village convinced him that

* A native collector of revenue. The party was three days later joined by
 a native officer.

they were well founded. In a few seconds Sáh Mall, at the head of two thousand men, came in sight. Very soon their matchlock-balls were flying amongst the small party, only one of whom was an Englishman. Dunlop would willingly have faced them—but *cui bono?* One or two hundred Englishmen might, as they did in the pursuit of Tántiá Topí, face, and even successfully attack, four or five thousand rebels. But one man against two thousand! The odds were too great. Dunlop and his five companions unwillingly fell back, leaving the fifteen landowners and twelve sheep he had collected, unguarded, as a prey to the rebels.

But the danger was not over. A horseman, armed with a matchlock and drawn sword—subsequently ascertained to be Bagdá, nephew to Sáh Mall—rode at Dunlop. Under ordinary circumstances the combat would probably have been short. But Dunlop was riding that morning, for the first time, a horse which had an insane dread of fire-arms. His position would have been ludicrous but for its danger. “The animal,” he writes, “proceeded to the charge alternately tripping along sideways, or waltzing round on its hind legs, springing clear off the ground at every discharge of my revolver.” Ultimately however, Dunlop succeeded in depriving Bagdá of his thumb and in mortally wounding his charger. He then rode after his friends, leaving his pith helmet, which had fallen off in the fight, as a trophy on the field.

Dunlop now made, with his small escort, for Barot. There he found that the column had had that morning an engagement with, and had put to flight, a body of rebels who were then being pursued. The cavalry had scarcely returned from the pursuit, when Sáh Mall led the men who had chased the small party in the morning to the attack. But it was Dunlop’s turn now. The rebels, their flanks turned, soon broke and fled.

This affair proved to be most important. In the pursuit Sáh Mall was overtaken and killed by a young volunteer, by name Tonnochy, assisted by a native trooper. His head, stuck on a pole, materially influenced the decision of a third attack, which the remainder of the rebels, unaware of Sáh Mall’s death, ventured to deliver the same afternoon.

Sáh Mall

forces Dunlop
to retire.Dunlop meets
in single
combat the
nephew of
Sáh Mall;danger of
bestriding a
timid horse.Ultimate
Dunlop de-
prives his
antagonist of
his thumb
and his horse;
but loses his
own helmet.Defeat of
Sáh Mall,

who is slain,

It was repulsed with ease.* I should not omit to add t
and Dunlop's helmet in the second fight of the day Dunlop's l
is recovered. helmet was recovered.

The effect of Sáh Mall's death was shown by the freed
with which the native dealers at once brought gr
Great results of Sáh Mall's death. and other supplies into the British camp. T
evening, too, the officers and men of the fo
enjoyed the gratification of encamping in a
around a bungalow which Sáh Mall had set apart for hims
as a hall of justice.

From Barot the little column marched for Sirdhána, famo
as the residence of Bégam Samrú. Here Dunlop made arran
gements for the payment by the neighbouring villages of arrea
of rent. But one village, Akalpúra, was refractory. Th
village belonged to one Narpat Singh, a notorio
Insolent message of Narpat Singh, rebel. Under his auspices, then, the men of t
place sent back Dunlop's messengers with t
inquiry, "Who is the district officer and who is t
tahsildár that they should demand revenue from Akalpúra ?
and threatened the messengers with death should they retu
on a similar errand. In consequence of this message, it w
deemed advisable to pay the refractory village a visit. Th
Khákís, then, started before daybreak, reached Akalpúra befor
the alarm had been sounded, surrounded and stormed it, Narpa
Singh being among the slain. This prompt an
for which he atones with his life. successful action produced a marvellous effect o
the turbulent spirits in the neighbourhood. Th
force then returned to Sirdhána.

An act of justice such as the natives of India would thoroughl
appreciate was performed about this time. Ther
Dunlop metes out justice which can be understood and appre
ciated. were two villages in the Rájpút portion of th
Mírath division, known as Solána and Dháulána. The inhabitants of both were Rájpúts. The native official of the district was a Muhammadan, Toráb
Áli, loyal to the British. As the district, however,
was in close proximity to Muhammadan districts which had
rebelled, the inhabitants of Dháulána, thinking to earn the

* In this affair, and indeed throughout the campaign of Khákí Risála, a young civilian made himself particularly distinguished for his coolness in danger and his courage in the field. This was Mr. A. C. Lyall, now Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, as remarkable for his ability now as he was for the sterner qualities in those troublous days.

praise of the court of Dehlí, declared against the English, attacked the police station, and took prisoner Toráb Áli. Upon this the people of Solána, loyal to the English, attacked Dháulána and released Toráb Áli. The Dháulána men, knowing they had sinned beyond forgiveness, incited other villages to revolt. Whereupon Dunlop visited the district with the little column, defeated the rebels, and gave their lands over to the loyal people of Solána.

Shortly after this, the 21st of July, the little column, somewhat strengthened, proceeded to Hapur, thence to defeat the rebels at Galáutí—an achievement gallantly and successfully performed.

Other successful expeditions

An expedition on the 18th of September to Morwána was so far successful, that the report of its approach was sufficient to scare the rebels. It was followed by ^{of the Kháki Risála.} one of greater importance—to drive some rebels from Thána Bhawan, eighteen miles beyond Muzaffarnagar—a place whence they had repulsed the district officer and a fairly strong force. Dunlop's force, joined at Muzaffarnagar by that previously repulsed, was successful on this as it had been on every other occasion.

With the fall of Dehlí the necessity for such detached expeditions in the Mírath division practically ceased. The army, released from the labours of the siege, proceeded, as we have seen, to free the country in all directions. It is impossible to exaggerate the services which in the interval had been rendered by the little band of volunteers, of whom Mr. Dunlop was the original organiser, the constant companion. Who were these volunteers? The best answer to that query is that given in the work in which their deeds are recorded, and which tells in eloquent language of the results they accomplished.

With the fall of Dehlí the necessity for its labours ceases.

"Few of those," wrote Mr. Dunlop at the time, "who so gallantly volunteered for a life of peril and adventure in lieu of patient anticipation while awaiting the issue of the struggle at Dehlí, had any military experience to assist them, and their drill had to be commenced; but they possessed the hereditary courage of their race; they could all ride; many of them were sportsmen, some of them crack shots and admirable swordsmen. Made of such material, is it to be wondered at that they traversed the most distracted portions of the district in the height of the revolt;

Who and what were the volunteers?

that they fearlessly faced, with the support of two li mountain-train guns, manned by native artillerymen of doubt loyalty, forty native najibs, and forty of the rifle regiment, assembled hordes of one of the most enterprising leaders t rebellion has produced, and, with little or no loss to themselv routed and destroyed in hundreds the same class of men as th whose unbridled villainy produced such mischief in the stati on the night following the outbreak; that, maddened by t insults and massacres inflicted on their own relations, on th own brothers and sisters, they executed, if let loose on a re village, a vengeance which made it a terror and a fear the country around?" It is impossible to show more clea how it was that, in the most critical times of the mutiny, t Mírath division was prevented from falling a prey to t rebels.

The next in the Mírath division of which I have to wri is Bulandshahr. This district has an area nineteen hundred and fourteen square miles, a population (in 1857) of about eight hundred thousan It is bounded to the north by Mírath, to the west by t Jamnah, to the south by Áligarh, and to the east by the Gange Its chief towns are Bulandshahr and Khurjá.

In previous volumes * I have told some of the events whic characterised the outburst and the suppression of the mutiny Bulandshahr and Khurjá. But I propose now to supply som incidents which did not come strictly within the province the military narrative.

In the third volume* I have merely stated that the detachmen of the 9th Regiment of Native Infantry mutinied a Revolt at Bulandshahr. Bulandshahr on the 21st May, but had offered n violence. The fact is that on the news of th mutiny of the men of the head-quarters of their regiment a Áligarh the previous day reaching Bulandshahr, the magistrate Mr. Brand Sapte, attempted to carry to Mírath the publi money in his treasury, when he was attacked by a crowd o Gújars, and compelled to flee for his life. He and his com Mr. Brand Sapte. panion, Mr. Melville, reached Mírath in safety, and there he had the satisfaction to find the gentlemen whom he had left at Bulandshahr—Mr. George Turnbull, whom he had but just relieved as chief civil officer,

* *Vide Vol. III. page 103; Vol. IV. pages 62-5.*

Mr. Ross, of the 9th Native Infantry, and Mr. Alfred Lyall, his assistant.

As soon as they had driven the English officers from the place, the Gújars sacked and burnt down their houses, released the prisoners from the gaol, and then destroyed the public offices and the records stored in them. The Sipáhis, who had probably been in league with the Gújars, had made their way to Dehlí. Sapte, however, who was an old Wykehamist, and, like all the men in India who hailed from the famous school near the Itchin, a man difficult to baffle, returned to Bulandshahr on the 25th with a few horsemen, intending, if they would only be staunch, to recover the place. To his joy he found halted there, on their way to join the army forming to march against the rebellious capital, the 1st Gurkhás. With the aid of these, Sapte and the officers who had accompanied him, Ross, of the 9th Native Infantry, his assistant, Lyall, and Tyrwhitt, of the 14th Irregulars, were able to seize, identify, and punish some of the men who had been most prominent in the outrage of the 21st. They then moved on Biláspur,* a village near to which Mr. Skinner, member of a well-known and much-respected Indian family, had fortified himself in his house and compound. They found Skinner well and cheerful, prepared to defend himself against any enemy. The next day the greater part of their cavalry deserted, and the Gurkhás had to push on to join the army. The power of Sapte to maintain order in the district ceased then for a time.

The usual results followed. The Gújars, once more raising their heads, sacked the town of Sikandarábád, eight miles distant from Bulandshahr. The chief land-owner of Malagarh, Wálídád Khán, a man of considerable influence, asserted that he had received orders from the King of Dehlí to assume charge of the district, and, as an initial measure, he began to block the Mírath road. Under the same influence, the town of Khurjá, the second in importance in the district, was occupied, and to the standard

* There are at least five places called Biláspur in India. One is a district in the Central Provinces, administered by a deputy commissioner; another is the town which is the capital of that district; a third is a state in the Panjáb; a fourth is its capital; a fifth is the village spoken of in the text.

raised there flocked the bulk of the disaffected Muhamma of the district. The force at the disposal of Sapte had by time been reduced to twenty men. It being impossible these to effect anything against the surging rebels, S turned his way towards Mírath. He had reached Galáut town twelve miles to the north of Bulandshahr, when resolved to make a determined effort to assert British autho in that last-named town. But he found mat ^{Sapte is repulsed from} there as bad as they could well be. A numbe men armed with muskets, and supported by t pieces of cannon, were drawn up to cover entrance into the main street. In vain did Sapte and his c panions endeavour to force this living barricade. After los several horses from the grape-fire poured on them, he back· on Galáuthí, baffling on his way a force sent f Malagarh to cut him off. His escort, meanwhile, had ab doned him.

For the moment the district was lost. How, after storming of Dehlí, it was recovered ; how, in succ ^{The district recovered.} sion, Sikandarábád, Balandshahr, Malagarh, a Khurjá were re-occupied by the British, has b told in the fourth volume.* Sapte, who meanwhile had joi and served gallantly in the Volunteer Horse, accompani Greathead's column in its march through his district, of whi after the passage of that column, he retook charge. The char was not a bed of roses. Though the principal centres had be re-occupied, there was still considerable disaffection. Ho had not been entirely crushed. One day Sapte received inf ^{Recovers, and restores, a Christian girl.} mation that a Christian girl had been carried off a rebel trooper, and was concealed in a village at great distance. Thither, therefore, Sapte proceede accompanied by some horsemen. The villagers, sturdy rebels, turned out to oppose the restitution of the gi Sapte, however, beat them, and after a considerable searc recovered the girl. But then began his greater trouble. T ^{Married to a rebel trooper.} girl did not wish to quit the place. She ha married the trooper, she said, and she wished t remain with her husband. To such a prayer Sapt could not be deaf. He granted her wish, though he assure her that her wedded bliss would not last long, as her husban

* Pages 61-4.

would be hanged if he were caught. It is satisfactory to believe that, during the year that followed, the husband was not caught. After that the amnesty covered him.

Sapte continued to render yeoman's service in his district, aided by the right wing of the 1st Balúch battalion, under Colonel Farquhar, and a body of Pathán horse under Major Stokes. It was due, in a great measure, to his untiring exertions that the Rohilkhand rebels were prevented crossing the Ganges into the Duáb. The loyal zamindárs, feeling that the time had arrived when they might safely show their zeal for their foreign masters, aided him loyally in these efforts. Prominent among these men was the Nawáb of Chatári, a loyal Muhammadan. Several villages likewise placed all their resources at his disposal. They had had a taste of Gújar rule, and they preferred that of the British. When, at the close of April 1858, success had been attained, Sapte was promoted to be district officer of Mírath. In the bestowal of honours he was not forgotten. He was made a Companion of the Bath, and it is satisfactory to record that few men have ever more deserved that coveted decoration. He had displayed all the qualities which distinguish the best Englishmen: courage and cheerfulness in difficult circumstances; calmness in danger; perseverance in holding his own; and mercy to the vanquished when he obtained the upper hand.

After his departure Bulandshahr ceased to have a history.

Of Áligarh, the next district, I have little to tell which has not been told in previous volumes. The district has an area of nineteen hundred and fifty-five square miles, and a population (in 1857) of something under a million. It is bounded to the north by the Bulandshahr district and the Ganges; to the east by the Ítah district; to the south by the Mathurá and Ágra districts; to the west by the Jamnah and the Mathurá district. The Ganges canal passes through its centre. Close to the Fort of Áligarh is the town of Koel.

The story of the mutiny at Áligarh has been told in the third volume, and its recapture is recorded in the fourth.* In the interval, the district had practically remained in the hands of the rebels. One or two expeditions were made by the

Sapte continues his splendid exertions.

Great qualities of Brand Sapte.

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 102, 192; Vol. IV. pages 65, 201.*

organised volunteers of the Ágra and Áligarh districts to save lives and to restore order. One of these especially deserves to be recorded. Of the horse volunteer force on service in the Áligarh district in the last days of June, the majority had been recalled to Ágra, and but eleven remained with Mr. Watson

the intrepid magistrate of the district. But these eleven were men of great daring and of sterling worth. They were : Mr. Cocks, of the Civil Service ; Mr. Outram, of the same service, a son of Sir

James Outram ; Ensigns Ollivant and Marsh, of the India army ; Messrs. Pat Saunders, J. O'B. Tandy, H. B. Harrington Hind, Castle, and Birkby Young, planters, and Dr. Stewart Clark. On the 30th of the month information reached these gentlemen that the rebel scum occupying Koel were about to attack the indigo factory in which they were temporarily residing ; that they had even sworn that before nightfall the heads of the Faringhís should adorn the city gates. The danger was imminent, but it found our countrymen prepared. They had their horses saddled, their arms laid handy, and they kept a careful watch on the road by which the mutinous rabble must advance. Presently the word was passed that they were

approaching. Instantly Watson sounded to saddle, then moved against the rebels, whose advanced guard numbered about five hundred, and charged.

Never was a charge more successful. Fourteen of the enemy were laid low. The remainder, thoroughly panic-stricken, fled like hares, attacked and plundered in their flight by the villagers, who, probably, had many an old score to settle.

This brilliant exploit obtained only a temporary relief.

Eventually the volunteers had to seek refuge in Ágra ; not, however, until they had lost two of their number, Marsh, a very promising officer, shot

in a skirmish, and Tandy, who, on one occasion, taking his horse over the wall of an orchard crowded with fanatics, was promptly cut to pieces. It is melancholy, also, to have to record that the gallant Watson succumbed at Ágra, during the siege, to cholera.

How Áligarh was recovered after the storming of Dehlí has been already told.

I propose to take the reader with me now into the Dehlí division, forming, in 1857, a part of the

North-West Provinces, though now incorporated with the Panjáb.

The division of Dehlí comprised, in 1857, the city of Dehlí, and the districts of Gurgáoñ, Hisár, Pánípat, and Rohtak.

The history of Dehlí antecedent to and during the period of the mutiny, has been so completely told in the preceding volumes of this history that further reference is unnecessary. I therefore propose to pass at once to Gurgáoñ.*

The district of Gurgáoñ possesses an area of nineteen hundred and thirty-eight square miles, and it had, in 1857, a population of something more than half a million. It is bounded to the north by the Rohtak district; to the west and south-west by the native States, Alwar, Nábha, and Jhínd; to the south by the district of Mathurá; to the east by the Jamnah; and to the north-east by the Dehlí district. Its principal towns were Gurgáoñ, the capital; Rewári, Pálwál, and Farrukhnagar. The principal river traversing it is the Jamnah.

Of this district it will suffice to say that its fate was decided by its proximity to the imperial city. Its chiefs and its people, especially the former, threw in their lot with the representative of the House of Taimur. Its fate, then, followed that of Dehlí. In the fourth volume† I have told how, after the conquest of that city, Brigadier Showers marched a column into the Gurgáoñ district and put down all opposition. After that exploit it ceased to have a history.

It was similar with the district of Hisár. This district had an area of three thousand five hundred and forty square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about four hundred thousand. It touches the Patiálá State, and part of the Sirsa district, on the north and north-west; the Jhind state and Rohtak district in the south and east; the Bikánír state on the west. Its principal river is the Ghaggar; its chief town Hisár, which in prosperity has quite eclipsed the

* It is hardly necessary to indicate the pages which treat of the history of Dehlí. But, for form's sake, I refer the reader to the following: Vol. II. pages 1-31, 57-74, 137-145, 386-456; Vol. IV. pages 1-59, 75-83; Vol. V. pages 270, 271, and Appendix.

† See Vol. IV. pages 75, 76.

ancient, and in many respects famous, town of Hánstí, and the town of Agrohah.

The remarks which have been made regarding the district of Gurgáoñ apply almost equally to that of Hisár. The Sipá and people alike sympathised with Dehlí in its revolt. The district returned to its allegiance only after the fall of the city.

Pánípat had the reputation of being the most turbulent district in the north-west. The district, then a separate one, is now merged into that of Karnál, which it belonged to it. The plain in the immediate vicinity of the town is famous as having been the scene of three battles, each of which decided for the time the fate of India. The first was fought in 1526, when Bábar, by the defeat of Ibráhím Lod accompanied by his death, established the Mughul dynasty. The second, fought in 1556, when Akbar's general, Khán Zamá defeated Hemu, and rendered firm and unshakable the throne of his master. The third, fought in January 1761, between Ahmad Sháh Durání and the Maráthás, checked for a period the advance of that powerful confederacy. The town of Pánípat is fifty-three miles to the north of Dehlí, and has a population of twenty-five thousand. That of the district amounted, in 1857, to about four hundred thousand.

It has been told in the second volume how, when General Anson marched to Karnál, the bulk of the contingent furnished by the Rájah of Jhínd was sent to Pánípat. Being in the straight line between Karnál and Dehlí, it continued to be occupied during the siege. Its record, therefore, is merely the record of troops passing through it. Whatever may have been the feelings of the people, they were carefully suppressed in the continual sight of red-coat and khákí, and the place remained without a history to the end of the war.

The district of Rohtak, now forming part of the Hisár division, but in 1857 one of the districts under the Rohtak Commissioner of Dehlí, was bounded to the north by Karnál; to the east by Dujána and Dehlí; to the south by Gurgáoñ; to the west by Hisár and Jhínd. It had an area of eighteen hundred and eleven square miles, and a population, in 1857, of something short of half a million. The district consisted mainly of a level plain, watered by the Sáhibí, which flows from the Ajmír hills; but the land receives the benefit of a supply of water from the Rohtak and Butána

branches of the western Jammah canal. The chief towns were, Rohtak, forty-two miles to the north-west of Dehlí; Jajhar, Majrá, Bahádurgarh, Gohána, and Narnúl.

It has been related in the second volume* how mutiny broke out at Rohtak, and it has been told in the fourth† how the revolt was suppressed. In the interval between the rise and the suppression; an interval which corresponded entirely to the duration of the siege of Dehlí, the district was held for the rebels. There can be little doubt but that the sympathy of the people, from noble to peasant, was enlisted on behalf of the representative of the Mughul.

* Page 411.

† Pages 75-83.

CHAPTER V.

SINDH AND THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

THE story of the disturbances in the Cis-Satlaj States, in the Panjáb, in some districts of the Bombay Presidency, and Bombay itself, has been told in sufficient detail in the preceding volumes. I do not propose, then, to add a single word with respect to them in this chapter. To this general rule Sind however, forms an exception, for though there was no disturbance in that province, there were circumstances connected with it which deserve full mention. I propose, then, to devote a few pages to Sindh, and then to complete the story by recording in such detail as may be necessary, the action of those Native States which have not been prominently mentioned in preceding volumes.

How Sindh became a British province, and how the attempt to garrison it with Sipáhis from the Presidency of Sindh. Bengal without giving them the extra allowances to which by custom and regulation they were entitled, landed the Indian Government of the day in a sea of difficulties has been told in the first volume.* In a comparatively short time, however, under the wise administration of Sir Charles Napier, Sindh became as tranquil and as easily governed as the most orderly of the older provinces. I might say, indeed, that the more recent recollection by the inhabitants of the grinding sway of the Amírs whom the wise policy of Lord Ellenborough had displaced, rendered them more easy to control, more amenable to the lighter hand of the British ruler, than they probably would have been had they never felt the grinding tyranny from which the British had released them.

In 1857 the Commissioner of Sindh was Mr. Bartle Frere,

* Vol. I. pages 202-21.

better known to the present generation as Sir Bartle Frere. Bartle Frere was a very eminent man who had won his way to the high post of Chief Commissioner of Sindh by conscientious work to which he had devoted the very great natural ability with which he was endowed. Immediately after the conquest of the province in 1843 it had been, I have said, ruled by the conqueror, Sir Charles Napier.

Napier had been a very able administrator. Energetic, painstaking, indefatigable, he had instilled into his subordinates a right conception of the nature of the work he wished to be performed, and a portion of his own spirit in the performing of it. The result was that at the close of the four years of his Government, the province which had ever been regarded as the most oppressed and misgoverned province in India, ranked amongst the best administered and most contented. Napier took a firm military grasp of the country; then formed and trained from amongst the natives a police so efficient that it became a model to other provinces; lightened the assessment on the ground-down cultivators of the soil; exempted traders from imposts; and laid down, at Karáchí, the principle of a harbour, which, perfected, should become the harbour for western and north-western India.

To carry on the work so well begun by Napier Frere was nominated Chief Commissioner of Sindh in December 1850. Few men held in higher admiration the organising genius of Sir Charles Napier than did the new Chief Commissioner. The lines upon which he proceeded, then, were distinctly marked out for him. Entirely above the petty passion of jealousy, Frere devoted himself to this work with all the ardour of his earnest and practical nature. He visited every portion of the province, and then set to work. He developed an efficient road-system; he enlarged the Bigári canal; submitted a plan for the introduction of railroads; and devoted himself to the development of the harbour of Karáchí. The harbour, as it is now, may indeed be said to be his work, for though Sir Charles Napier had marked the spot, it was left to Frere to carry out the design, and this he did with a zeal that speedily overcame all obstacles. With respect to his frontier policy he inaugurated a system which produced the most admirable results. It was a policy of demanding from the

Sir Charles
Napier

completely
pacifies Sindh.

Frere becomes
Chief
Commissioner
in 1850.

Success of his
policy.

rude Balúchís who might attack the Sindh villages the sullen of the actual offenders. In course of a short space of time the policy had the effect, not only in causing a cessation of border outrage, but of enlisting on behalf of the administrator understood so well how to combine justice with the maintenance of order the sympathies of the entire population.

Under the rule of Frere, then, not only had order been maintained, and a system established by which it should be permanently assured, but, as a natural consequence, trade had increased: the population, mostly Muhammadan, had become reconciled to British rule: the revenues had been placed upon a solid footing: whilst the cultivators of the soil had been made happy by the fixing of a regular settlement on the plan which prevailed in many parts of the Bombay Presidency, that of reserving proprietary rights, and establishing fixity of tenure.

The hard work and the anxieties of his Government had affected the health of Frere, and in the early part

Frere visits England in 1856. 1856 he visited England. Whilst he is absent I propose to describe more minutely the province

was administering.

The province of Sindh* consists of the lower valley and delta of the Indus. It is bounded to the north by Balúchistán, the Panjáb, and Baháwalpúr; to the east by Jaisalmír and Jodhpúr; to the south by the Ran of Kachh and the Indian ocean; to the west by Balúchistán. It has an area of 48,014 square miles, and had population, in 1857, somewhat in excess of two millions. The chief towns are Haidarábád, the ancient capital, superseded now by Karáchí, one of the finest of the modern towns of India, with a magnificent harbour, and Shikarpúr. It has but two permanent rivers, the Indus and the Hab. But it contains two deserts; one of the north-west, in the Shirkarpúr district, called *Pat*, and the desert in the east and south-east called *Thar*. Ther

* Sometimes barbarously and incorrectly spelt "Scinde." Blochmann, who is a high authority in such matters, thus writes regarding the derivation of the name. "Sindh derives its name from the Indus river (for *s* is often exchanged in Sindhi with *h*; hence Sindh makes Hind, whence Indus and Hindustan). From ancient times," adds Blochmann, "Sindh has been divided into Lower Sindh, or *Lar*, Middle Sindh, or *Vichálo*, and Upper Sindh, or *Siro*. The Indus has considerably shifted its course from what it was in former times."

are three collectorates, one of which is practically divided into two parts. The collectorates are : 1, Karáchí, the head-quarters of which are in the town of that name. In the same division are Sehwán, in the north, near the Indus, and east of the Lake Manchur ; and Tattah or Thathah, east of Karáchí in the Indus delta ; 2, Haidarábád, four miles from the Indus and six miles south of Míání, where in 1843 Sir Charles Napier defeated the Amírs ; and Amrkót, to the east, the birthplace of Akbar. Attached to the Haidarábád collectorate, and constituting its second division, are Thar and Párkhar, forming its southern portion, and extending along the Ran of Kachh. The chief towns in this division are Díplú, Islámkót, Vírávan, and Nagar Párkhar ; 3, the Shikápúr collectorate, with an area of 11,000 square miles. This collectorate comprises the districts of Rohrí, Jacobábád, Shikárpúr, Larkhaná, and Mehar. The chief town, Shikárpúr, carries on a brisk trade with Afghánistán. Larkhaná, west of the Indus, is the chief town of a well-watered district.

To return to the period when Frere left Sindh to visit England. During his absence there broke out that Persian war which necessitated the despatch to the Persian Gulf of a considerable force from India. The war was concluded just as Frere returned in March 1857. But though a small danger had passed, Frere found a greater looming in a very close future. Everywhere he heard of the strange excitement which pervaded the minds of the Sipáhis generally, especially those of Bengal, on the subject of the greased cartridges. He found the mind of Lord Elphinstone fully impressed with the danger, especially of that particular danger which arose from the fact that many of the Bombay regiments were recruited from the same country as were those of Bengal. Still, up to the time of his arrival no overt act had been committed ; but the air was charged with rumours, and it was evident that, in Bengal especially, mistrust ruled powerfully the native mind. The occurrences at Barhámpúr and Barrack-púr came to add to the prevailing gloom, but nothing of the nature of a preconcerted outbreak had occurred when Frere left Bombay for Sindh in the beginning of May.

Scarcely, however, had he set foot in Karáchí when he received a telegram conveying an account of the revolt of the 10th of May at Mírath. Frere Arrives at Karáchí and hears of the Mutiny.

at once comprehended the magnitude of the crisis. He, least, did not regard the emotions called forth by t glaring act of mutiny as a passing and groundless pani He realised, on the moment, the fact that a crisis had arri which would test to the utmost the resources of the Empi Taking a rapid survey of the position all over India, lie s that the immediate fate of the country must depend on attitude of the Panjáb. Should the warlike people of t province declare against the British, the North-Western P

^{Clear diagnosis of} Frere. vinces, at the very least, must be lost. Reasoni thus, he asked himself how he, as Commissioner

Sindh, could best aid to prevent such a misfortu He had at his command two weak European regiments, one them little more than half its normal strength, a troop of Ho Artillery, four Native Regiments, two battalions of Native Fo Artillery, the Sindh Horse, and the mutinous 6th Beng Cavalry. With such a force, composed of so many diver materials, he had to consider the following question. Supposi that the mutiny at Mírath should merge into a general u rising of the entire population, how could he, with the Eur peans of the force just enumerated and the Sindh Hor effectually overawe the other native troops, keep in subjecti two millions of Muhammadans, and yet serve the gener interests of British India? There was but one way, and th way Frere adopted. He telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone the effect that with the view of averting possible danger it w

^{Despatches his strongest regiment to} Multán. his intention to despatch his strongest regiment, t 1st Fusiliers, to Múltán. Feeling that even a hour's delay might have fatal results he did n

await the reply to his telegram before issuing th marching order to the regiment. Lord Elphinstone, as I hav already told,† gave an immediate reply in the affirmative. B the initial idea was as much Frere's as Elphinstone's. Th minds of the two men seem to have arrived at the same momen to the same conclusion. Frere proposed to do, and did do, i Sindh, what Elphinstone proposed to do, and did do, in Bomba But there can be no question as to the courage, the statesman like prescience, the unselfishness, of Mr. Frere's proposal. Re sponsible for the safety of the province committed to his charge he deliberately risked that safety to aid in the preservation o

* *Vide Vol. III. page 1.*

† *Vol. V. page 3.*

the Empire. The fortress of Múltán has always been regarded as one of the keys of India. Frere risked his own province to secure that key, and he did not risk it in vain. The regiment sent by him from Karáchí to Múltán held that fortress and Firúzpúr during the worst days of the revolt. His noble self-abnegation was rewarded. Whilst contributing to save the Empire, he maintained a firm hold on his province.

It is true that, during the long months which followed the despatch of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers to Múltán, outbreaks did occur in the three larger stations in Sindh, but in every case they were suppressed on the spot, without much trouble, and without external aid. The military police, referred to in a previous page as having been established by Sir Charles Napier, behaved on every occasion with fidelity, zeal, and energy. The consequence was that not a single mutineer escaped. Nor was the ordinary law strained to secure their punishment. The prisoners were tried by regular courts, composed of native officers, and these native officers awarded them the full penalty of their crime, and nothing more.

But Mr. Frere's exertions on behalf of the common weal did not confine themselves to the despatch of the 1st Fusiliers to Múltán. By degrees, as he felt his hand, and as necessities arose in other parts of the Empire, he still further denuded his own province.

In a preceding volume* I have told of the risings in the Southern Maráthá country, and of the manner in which those risings were repressed. To aid in that repression Frere made a further contribution of European troops from his Sindh garrison. Though he would only have been too glad to retain the 1st Balúchís at Karáchí, he considered that their presence was required elsewhere, and therefore despatched them to the Panjáb. In a word, he employed all the resources at his disposal for the purposes of the general need of British India in a time of exceptional trial.

I propose now to turn to the Native States of India, and mark the conduct of their rulers. The subject is not unprofitable. Though the splendid genius of The Native States. Marquess Wellesley had established British preponderance in Southern, in Western, in Central, and in North-

Represents
three out-
breaks
with his
police.

Further
energetic
measures of
Mr. Frere.

* *Vide Vol. V. pages 13-27, and 164-72.*

Western India, the policy of his immediate successors, direct from the India Office, had had the effect, in Central and Weste India especially, of neutralising the great efforts he had ma to secure throughout India the British overlordship. From t very moment of his departure to the time of the Pindári war, period of about twelve years, Rajpútáná had been systematical pillaged and plundered by Maráthá robbers. The scandal last grew too terrible to be tolerated, and in 1818, Lord Hasting after a successful campaign against the Peshwá, against Holka and against the Pindáris, found himself in a position to resto the Wellesley policy. Clutching at the opportunity, he e tablished the system which has ever since existed. The Nativ Princes of India became protected princes, debarred fro making war against one another, bound to receive a Britis resident at their courts, and guarded against aggression fro beyond the borders by the paramount power. The latte attained then the position designed for it by the Marques Wellesley, the position of the predominant and protectin power in the peninsula. When the mutiny broke out i 1857 this system had been working for nearly forty years

Rajpútáná. It will be interesting to notice how it had affecte the conduct of the Princes of Rajpútáná whom w had rescued in 1818 from the most cruel oppression ; of the Hind Maisúr. dynasty of Maisúr, where it had been working fo nearly sixty years ; of the Nizam, our constant all The Nizam. ever since the British influence at his court had superseded that of the French ; of the various Rájahs of Southern, Western, and North-Western India ; and of other minor princelets.

The story of Sindhiá and Holkar has been already told. Some of this, indeed, has been already told.. The preceding volumes have told at great length of the conspicuous loyalty of Maharájah Sindhiá, whose predecessor sixty years before had devised the plan for the expulsion of the English from India. The reasons which probably influenced the able representative of the most powerful of the Maráthá rulers have like- wise been fully considered. Of Sindhiá, then, I do not propose to speak in this chapter. Nor, I take it, is it necessary to make further allusion to Holkar. Of him, and of the mutiny at his capital, I have written at sufficient length in the third volume.*

* Vol. III. pages 132-61.

The question, whether Holkar was loyal or disloyal, is there discussed and decided. The late Mahárájah Holkar was not a fighting man; he had about him none of the instincts of the warrior. Essentially a money-grubber, he valued too highly the security afforded by the British overlordship to risk it for a shadow. When, then, in the chapter referred to, I recorded my opinion that Holkar was free from complicity with the mutineers; that his soldiers had slipped out of his hands; that his presence amongst them on the 1st July would have been misinterpreted; and that subsequently he did his best to serve British interests, I rather understated than overstated the case. Subsequent investigation has satisfied me that during that crisis Holkar was quite as much afraid of his own soldiers as a non-combatant in a station, the troops in which had mutinied, would have been afraid of the Sipáhis. Regarding Holkar, then, it is unnecessary to add a word to the story contained in the preceding volumes. It is very different with the princes of Rajpútáná. Those princes had up to the year 1818 suffered grievously from the plundering Rajpútáná. and the tyranny of the Maráthás and Pindárís. From that plundering and that tyranny the British had rescued them. They had therefore had nearly forty years' experience of the advantages or disadvantages of the British overlordship, and it seemed natural that in the presence of a revolution which threatened to destroy the protecting power, they would display the real feelings by which they were each individually animated.

How George St. Patrick Lawrence maintained the British supremacy throughout Rajpútáná I have shown in previous volumes.* But the headquarters of my narrative have been, so to speak, at the place occupied by the Agent to the Governor-General. I propose in the following pages to transfer those headquarters now to the courts of the native princes.

Rajpútáná comprises eighteen principalities: it has an area of 128,750 square miles, and, in 1857, its population was somewhat less than nine millions. The States within it, all of which with one exception, that of Tonk, are ruled by Rajpút princes, are: Bikánír, Jaisalmír, Krishngarh, Karauli, Alwar, Tonk, Dholpúr, Udaipúr or Mewár, Dungapúr, Bánswárá, Partábgarh, Jaipúr, Jodhpúr or Márwár,

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 163-74; Vol. IV. pages 385-404.*

Bhartpúr, Búndí, Kotá, Jháláwar, and Sirohí. I propose to consider as briefly as possible the action of their rulers in 185 so far as it has not been referred to in previous volumes.

I begin with Bikánír. Bikánír is the easternmost of states of Rajpútáná. It is bounded to the no west by the state of Baháwalpúr; to the north the Panjáb; to the east by Jaipúr; to the south and south-by Jaipúr and Jaisalmír. It has an area of 22,340 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of something less than a million. It occupies a considerable portion of the Rajpút desert: water is rarely found at a depth short of three hundred feet.

Up to the year 1835 the Rájah of Bikánír had been engaged in constant feuds with his neighbour, the Rájah Sketch of recent history of Bikánír. Jaisalmír. The evil had reached such a point the year mentioned that the British Government compelled to interfere, deputed an officer with powers to bring about a settlement. The exertions of the British officer soon realised the wished-for result. Both Ráj. renounced their previous ill-will, and entered into a pact friendship. That pact was existing when the Rájah who made it, Ratan Singh, died (1852), and was succeeded by Sirdár Singh who also observed it. Sirdár Singh was ruling when the Mutiny broke out at Mírath. The event did not disturb either himself or the people whom he ruled. Bikánír was out of the line of the mutineers.

^{Loyalty of Sirdár Singh.} was a poor country, sparsely populated, and the events occurring in other parts of India affected it but slightly. The ruler, Sirdár Singh, was in the happy position of having no grievance. His northerly neighbours, the Panjáb and Baháwalpúr, were loyal to the British master. The British districts between himself and Dehlí, Hán sí and Hisár, had indeed risen in sympathy with the capital, but the tendency of the rebels was to march in a direction the exact opposite of that which led to his desert home. In the other parts of Rajpútáná British authority, though threatened, was upheld. In the truest sense of the term, then, the British were nearer to him than were the rebels. Under the circumstances it was manifestly his policy to remain loyal to his overlord so long as the overlord should display vitality. He was loyal, therefore throughout the troublous times. He could not, indeed, afford very great assistance in the field, for his entire military force

did not exceed three thousand men, but what he could do he did. Not only did he shelter British fugitives from Hánví and Hisár, but he sent parties into those districts to co-operate against the rebels. The Government of India did not forget these services. They assured to him the right of adoption; they added to his territory forty-one villages from the Sirsá (Hisár) district; they confirmed his right to a salute. This loyal chief lived till 1872.

Rewards
apportioned
to Bikánír.

Jaisalmír is the nearest Rajpút neighbour of Bikánír. It is bounded to the north by Baháwalpur; to the east by Bikánír and Jodhpúr; to the south by Jodhpúr and the Thar and Párkhar districts of Sindh; to the west likewise by Sindh. It has an area of 16,447 square miles, but a great part of this is desert. It rejoices in but one stream, the Kakní. The chief of this principality is styled the Maháráwal.

The ruler of Jaisalmír who concluded the pacific arrangement with Bikánír referred to in the notice of that principality was Maháráwal Gaj Singh, a man of considerable ability and force of character. His just administration made him extremely popular with his people. In the first Afghán war he assisted his overlord by supplying the British army with camels. The Indian Government of the day did not forget this service, for when Napier conquered, and Lord Ellenborough wisely annexed, Sindh, the latter transferred to the Rajpút prince three important forts which, in previous wars, the Amírs of Sindh had wrongfully wrested from Jaisalmír. This great ruler died in 1856, the year before the Mutiny, leaving his territories to the disposal of his widow. She at once adopted a relative, Ranjít Singh, and this prince was ruling throughout the troublous times of 1857–9. His own territory remained quiet and loyal. The troops at his disposal never exceeded a thousand men, and he kept these wisely at home. Throughout the period referred to Jaisalmír was absolutely without a history. It has as happily continued to have none.

Previous
immediately
antecedent
history of
Jaisalmír.

It had no
history in
1857.

The next state to be noticed is Krishngarh. Krishngarh is a small state with an area of 724 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 100,000. The chief town, also called Krishngarh, lies on the road from Nasírbád to Hansí, twenty-one miles north-east of the former, and two

Krishngarh.

hundred and twenty-two south-west of the latter. The chief adopts the title of Mahárájáh.

From the period when this state came under British protection, 1818 till 1840, this little territory was the Antecedent history of Krishngarh. scene of constant confusion, caused by the oppression and extortions of the Mahárájáh, Kalián Singh.

But, in 1859, this chief was succeeded by Pírthí Singh. Pírthí Singh was ruler during the troublous times of the Mutiny. He was a mild, inoffensive man, whose sympathies were entirely with his overlord. The total It is loyal in 1857. number of troops at his disposal did not exceed five hundred and fifty, and he kept these as much as he could for the protection of himself and his capital.

Next in order comes the state of Karaulí, the earlier history of which has been told in the first volume.* Karaulí lies between Jaipúr and Dholpúr. It has an area of 1,208 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 130,000. To the south-east, the river Chambal separates it from the Gwáliár territory: to the south and west it is bounded by that of Jaipúr: and to the north and north-west by Dholpúr and Bhartpúr. In 1857, the Mahárájáh was still that Madan Pál whose accession in 1853-4 had only been recognised after a reference to the Home Government. That accession had been accompanied by the withdrawal of the British agency from Karaulí, and by the intimation to the ruler that if he should fail in the annual payment of the debt due to the paramount power, the British Government would take possession of one or more of his districts until the whole debt, amounting then to 94,312 rupees, should be liquidated.

Madan Pál found not only that he was unable to comply with this condition, but that the debt became larger with each succeeding year. When the mutiny broke out in 1857 he was, then, in the condition of a man who, under the terms of his occupation, ought to desire the death of his overlord, for that death alone would apparently wipe out his obligation. But Madan Pál was a loyal and far-seeing man. He preferred the little finger of the British to the loins of the revolted Sipáhis. He exerted himself heart and soul therefore to further the

Excellent conduct of Madan Pál in 1857-8.

* *Vide Vol. I. pages 66-9.*

interests represented in Rajpútáná by George St. Patrick Lawrence. So true and loyal was his conduct throughout those troublous times, that, when peace was restored, the British Government remitted the whole of his debt, then amounting to 117,000 rupees ; bestowed upon him a dress of honour ; and increased his salute. There could not have been a greater justification of the conduct of the Court of Directors in refusing to allow the Government of India to treat Karaulí as a lapse than was given by Mahárájáh Madan Pál within four years of his recognition as chief of that state.

The State of Alwar is bounded on the north by Gurgáoñ and the district of Kot Kásin ; on the east by Ma-^{Alwar.} thurá and Bhartpúr ; on the south and on the west by Jaipúr. The principality forms a portion of Mewát or the country of the Mewátís. It has an area of 3,024 square miles, a population (in 1857) of something over half a million, and has, as principal towns, Alwar, the capital, Rájgarh, and Rám-garh. When the year 1857 dawned, the chief of Alwar was that Ráo Rájah Beneí Singh who had defied Lord Combermere at the time of the second siege of Bhartpúr, and who had between his submission after that siege and the beginning of 1857 given repeated proofs of the possession of a turbulent spirit, especially resentful of the restraints imposed in the interests of the general peace of the country by the British overlordship.

Beneí Singh died just after the Mutiny had broken out, and was succeeded by his son, Ráo Rájah Leodán Singh, then thirteen years old. His accession was the signal for a struggle between the two parties in the State, the Muhammadan faction, always strong in Alwar, and the Rájput Thákurs or barons, representing chiefly the landed interest of the principality. For the moment, the Muhammadan faction gained the upper hand. The struggle for power within the State apparently blinded the eyes of both parties to the occurrences beyond its borders. The struggle was long and desperate. But, in 1858, the Thákurs prevailed, and the Muhammadan ministers were expelled and deported to Banáras. The paramount power then appointed a resident to advise the Ráo Rájah, to assist the council of administration formed to conduct affairs during the chief's minority. His principality was not affected by the Mutiny.

Ráo Rájah
Beneí Singh.
Alwar is
too much
occupied by
domestic
rivalry to take
part in the
mutiny.

Tonk, the one principality in Rajpútáná ruled by a Mūl madan sovereign, has an area of 2,509 square m Tonk. and a population (in 1857) of just over 300, It consists of six detached districts, named after the princ town in each, the districts of Tonk, Rámpúrah, Nimbh Sironj, Chaprá, and Peráwá. The capital, Tonk, lies on river Banás, two hundred and eighteen miles to the south-of Dehlí.

In 1857, the Nawáb of Tonk was Wazír Muhammad Kh The Nawáb son of the famous freebooter Amír Khán, the foun of Tonk. of the principality. He was of middle age when Mutiny of 1857 broke out, and he was wise. principality carved out by his father in a period of disturbance and plunder had been confirmed to his father's family by British, and could be secured only by loyal service to the Such service Wazír Muhammad Khán rendered through 1857-8 to the best of his ability. He could do but lit actively, for his military establishment consisted of but fr five to six hundred horse. But what little he could especially at the time of Tántiá Topí's raids, was done hearti and earnestly. The reader will find a short account of his acti in the fifth volume.* Wazír Muhammad lived to June 186

Dholpúr is bounded to the north and north-east by the Ág Dholpúr. district: to the south-east by the Chambal, whi separates it from the Gwáliár territory: to the we by Karaulí and Bhartpúr. It has an area of 1,200 squa miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 210,000. Its chi towns are Dholpúr, the capital, Bári, and Rájahkhérá. T Ránás of Dholpúr have a hereditary enmity to the house Sindhiá.

In 1857, the Ráná was Bhagwant Singh, then in the twenty Loyalty of first year of his reign. His mature age had give its Ráná. him many opportunities of noticing the great ad vantage of the protection of a paramount power That protection, and that alone, had saved him in 1841 fro the vengeance of Sindhiá, whom he had grossly insulted When, then, the Mutiny occurred, he cast in his lot with hi overlord. When the outbreak took place at Gwáliár, in th manner described in the third volume,† he sent his carriage and escorts to convey the fugitives to Ágra. It is true tha

* *Vide Vol. V. pages 222, 223.*

† *Vol. III. page 115.*

his minister, Déo Háns, less prescient than himself, believing that the hour of doom had sounded for the British, endeavoured to enrich himself by taking advantage of the defenceless state of the country to plunder villages in the Ágra district; and that, having nefariously succeeded, he endeavoured then to supplant his master. But this development took place after the Mutiny had been suppressed. It resulted in the removal to Banáras, as a State prisoner, of the intriguing minister. For his services in 1857-8, Ráná Bhagwant Singh was made a knight of the Star of India in its highest grade.

I now come to the most ancient and most important of all the States of Rajpútáná, the State of Udaipúr or Mewár. Udaipúr is bounded to the north by Ajmír; to the east by the States of Bundí, Gwálíár, Tonk, and Partábgarh; to the south by Bánswárá, Dungarpúr, and the Mahí Kántha; to the north-west by Sirohí, Godwár, and Mhairwárá-Ajmír. It has an area of 12,670 square miles, and a population numbering (in 1857) over a million, of whom about 45,000 were Bhíls. The chief town, seventy miles west of Nímach, is also called Udaipúr. The other chief places are, Gogúndah, to the north-west of the capital, where Mán Singh defeated Ráná Kíká in 1576; Chítór, between the capital and Nímach, a renowned fortress, containing a large pillar of victory erected by Ráná Kúmbá in 1440, but which had to succumb to both Allah-úd-dín and Akbar. The Ráná of Udaipúr maintains a force of 263 guns, 1,338 artillerymen, 6,240 cavalry, and 13,900 infantry.

The prince who reigned in Udaipúr when the Mutiny broke out was Maháráná Sarúp Singh. This prince had succeeded his brother Maháráná Sirdar Singh, an unpopular ruler, in 1842. The experience he had of ruling had convinced Sarúp Singh that his own welfare, the very maintenance of his power, were bound irrevocably to the assertion of the supremacy of his British overlord.

The Governor-General's agent at Udaipúr, Captain Lionel Showers, was at Mount Abu, in the neighbouring state of Sirohí, when the news of the outbreak of the 10th of May at Mírath reached that capital. The Ráná fully appreciated the gravity of the crisis. But his position was a difficult one, for he could not tell how far he might be able to control the troops—Muhammadans and Hindus—who formed his army. His anxiety increased when a few

Captain L.
Showers

days later he heard of the mutiny at Nasirábád on the 2 of May, and of the rising at Nímach on the 3rd of Ju Showers returned from Abu on the 29th of May. In emergency, the Mahárána, anticipating the period when progress of events would deprive his state of the protection he had always enjoyed since 1818, proposed, on the advice of officers, to concentrate his troops in Udaipúr. But on advice of Showers, he resolved to take a more distinct step in the way of espousal of the British cause, and to that end publicly placed his army at the disposal of the Agent.

How, with these troops and the gallant Ráo of Be Showers succeeded in rescuing the fugitives from Nímach has been told in a previous volume.[†] Show rescues the fugitives from Nímach. went on to Nímach, whilst the Ráo of Bedlá esco the fugitives to Udaipúr. There they met a royal welcome from the Ráná, who placed at their disposal one of the palaces on his beautiful lake. The same kind and the same consideration characterised all the Ráná's actions during that eventful period. He continued loyal and true to the end; assisted the British by all the means Loyalty of the Mahárána. at his disposal; never despaired of their ultimate success; and rejoiced at their final victory. A view of what Rajpútáná might become if the protecting arm of his overlord were withdrawn was vouchsafed to him and his countrymen during the raids of Tántiá Topí, described in the fifth volume. Sarúp Singh lived till 1861. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sambhú Singh.

The next State in the order I have given is Dungapúr. Dungapúr. has an area of a thousand square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 125,000, of whom more than 50,000 were Bhíls. It is bounded to the north by Udaipúr; to the east by Udaipúr, the river Máhí, and Bánszád; to the south by the Máhí; and to the west by the Máhíka States. The rivers are the Máhí and the Sóm. The chief towns are the capital, Dungapúr, and Galiakót. The ruler is styled the Maháráwal.

When, in 1818, the British Government assumed the protection of the States of Rajpútáná, the ruling Maharáwal was Jaswant Singh. But he was not only Curious about the disposal of authority in Dungapúr. competent as a ruler, but was addicted to the luxuries of life.

* *Vide Vol. III. pages 168, 169.*

† *Vol. III. page 169.*

and most degrading vices. Consequently, in 1825, he was deposed, and his adopted son, Dalpat Singh, grandson of Sáwant Singh, chief of Partábgarh, was made regent. But in 1844, the succession to Partábgarh devolved on Dalpat Singh. The question then arose whether Dungapúr and Partábgarh should be united into one state; whether a fresh adoption should be made for Dungapúr; or whether Partabgarh should escheat to the British Government. It was finally decided, after considerable discussion, that Dalpat Singh should adopt as his successor in Dungapúr Udái Singh, son of the Thákur of Sablí, and that he should continue to rule during his minority. This arrangement worked, however, so unsatisfactorily that, in 1852, the British Government in India transferred the chief authority in Dungapúr from Dalpat Singh to a native agent of their own selection until the adopted chief should attain his majority. Dungapúr was under the management of this agent when the Mutiny broke out in 1857. He was true and faithful to his trust, and Fidelity of Dungapúr. the territory, during the two eventful years, had no history. Maháráwal Udái Singh subsequently assumed the direction of affairs.

Bánswárá lies to the south-east of Dungapúr. It has an area of 1,500 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of 136,000. Its chief river is the Máhí; and its principal town is Bánswárá. This town lies on the high road from Máu to Dísá, being 123 miles to the north-west of the former, and 178 miles to the south-east of the latter. It is a fine town, with many gardens, a picturesque palace, and a beautiful tank.

During the events of 1857-8 the Maháráwal was Lachman Singh, who was true and loyal to his overlord. Bánswárá was traversed more than once in 1857, by troops coming from Bombay, and, towards the close of 1858 Tántiá Topí and his followers took a momentary refuge in the jungles of the principality. The British troops in pursuit of Tántiá pursued him, and aided by the Bhíls of the district, who "followed his track as the vulture follows the wounded hare,"* eventually expelled him. Throughout the raid of Tántiá Topí, the sympathies of prince and people were strongly with the British.

* *Vide Vol. V. pages 248, 249.*

Partábgarh lies to the south of Udaipúr; is bounded to east by Gwálíár, Jáurá, and Ratlam; to the south Partábgarh west by Bánswárá. It has an area of 1,460 square miles, and a population (in 1857) of about 65,000. Its capital is also called Partábgarh.*

In the reference to Dungapúr I have shown how in 1857 Dalpat Singh, who had been adopted Maháráwal Partábgarh has also no history. that principality, succeeded to the chiefship of Partábgarh, and how, in 1852, the Government India relieved Dalpat Singh of his duties in Dungapúr. rule in the latter state was uneventful, being disturbed only towards the end of 1858 by the raid of Tántiá Topí. The Rajah was true to his liege lord, and emerged from the crisis without a stain.

The next state is the important state of Jaipúr. Jaipúr has an area of 14,465 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of over two millions. It is bounded on the north by Bikánír and Hisár; to the east by Alwar and Bhartpúr; to the south by Karaulí, Gwálí, Búndí, Tonk, Mewár, and Ajmír; to the west by Krishnagarh, Márwár, and Bikánír. Its chief mountains are part of the Aravallí hills: its chief rivers are the Jamnah and its tributaries, the Sabí, and the Kaotlí: its chief towns are Jaipúr, Amber (the ancient capital), Basáu, Bágrá, and Chatsú. South-east of Jaipúr, near the confluence of the Banás and the Chambal, is Fort Rantanbhúr, often mentioned in Indian history.

In 1857, the Mahárájah was Rám Singh, an intelligent prince, fully alive to the duties which devolved upon him as ruler, and anxious to perform them Loyalty of the Mahárájah. He was in the prime of early manhood, being twenty-five years of age, and had benefited greatly from the lessons instilled into him by the officer who had been Political Agent at Jaipúr between January 1844 and December 1846, Major Ludlow. When the Mutiny broke out, then, he acted in an uncertain manner. He at once placed† the whole of

* There are many towns of this name in India. There is one in the district of the same name in the Rái Baréli division of Oudh; one, a hill-fort, in the Satárah district; and one in the Bhandárá district of the Central Provinces.

† *Vide* Vol. III. pages 171, 172. See also the Political History of the State of Jaipúr, in Selections from the Records of the Government of India Foreign Department, Calcutta, 1868.

forces, amounting to between six and seven thousand troops, at the disposal of the Political Agent, Major Eden, leaving only seven hundred Sipáhis and eighteen hundred police for the defence of the capital. The Jaipúr troops marched with the Political Agent to Riwári and Gurgáon, and subsequently to Palwal, thirty miles to the south-east of Gurgáon, after the troops from Bhartpúr and Alwar had joined the rebels, as related in an earlier part of this volume. The Jaipúr troops rescued several Europeans, and escorted them safely to Ágra. They also restored order in the plundering villagers of Mewát, but, when that had been accomplished, Major Eden receiving a hint from their officers that it would not be prudent to try them further, wisely ordered them back to Jaipúr. Considering that the men who composed the Jaipúr army were of the same class as the Sipáhis in the British service, were exposed to the same influences, and were animated by a spirit quite as much disposed to mutiny, it speaks volumes for the influence of their officers, all Rajpúts, and for the tone of native society in Jaipúr, that they behaved as well as they did. The Mahárájah, certainly, set them a noble example. He sheltered the family of the Political Agent in his own palace, and by his wise and careful conduct, assisted by the exhortations of the chief pandit, and by the loyal feeling of the members of his Court, succeeded in steering Jaipúr safely through the perilous crisis. When the evil days were passed the Government of India did not forget his eminent services. They showed their appreciation by transferring to him, from the neighbouring district of Gurgáon, the parganah of Kót-Kásim. The Mahárájah lived for several years after the Mutiny was quelled. He opened out roads, constructed railways, and gave an impulse to education. During the scarcity of 1868 he abolished transit duties on the frontiers of his dominions. Twice was he nominated a member of the Viceroy's Council.

Jodhpúr, or Márvár, is bounded to the north by Bikánír and Jaipúr; to the east by Jaipúr and Krishngarh; to the south-east by the Ajmír district; to the south by Sirohí and Palanpúr; to the west by the Ran of Kachh, and the Thar and Párkhar districts. It has an area of 37,000 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of about a million and a half. The chief river is the Loní and its tributaries: the chief mountains are the Aravallis, but there are several high hills, the Nádolai and others: the chief towns are Jodhpúr the

capital, Pálí, and Mertá. The ruler in 1857 was Mahárajan Takht Singh.

In the fourth volume* I have shown how insurrection rose and spread in the Jodhpúr territories; how, also, Cause of the rebellion in Jodhpúr. thanks to the energy and daring of George Patrick Lawrence, it was stamped out. It is only necessary to add that the Mahárájah himself was thoroughly loyal, and that the disturbances were caused far more by the rebellion against his authority of one of his powerful Thákurs, than by any ill-feeling against the British. So little sympathy indeed had the rebel Thákur with the revolted Sipáhis that he hesitated long before he would avail himself of their proffered co-operation, nor did he do so until the Political Agent at Jodhpúr had declined the responsibility of making the slight concessions which he demanded from his liege lord. Sir George Lawrence, I have stated, acting with the full sympathy and concurrence of the Mahárájah, restored order; and on the return of peace and tranquillity the good disposition of the latter was acknowledged.

Bhartpúr is bounded to the north by Gúrgáoñ; to the east by Mathurá and Ágra; to the south and south-west Bhartpúr. by Dholpúr, Karauli, and Jaipúr; to the west by Alwar. It has an area of 1974 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of a little over half a million. The chief towns are Bhartpúr and Díg, both famous in Anglo-Indian history. The chief river is the Utangham.

The Rájah of Bhartpúr in 1857 was a minor, and the State Loyalty of the Council and mutiny of the troops. was ruled by a Council of five nobles, under the superintendence of the Political Agent. How loyally disposed was this Council the events already told in this volume have fully illustrated.† They sent their troops to Mathurá and towards Dehlí. But the loyalty of the troops did not correspond to the loyalty of their rulers. How they cast in their lot with the rebels has been told. The sins of the troops were not, however, visited on the Rájah on the restoration of tranquillity. The privileges which were granted to other native chiefs were extended to him.

Búndí is bounded to the north by Tonk, Jaipúr, and Krishngarh; to the east by Sindhiá's dominions;

* Vide Vol. IV. pages 385-404.

†. Vide pages 89-94. See also Vol. III. page 101 and beyond.

the west by Ájmír and Mewár; to the south by Kotá and Jéwár. It has an area of 2300 square miles, and had, in 1857, a population of about 210,000. Its chief town is Búndí, ninety-niles south-east of the town of Ájmír.

The ruler of Búndí in 1857 was the Ráo Rájah Rám Singh, then twenty-seven years old. Rám Singh had acceded to his high office in 1821, and during that period his conduct had not been altogether of a nature to conciliate respect. A quarrel of a domestic nature with Jodhpúr in 1830, had resulted in the murder of his very able prime minister, Kishan Singh, and, but for the prohibition of the paramount power, this quarrel would have led to war between the two States. Whether the prohibition brooded in the mind of Rám Singh, or whether he nursed other fancied wrongs, it is difficult to state with certainty. But when the Mutiny of 1857 occurred, he showed no disposition to make common cause with his overlord. It is true that when Tántiá Topí marched on his capital, Rám Singh shut the gates in his face.* But the Tántiá was at the time a fugitive, closely pursued by a British force, and Rám Singh felt that to ally himself with a fugitive rebel would be to court destruction. His conduct, however, in other respects was so unfriendly that, on the restoration of peace, the paramount power showed its sense of his disloyalty by declining to resume confidential intercourse with him. It conferred upon him, nevertheless, the same privilege it bestowed upon the other princes of Rajpútáná, the privilege of the right to adopt; and in 1860, it extended to him complete forgiveness.

Kotá was, originally, an offshoot from Búndí. It lies due south of, and contiguous to, that principality. Its area extends over 3797 square miles, and it had, in 1857, a population of about 450,000. Its chief river is the Chambal and its tributaries. The ruler, in 1857, was Maháráo Rám Singh.

It should be premised that, in pursuance of a treaty with the paramount power, the Maháráo had, since 1838, maintained an auxiliary force, officered by British officers, and called the Kotá Contingent. It was composed of the three arms. How this force mutinied in 1857, first at Ágra, afterwards at Kotá itself, and how the last-named outbreak resulted in

Mutiny of
the Kotá
Contingent
and its
conse-
quences.

* *Vide Vol. V. page 223.*

the murder of the Political Agent, Major Burton, and his sons, I have told in the preceding volumes.* How far the Maháráo was guilty, or whether he was merely passive, cannot with certainty be stated. It is an ascertained fact, however, that he made no attempt to put down the revolt, nor to aid Maj. Burton. How a British force under General Roberts speedily recovered the town has been recorded in the pages immediately following those just referred to. On the restoration of tranquillity throughout India, the Government evinced its displeasure by reducing by four the number of salute-guns theretofore allowed to the Maháráo. This curtailment, which was deeply felt, continued in force throughout the remaining years of the life of that prince. But on his death in 1866, the Viceroy of the day took the opportunity to restore to his son and successor the suspended honours.

Of the next State, Jhaláwar, which is separated from Kotá Jhaláwar by the Mukandrá range, which had in 1857 a population of about 280,000, in an area covering 2694 square miles, the capital of which is Jhálrá Patan, and the rivers the Parwán, the Newáj, the Kálí Sind, the An; and the Chhota Kálí Sind, it is only necessary to state that the Maháráj Ráná, Prithí Singh, displayed throughout the Mutiny unflinching loyalty. He rendered excellent service by conveying to places of safety several Europeans who had taken refuge in his districts. His record was absolutely without a stain. How Tántiá Topí attacked him in his capital, and how the loyal prince fled to Máu for refuge, has been told in sufficient detail in a previous volume.†

The last state in Rajpútáná to be noticed is Sirohí. Sirohí is bounded to the north by Jodhpúr; to the east by Udaipúr; to the south by Palanpúr and the Mahíkanthá States of Ídar and Dántá; and to the west by Jodhpúr. It has an area of 3020 square miles, and, in 1857, its population numbered about 120,000. The Arawallí range separates Sirohí from the table-land of Mewár. It is divided into ten parganahs inhabited by Rajpúts, Bhíls, Mínás, and Grásías. Its chief

* *Vide Vol. III., page 179.; Vol. IV., pages 397-9.*

† *Vide Vol. V., pages 227, 8.* It is a fact well worthy of note that at Jhálrá Patan, as at Gwálíár, and as at Indúr, the native troops of the state were not so loyal as their master. Even at Kotá, it is by no means certain that the Maháráo could have restrained his soldiers, if he had tried. Certainly Prithí Singh could not, Sindhiá could not, and, I believe, Holkar could not.

town, Sirohí, lies sixty-seven miles to the north-east of Nasírábád. At Erinpúram, a town in the principality, seventy-eight miles south of Jodhpúr, was the head-quarters of the Jodhpúr legion, officered by British officers. The sanitarium, Mount Ábu, a mountain connected with the Aravallí range, but rising far above any other point of that range, is the place where the Governor-General's agent, and the other political officers of Rajpútáná can take refuge from the extreme heat of the plains. Its greatest height is 5650 feet above the sea. Mount Ábu* lies forty miles to the north-east of Dísá, a military station in the Bombay Presidency.

In 1857 the nominal chief of Sirohí was the Maháráo Shéo Singh. But Sirohí had always been a troublesome state to govern, and, in 1854, the British Government, at the earnest request of Shéo Singh, had taken upon itself the administration of the country. It was under British management when the mutiny broke out. How, at the first alarm, the Governor-General's agent, Sir George Lawrence, hastened to his post in the plains and thence took decisive measures to ensure the safety of the several districts, has been told in the third volume. How mutiny broke out at Erinpúram, how the mutineers attempted to surprise and master Mount Ábu, and how that outbreak was ultimately suppressed, has been related with some detail in the fourth.† These events combine the whole material history of events in Sirohí, in 1857-8. It only remains to add that the Maháráo, Shéo Singh, though not exercising sway, evinced the most friendly and loyal spirit. The Indian Government rewarded him by reducing his tribute by one-half. He died in 1861, and in 1865, the debt of the state having been entirely liquidated, the rule of the native prince, son of Shéo Singh, was restored in its integrity.

I have now, at some length, given the reader an outline of

* The visitor to India should make a point of riding to the top of Mount Ábu. It is a famous place of pilgrimage, especially for the Jains, whose place of worship is at Dalwárá, situate about the middle of the mountain, five miles distant from the highest point, Gúrúsíkar. The group consists of four marble temples, ranged in the form of a cross. Of this group Colonel Tod wrote: "Beyond controversy this is the most superb of all the temples in India, and there is not an edifice besides the Táj Mahall that can approach it."

† *Vide Vol. III. pages 163-74; Vol. IV. pages 385-404.*

the history of the large tract known as Rajpútáná, during the eventful period 1857-9. The reader will have noticed, I am

sure with pleasure, that, with scarcely an exception,
Summary of the princes who ruled the eighteen states which
the attitude of formed that division of India, were loyal to the para-

mount power. An experience of the protection of Great Britain lasting over thirty-nine years had given them proof that under no other supreme Government would their rights and privileges be so thoroughly secured. It may be added that the loyalty of the nobles and of the Rajpút population did not fall short of the loyalty of the princes. The fact that the Thákur of Áwah röse in rebellion against his liege lord, as shown in the last chapter of the fourth volume, and that he resisted the British troops, was a fact that stood alone. But even he, though he accepted the services of the revolted Sipáhis, had no sympathy with their cause, and employed them only to use them against his own master. That the Sipáhis in the service of the Rajpútáná princes should revolt was to be expected, for they were enlisted from the class which supplied the British Native Regiments, and were animated by sentiments akin to those by which the latter were inspired. How little they were able to effect in the territory in which they were employed has been shown in the narrative. Thanks to the cordial understanding between George St. Patrick Lawrence and the chiefs of Rajpútáná, every hostile movement was baffled, every rising was nipped in the bud. Those chiefs or their fathers had had a sad and bitter experience of a period when no British protection was accorded to Rajpútáná. The memory of that terrible period was strong within them. Then—between 1805 and 1818—disorder was rampant; no one was secure of his house, his lands, his cattle, his life. Then—to use the phrase they were wont to employ—"the buffalo was to him who held the bludgeon." The misery of those twelve or thirteen years, when the Maráthá and the Pindári stalked ruthlessly over their fields, still remain a legend, fraught with bitter memories, in the minds of the people of Rajpútáná. With the inauguration of British protection all this misery disappeared. The change was marvellous. The princes and people were secured against an enemy from outside, and were forbidden to fight amongst themselves. Whatever differences they had were referred to and settled by the paramount power. To the principal States political agents were nominated, under the

control of the Governor-General's agent for the entire province, to guide, assist, and counsel the Rájah or Ráná in his internal administration. Under the fostering influence of these gentlemen, specially selected as a rule for their qualifications, reforms were inaugurated, state-debts were paid off, inhuman sacrifices were abolished, the general condition of society was greatly improved. Under this new order prosperity grew apace. There was not a man in the country who did not feel and rejoice in the change. Security took the place of its opposite: order of disorder; contentment of misery. The Rajpútáná of 1857 was, in all the circumstances which make a country happy, prosperous, and peaceful, as different from the Rajpútáná of 1805–17, as the Ireland of 1689–90 differed from the Ireland of our own time. There was no part of India in which the Sipáhis would be less likely to find sympathy than in Rajpútáná. The presence of the lawless bands of revolted contingents, and of Tántiá Topí and his following, gave a terrible foretaste of miseries which had been endured; which, since 1818, indeed, had been absent, but which the fall of the British power would most certainly re-introduce. The attitude of Rajpútáná in those years of trial, 1857–9, was, then, a striking testimony to the success of the British rule, a convincing proof that there at all events British overlordship was regarded alike by princes and people as a blessing.

Nor was it less so in the vast tract comprising 83,600 square miles, and a population of nearly eight millions, known as the Central Indian Agency. Of the conduct of the two most powerful princes in this part of India I have already spoken in this chapter, and I will now only refer to them to repeat my testimony. Sindhiá and Holkar were, and remained, loyal, though the troops of both princes slipped from their hands. Dhár rebelled, but its Rájah was a minor. The Rájahs of Dewás were loyal; so, likewise, was the Nawáb of Jáurá. The services of this prince to his British overlord were indeed of a marked character. It was mainly owing to him that the British Government was indebted for valuable information in more than one important conjuncture. It was, moreover, the Náwáb of Jáurá who informed the Governor-General's agent of the day, the late Sir Henry Durand, of the understanding between the troops of Holkar and the revolters outside Indúr; and, when

Similar conclusions
to be drawn
in Central
India.

The Náwáb
of Jáura.

Sir Henry took the field, the Nawáb of Jáurá was the only chieftain who boldly and promptly joined him in camp. His name was Gháús Muhammad. He was thirty-four years of age, and he lived till April 29, 1865, honoured and respected.

The other Muhammadan state in Central India, Bhopál, was conspicuously loyal. Of this state I may be allowed to say a few words. It was governed by a lady of remarkable ability and strength of will, Sikandar Bégam. This lady, after some opposition on the part of rivals and others, had assumed the reins of power in February 1847, as regent for her daughter. In that office she had a large field for the display of her talents, and she more than justified the expectations which had been formed of her. In six years she paid off the entire public debt of the State; she abolished the system of farming the revenue, and made direct arrangements with the heads of villages; she put a stop to monopolies of trades and handicrafts; she brought the mint under her own management, and she re-organised the police. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, she was still at the helm. Most loyally and truly did she behave. As early as April she communicated to the British Agent the contents of a lithographed proclamation which had been sent to her, urging the overthrow and destruction of the English. In June she expelled from Bhopál a native who was raising troops for purposes which he did not care to avow. In July she afforded shelter to the British officers who had been driven from Indúr by the mutinous troops of Holkar. She had enormous difficulties to contend with. Her mother, who had become a bigot, and her uncles, who were weak-minded and priest-ridden, were constantly urging upon her to declare a religious war against the infidel. The contingent raised in her own capital, and officered by British officers, mutinied. Other men, not wanting in position and influence, murmured that she was losing a great opportunity. But Sikandar Bégam never wavered. She caused the British officers to be escorted safely to Hoshangábád; then, with infinite tact, and a display of unshakable firmness, allayed the excitement in her capital; put down the mutinous contingent with a strong hand, and restored order throughout the Bhopál territory. Then, when the tide turned, she was as prompt and vigorous in another way with her assistance. To the British camp she despatched supplies, soldiers, carriages, all that could be useful. No one

in the same situation could have done more than did this noble lady.*

Nor, casting the eye over the north-eastern division of the Central India Agency, can I lay my finger on any blot. Of Rewah and its loyal Rájah, guided by the chivalrous Willoughby Osborne, I have told the tale in the fifth volume.† In the same volume I have described the true service of the Rájah of Urchhah.‡ In the third I have shown how the Rání of Chhatar-púr assisted the fugitives from Náogáon.§ Datiá, when the Mutiny broke out, was in a state of civil war, the Regent-Rání attempted to oust the adopted son of the Rájah who died in 1857. In the small state of Samptar there were no disturbances.

It will thus be seen that the native state of Central India had felt equally with those of Rajpútáná the beneficent over-rule of the British. Not one single prince of mature age rose in revolt. One state alone, and that a very small one, acted upon by influences which would not have risen into life had the prince been other than a child, did revolt. The others, one and all, showed by their loyal concurrence with the paramount power, even in the darkest days of the Mutiny, that they preferred the supervising hand of England to the revived rule of the Mughul, or a new experiment under any other native prince.

Of Jhánsí and of some of the minor princelets in the Ságár and Narbadá territories, it is unnecessary to say more than has been said already. The Rání of Jhánsí had, in my opinion, suffered great wrongs, and she resented them in the manner which was natural to her. In the fifth volume|| I have given reasons why the minor chiefs of Bundelkhand. Bundelkhand. khand felt justly aggrieved. Some of its chiefs nobly forgave the grievance; others attempted to work a remedy with the sword. It was, as I have pointed out, the working of the detested Thomasonian principle that drove those chiefs into revolt.

* It is satisfactory to record that the splendid services of the Bégam of Bhopál met with splendid recognition. The British Government recognised her as ruler in her own right, with succession to her daughter and to the daughter's descendants according to the Muhammadan law; made over to her the district of Bairisia, forfeited by Dhár, having an area of 456 square miles; presented her with four guns; and invested her with the highest grade of the order of the "Star of India."

† Pages 75-7.
Pages 128, 9.

‡ Page 110.
|| *Vide* Vol. V. pages 61-5.

But, in western India,—the southern Maráthá territory excepted,—the same feeling prevailed which had influenced the action of the chiefs of Rajpútáná and central India. At Barodah, the Gaekwár, Khandé Ráo, was true and loyal. In the words of Lord Canning, “he identified his cause with that of the British Government.” At Kolhapúr, in 1857, the state was under British management. It is true that the native regiments at that station mutinied, as, likewise, did those at Belgáon and Dhárwár. How these mutinies arose, and how they were suppressed, has been told in the fifth volume.* In the same volume is related the story of the abortive rising of the chief of Nargúnd, and of the causes which led to it. But in Sáwant-wári not only was there no disaffection, but even the two chiefs who had been deprived of power, Khem Sáwant and Ánná Sábib, showed a firm attachment to the interests of the paramount power. In Kachh, too, Ráo Daisal displayed the same loyalty.

If we travel into southern India we shall find the display of the same feeling. Here, as in the other parts referred to, the exceptions only prove the rule. Of Haidarábád I have written in the fifth volume.† Maisúr, once so formidable, ably guided by Sir Mark Cubbon, displayed a fidelity to the overlord beyond praise. Travankúr was equally loyal. So likewise was the able Rájah of Kochin, Rájah Ráví Vúrmá. Nowhere, except at Shorapúr, and for a moment at Haidarábád and Aurangábád, was there a symptom of disaffection in the southern Presidency. Even the exceptions I have referred to, and which have been described in the fifth volume,‡ were mere passing outbursts, to be succeeded by a fervent display of loyalty.

I think, then, it will be generally conceded that the attitude of the principal protected chiefs throughout India, during the most terrible crisis to which English rule has ever been subjected, was of a character to justify generally the antecedent administration of the foreign overlord. The action of the native chiefs was, in fact, a barometer full of encouragement and yet not wanting in warning for the future. It was gratifying to see that the indicator gave evidence of, in the great majority of cases, just and beneficent dealing. In fact, in those

* *Vide Vol. V. pages 13–27; also pages 164–72.*

† *Vide Vol. V. pages 80–8.* ‡ *Pages 8–12 and 82–4.*

parts of India in which the British rule had been beneficent, for instance, in Rajpútáná, in central India, in western India (except the southern Maráthá territory), in southern India, including Haidarábád and Maisúr, the native chiefs were loyal, often as anxious and energetic on behalf of their overlord as though that cause had been their own. In other places where the natives had not appreciated the rule of their masters, in places for instance where these had displayed a hard and unsympathising resolution to graft western ideas on an eastern people—in, for example, the North-West Provinces of India, in the Ságár and Narbadá territories, in Jhánsí, in western Bihár, in the southern Maráthá territories, in Oudh, the native chiefs and people, acting in concert, evinced a hatred to the British rule which led them to risk all they possessed in the world to shake off their yoke. It is consolatory to know that the good impressions produced by British rule largely predominated over the dislike engendered by British mistakes, and that the foreign race which held supreme power in India could point to an amount of sympathy, of energetic action, of co-operation such as no native ruler of the past, with the possible exception of the illustrious Akbar, could have called forth.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIAN NAVY.

IN another part of this history * I have recorded the gallantry of a young midshipman of the Indian navy, Arthur Mayo—a gallantry which was rewarded by the bestowal of the Victoria

Cross. This display of courage and conduct was emulated by very many of the profession to which ^{The officers of the Indian Navy.} Mayo belonged, and I feel that it is only due to the

members of a service which no longer exists, but whose bright and brilliant deeds form an important part of the story of English adventure and English rule in India, to devote a short chapter to the more prominent of those services.

^{Lewis and Mayo at Dhákah.} The gallant service of Lieutenant Lewis, Mr. Mayo, and their comrades at Dhákah, has been already related. It has been truly remarked † that “if the Indian naval detachment had been repulsed in their attack on the mutineers’ position, and had been obliged to retreat, a general massacre would probably have ensued, for in their rear lay the city of Dhákah with a large fanatical Muhammadan population in a very excited state.” The gallantry of the sailors was thus mainly instrumental in saving eastern Bengal from pillage and slaughter.

^{The officers and men who saved Dhákah distinguish themselves again in 1859.} The same officers, accompanied by others, took a very leading part in an expedition against the Abor hillmen in February 1859. This operation, though occurring before the Mutiny had been finally crushed in central India and in Oudh, cannot properly be brought within the range of its events. I refer to it here only to mention that the officers who were prominent at the Dhákah affair in 1857 were again well to the front on this occasion, and, with Lieutenant Davies, Indian navy,

* Vol. IV. page 293.

† Low’s *History of the Indian Navy.*

were most favourably mentioned by the military officer commanding.

In the Jagdispúr jungles, Lieutenant Carew, Indian navy, rendered excellent service. I have related * how, on the 23rd of April, 1858, Captain Le Grand of the 35th Foot had been defeated in those jungles by Kúnwar Singh with the loss of two guns; how this disaster had thrown the district once more into disorder; how the safety of Árah was threatened, and how a panic had reigned at Chaprá. I have recorded, also, how for the time the arrangements made assured the safety of these stations, and that a few days later Sir E. Lugard and Colonel Corfield had beaten the rebels continuously. In these contests Lieutenant Carew, serving under Corfield, took a prominent part. Carew, after making several most earnest requests, had been allowed to serve in that part of the country in command of a battery which he had formed himself.

his services
under Cor-
field in the
Jagdispúr
jungles.

His battery was supplied with two 9-pounders and two $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch mortars, and was manned by a hundred and ten sailors. Serving under him were two midshipmen, Brownlow and Cotgrave. In Corfield's action with the rebels on the 11th of May at Hétampúr, Carew's battery took a very prominent part. They "worked their guns admirably." † And yet that very day they had marched fourteen miles, and before they had time to take a meal had to march against the rebels under a sun which struck dead seven men of the 6th Regiment marching with them. Though the Indian navy sailors were more acclimatised than their brethren of the royal army, yet even they lost three of their comrades that very day from the effect of exposure. The same cause compelled, a little latter, Carew to resign his command to Mr. Midshipman Cotgrave.

Lieutenant, afterwards Commander, Batt did splendid service in the same district. Batt had distinguished himself by his activity in the Ganges between Allahábád and Kánhpúr, in July and August 1857, by shelling the rebels out of their position in the fort of Kálí Kankí. Subsequently he commanded at Baksar where he repaired the fort, made gun-carriages, and trained his men. Later on, in the autumn of 1858, he assisted in the measures taken to drive the followers of Kúnwar

Lieutenant
Batt;

his gallant
and useful
services.

* Vol. IV. pages 335-40.

† Corfield's déspatch.

Singh from the jungles of Jagdispur, being always to the front. On one of the many occasions in which he was in action, an officer serving under him, Acting-Master George

Mr. Chicken
gains the
Victoria
Cross. Chicken, gained the Victoria Cross. The force to which Chicken was attached was engaged with and had driven back the rebels near Pirú on the 4th of

September, 1858. In the pursuit Chicken suddenly came alone upon a group of twenty preparing to rally and open fire on their scattered pursuers. He at once charged them. Surrounded on all sides, Chicken fought most desperately and killed five of the rebels. He would, however, have succumbed had not four native troopers arrived in the nick of time to his rescue. He escaped with a severe wound.

In the western Bihár division, Lieutenant Duval, Midshipmen Wray and Scamp, and later, Lieutenant Barron, Duval, Wray, Scamp, and Barron, rendered good service after the mutiny of the Sipáhis at Dánápür had introduced disorder there.

In the repression of the mutinies in Chutiá Nágpür,* Captain Burbank of the Bengal Marine, and Lieutenant Windus, Indian navy, and the seamen under them, were most efficient and useful. The latter received the special thanks of the Government, and it is clear that he was a man who was equally at home when at work in the field and when engaged in organising arrangements for that work. There was nothing he could not turn his hand to. Captain Burbank's services with Mr. Yule in pursuit of the Dhákah rebels have been already recorded.†

The Indian navy on the western coast. On the western coast the services of the Indian navy in the suppression of the Mutiny were invaluable. "In the months of July and August," writes Mr. Low, "though in the height of the south-west monsoon, the *Berenice*, Lieutenant Chitty, and the *Victoria*, Lieutenant Sweeny, were engaged carrying troops from Bombay to Karáchí, and landing them on that open and storm-beaten coast, sixteen miles below Jargarh, near Ratnaghari, and at Goa. . . . These officers made several voyages with troops, including portions of the 33rd and 86th Regiments and the 2nd Bombay Europeans.‡

* Vol. IV. pages 304-8.

† Vol. IV. pages 297-303.

‡ These were the troops landed on the coast referred to on pages 27-9 of the fifth volume, whose opportune arrival disconcerted the mutineers of Kohlapur. Lord Elphinstone specially thanked Lieutenants Chitty and

The services of Griffith Jenkins have been previously referred to in connection with the despatch by Lord Elphinstone to the Cape and to the Mauritius for reinforcements, but it is due to that gallant sailor to add that he possessed all the qualifications necessary to ensure the success of a delicate negotiation, and that Sir George Grey and Governor Higginson alike expressed their sense of the admirable manner in which he discharged his duties. Captain Jenkins had the gratification of receiving from the highest quarter an official ^{Griffith} Jenkins acknowledgment of his services. "I have been commanded," wrote Sir C. Wood to him from the India Office, "to convey to you the gracious approbation of Her Majesty of your conduct during that critical period."

With regret I confine myself to this short notice of the services of the officers of the Indian navy. Those officers knew well, when in Bengal they gave their fullest energies to a service which was not properly their own, that they were serving under the cold shade of officialism; that though the brows of their brethren in the army might be crowned with laurels, their modest deeds would remain comparatively unnoticed. Knowing this, they yet vied with the bravest in daring, with the most zealous in energy and devotion, and when the Mutiny came to an end they had the satisfaction of knowing that they had deserved well of their country. They had little more. Besides the war medal, which the detachments engaged with the rebels received in common with the army, and two Victoria Crosses gained by personal valour, not a decoration was bestowed upon any one of them. Shortly after the Mutiny, the noble service with which they had been connected was abolished, the survivors were pensioned, and nothing remained but the consolation of heroes —the conviction of duty performed, of honour unsullied, of great services rendered to their country!

With one episode, slight though it may be as compared with others recorded in this history, yet reflecting, in the ^{One final} story of one officer, the conduct of many placed in ^{episode.} circumstances not altogether dissimilar, this chapter will fitly conclude.

Sweeny for the "good services they rendered in carrying the different detachments of European troops down the coast at the height of the monsoon, by which movement, under Providence, the peace of the southern Maráthá country and of the presidency was preserved."

When the Mutiny broke out at Mírath on the 10th of May, 1857, two companies of the 53rd Native Infantry, then at Kánpúr, were on detached command duty at Urái, on the right bank of the Jamnah, about eighty miles from Kánpúr.

The officers commanding these companies were Captain Alexander and Lieutenant Tomkinson. Alexander and Tomkinson at Urái.

The native regiments stationed at Kánpúr surpassed all the other regiments of the native army in the cruelties and barbarities they perpetrated; but the men of the detachment at Urái, free from the contamination produced apparently by the close vicinity to the wronged province of Oudh, displayed a spirit far more amenable to reason. Everything remained quiet at Urái till the end of May. On the 3rd of June, however, the deputy Commissioner of that station received orders to send to Gwáliár the money he had in the treasure-chest. The Sipáhis, on hearing of this order, evinced a great inclination to dispute it. However, they did

Tomkinson escorts treasure to Gwáliár. not do so, and on the 4th Tomkinson started for Gwáliár with the treasure and a detachment of his men. Leaving him for a moment, I may

mention that on the 6th of June the regiments at Kánpúr mutinied. When this news reached the men stationed at Urái, they provided Captain and Mrs. Alexander with a camel, and recommended them to make the best of their way to Ágra, which they eventually succeeded in doing.

Meanwhile Tomkinson and his men arrived safely with the treasure, on the 12th of June, in the vicinity of Gwáliár. At that time the troops at Gwáliár were very shaky; it was

Tomkinson's party is forbidden by the political agent to enter Gwáliár. known that Tomkinson's regiment had mutinied at Kánpúr; fear and distress were in every man's mind. Major C. Macpherson, then the political agent at Gwáliár, on hearing of Tomkinson's approach, sent out a party to relieve him of the treasure, but at the same time forbade him to enter Gwáliár, and

directed him to proceed to Ágra. Tomkinson would have obeyed had it been possible, but meanwhile Mr. Colvin had been communicated with at Ágra, and Mr. Colvin, as distrustful as Macpherson, had telegraphed that no native troops were to proceed thither.

Left to himself, Tomkinson stayed with his men until the state of the country forced them into action. They made no

attempt on his life ; on the contrary, they expressed on parting with him the greatest regret that they were forced to take the line they were about to follow.

Tomkinson is
forced to separate
from his men.

Left alone, it would seem that the villagers, intent on plunder, deprived him of his horse and his gun, and it would have gone hard with him but for the kindness of a native. Hungry and destitute, having nothing but the clothes on his back, he was seen by a Muhammadan villager wandering in the fields in apparent distress. The poor man took him to his home in the village of Amain, and concealed him there till the month of October. A man of substance in the village supplied him with clothes and paid for his food. Tomkinson apparently chafed under this life, and longed for active work; but the country around him was in revolt. He persuaded his host on one occasion to take a letter into Káñhpúr, but the news that met the poor man on the way so frightened him that he destroyed the letter. At length, towards the end of October, an opportunity of rendering service to his country seemed to offer. Information reached the village that a body of rebels, with a large quantity of ammunition, was about to pass in its vicinity. If he could only explode the ammunition, Tomkinson thought, he would perform an act which would paralyse their movements. He resolved to attempt to explode it. Accordingly, on the 23rd of October, he crept out, reached the rebel camp, and made the effort. He was, however, discovered and killed.

His life is pre-
served by a
Muhammadan.

I hope that a story which paints the devotion to duty of an Englishman, and the kindness and fidelity of a Muhammadan, may be considered as an episode not unworthy to take a place in the History of the Indian Mutiny.

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INDEX.

[The year of the Mutiny (1857) is to be understood in every case, unless some other year is indicated.]

In the references, the Roman numerals refer to the various volumes, and the *Italic* numerals and Arabic figures refer to the pages.]

A.

Abazai, fortress on the Sawád River, ii. 372.

Abbás Alí saves Capt. Conolly's life, iv. 411; supplies Capt. Conolly with money, iv. 411; bravely offers his life to protect Capt. Conolly, iv. 392; offers to desert from rebels if pardoned, iv. 393; his offer declined, iv. 394; becomes an active leader of rebels, iv. 394; ultimately pardoned by Lord Canning, iv. 397*n.*

Abbott, Capt., secures quiescence of the Haidarábád Contingent, v. 8; reconnoitres Gwáliár (June '58), v. 151; drives rebels through Gwáliár cantonments, v. 152; his dash and gallantry at Jáurá-A'lipúr, v. 161; his splendid services in Central India, v. 59.

Abbott, Col. Augustus, Inspector-General of Ordnance, i. 377; advises temporary press gagging, i. 394.

Abbott, James, settles the Hazárah district, i. 22.

Abbott, Lieut., joins in gallant charge at Ráwal, v. 51.

Abbott, Major, appeals to the loyalty of his men, and is supported by them, at Dehlí, ii. 65.

Abbott's Battery, specially distinguished at attack on Dehlí Ridge (18 June), ii. 414.

Abdúlah, the chapráví sent by the King of Dehlí's physician to attend Capt. Douglas, ii. 497.

Abdul Alí, bravely offers his life to protect Capt. Conolly, iv. 392.

A'bdu'l Gání Khwájá, an educated and wealthy gentleman of Dhákah, vi. 29; informs Mr. Davidson of intended rising in Dhákah, vi. 29.

Aberdeen, Lord, becomes Foreign Secretary, i. 270; presses Viscount Canning to take office under Lord Derby, i. 272; his Coalition Ministry, i. 273; supports Lord Canning's Oudh policy, v. 180.

Abor, expedition of Naval Brigade against hillmen of (Feb '59), vi. 170.

A'bór hillmen, campaign in A'sám against (1859), vi. 32.

A'bu, mountain in Siróhí, iii. *x*, 164; description of, vi. 163; famous Jain temple on, vi. 163*n*; Col. G.

A'bu—*cont.*

Lawrence there at outbreak of Mutiny, iii. 170; its garrison in August, iv. 88; attack of mutineers, and their repulse (21 Aug), iv. 389.

Abú Bakht Mirzá, a Dehlí prince, secreted in Humáyun's tomb, iv. 55.

A'bú Zaffar, Prince, becomes titular Emperor, as Bahádur Sháh, ii. 8.

Adíl Muhammad, a rebel leader, hides in Sironj, v. 310.

Adoption, the right of, i. 51; of heir to property, i. 51; of heir to sovereignty, i. 51; its importance to Hindús, i. 50, v. 15; religious obligation of the right, v. 16; Col. Low strongly supports the right, i. 59; disastrous instances of Lord Dalhousie's refusal to recognize the right, i. 60-67; effect produced by this refusal, v. 16; the denial of the right one cause of the Mutiny, v. 271.

Afghanistan, Lord Auckland's war with, i. 94; first war with, its effect on Bengal Army, i. 201; effect of English expulsion from, ii. 463; its contiguity draws European troops to the Panjab, i. 252; Sipáhí feeling as to a war in, i. 254; conduct of the Sipáhís in, v. 283; Lord Canning compelled to have dealings with, i. 305; engagement of amity with (30 Mar '55), i. 314; John Lawrence's opinion of the subsidy to be given to, i. 322; presence of British officers in Kábul deprecated, i. 323; Articles of Agreement with (26 Jan '57), i. 324.

Afghans, enlisted freely by Sir J. Lawrence, ii. 355; fear of irruption from, ii. 359; many anciently settled in south-eastern Bengal, vi. 3; they intrigue in Oudh affairs (1800), i. 83; join rebellion in Mandesar, v. 44.

Afrídís, their dangerous proximity to Pesháwar, ii. 336.

Afzúl-ud-daulah, the Nizám, *see* Nizám, the.

A'gar, a station for Gwáliár troops, iii. 136; commands line of communication by the Narbadá, iii. 137; roads near, cleared of marauders, v. 259; occupied by Capt. Meade, v. 260.

Agartálah, Chitrágáon mutineers stopped in their approach to, iv. 294.

Agnew, Mr. Vans, *see* Vans Agnew, Mr.

Agnew, Adjutant-General, informed of mutiny at Vellúr, i. 162.

A'gra, a division of N.W. Prov., vi. 38; situation, and description, ii. xv; the garrison of, iii. 99; Mr. John Colvin Lieut.-Governor in, iii. 96; generous principles regulating settlement of, i. 126; Sir H. Lawrence's visit, on his way to Oudh, i. 321; conspiracy before the Mutiny at, v. 292.

Mírath outbreak telegraphed to lady at, i. 437; the rising is a surprise, iii. 98; Mr. Colvin summons council of war at (11 May), iii. 98; decision of the first council, iii. 98; Mr. Colvin proposes retirement within the Fort, but is opposed by others, iii. 98; news of seizure of Dehlí reaches (14 May), i. 438; news of Fraser's murder, i. 438; troops stationed at, iii. 98; Mr. Colvin addresses the troops, and is received equivocally, iii. 99; Col. Fraser accurately gauges the gravity of the crisis, iii. 99; reassuring telegram from (19 May), ii. 93; Mr. Colvin wavers in action, iii. 99.

Precautionary measures. — Mr. Colvin calls for help from Native States, iii. 101; Gwáliár and Bharatpúr send aid to, iii. 101; Sindhiá sends his Body-guard to protect, iii. 111.

The Proclamation and Disarmament. — Mr. Colvin's proclamation of pardon issued (25 May), iii. 108;

A'gra—*cont.*

Mr. Colvin's proclamation superseded by one from Supreme Government, iii. 108; after Mathurá mutiny, Mr. Drummond urges retirement to Fort, iii. 109; disarmament of Sipáhís at (31 May), iii. 110; unprotected state of entire line of roads to Calcutta during May, ii. 148; Volunteer Force raised in, iii. 110; made safe in May, i. 443; direct communication with Calcutta severed, iii. 111; beleaguered by mutineers in June, ii. 310; its position in rebel plan of operations, iii. 118; the native police trusted, but in many ways frustrate designs of the English, iii. 176; march of mutineers against (20 June), iii. 176; volunteers at, placed under command of Major Prendergast, iii. 175; non-combatants allowed to enter fort, iii. 176; property not allowed to be saved in fort, iii. 176; its condition, and garrison, at the end of June, iii. 175; native contingents present at, in July, iii. 177.

Attack by Mutineers.—Mutineer troops reach Fathpúr-Sikrí (2 July), iii. 177; Karaulí levies sent to Sháhganj, iii. 177; threatened apoplexy forces Mr. Colvin to resign temporarily, iii. 177; measures taken by temporary Council for defence of, iii. 178; Kotá Contingent ordered to attack advancing mutineers, iii. 178; Kotá Contingent mutiny, iii. 179; Mr. Colvin resumes direction of affairs (4 July), iii. 179; Karaulí levies sent away, as untrustworthy, iii. 179; Volunteer Cavalry report approach of mutineers towards Sháhganj, iii. 179; Brig. Polwhele goes out to meet mutineers, iii. 180; force with which Brig. Polwhele began battle of Sassiah, iii. 180; defeat of Gen. Polwhele at Sassiah by over-caution (5 July), iii. 185;

A'gra—*cont.*

Brig. Polwhele removed from command, iii. 191; command of troops at, given to Col. Cotton, iii. 191.

Authority unseated.—Massacre at (6 July), iii. 186; released gaol-birds from, traverse the country in chains, vii. 100; King of Dehlí proclaimed in, iii. 186; British authority re-asserted, iii. 186; disastrous results of Mr. Colvin's over-confidence, iii. 188.

Life in the Fort.—Lálá Jotí Parshád provisions fort, iii. 191; number of people shut up in fort, iii. 189; life in the fort, iii. 187; expedition sent to relieve A'ligarh (24 Aug), iii. 192; childish routine maintained at, iii. 193; Mr. Colvin dies of over-work (9 Sept), iii. 194; Mr. Reade becomes senior civil officer at, iv. 66; Mr. Reade offers to subordinate himself to military chief, iv. 66; fears at, that Col. Greathed's column would proceed direct to Kánhpúr, iv. 67; obstacles to defence of fort cleared away, iv. 67; Col. Fraser created Chief Commissioner (30 Sept), iv. 67; on Col. Greathed's approach, mutineers retire to Kári Nadí, iv. 69; Col. Greathed's column arrives there, iv. 65; the authorities misinform Col. Greathed as to position of mutineers, iv. 69n; Col. Greathed fortunately insists on good camping ground for his troops, iv. 70; the surprise at (10 Oct), iv. 70; rout of mutineers, and capture of their guns and camp, iv. 72.

Release from the Fort.—Raising of Meade's Horse at, v. 217; siege-train ordered from, by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 217; office of Chief Commissioner abolished (9 Feb '58), iv. 291; Brig. Showers takes command at, v. 216; rebels at Kachrú surprised, and ring-leaders captured (20 Mar '58), v. 216; critical condition of town

A'gra—*cont.*

during first half of 1858, v. 217; effect of Sindhiá's defeat at Gwáliár on, v. 219; Sindhiá escorted from Dholpúr to, v. 219; Sindhiá returns to Dholpúr, v. 219; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Agrohah, a town of Hisár, vi. 140.

Ahmadábád, Tántiá Topí plunders traders from, v. 248.

Ahmad Khán, Saiyid, persuades Nawáb of Najíbábád to keep from open revolt, vi. 108; loyally takes charge of Bijnaur, vi. 111; driven from Bijnaur by Mahmúd Khán, vi. 111.

Ahmad Sháh, *see* Maulaví, the.

Ahmad Sháh Duráni, his victory at Pánípat (1761), vi. 140.

Ahmad Ulah, a Wáhábí Maulaví arrested by Mr. Tayler at Patná, iii. 34.

Ahmad Ullah, the famous Maulaví, iv. xix; his death (5 June '58), iv. 380. *See also* Maulaví, the.

Ahsan Ulla Khán, his evidence as to the murder of Mr. Fraser and Capt. Douglas, v. 318; his evidence as to the personal concern of the King in the cruel treatment of Europeans, v. 330; he is granted an indemnity for full evidence, v. 351.

Ahúsi, place where Kunwar Singh eluded pursuit of Brig. Douglas, iv. 332.

Aikman, Lieut., his gallant capture of the Selimgarh (20 Sept), iv. 47; joins Gen. Franks with his Cavalry, iv. 235; his gallant deed on the banks of the Gúmtí, iv. 236; wins the Victoria Cross (1 Mar '58), iv. 236n.

Ainslie, Brig., advances towards Ránód from Jhánsí, v. 254.

Aislacie, Lieut., leads men into Dehlí to stop revolt (11 May), ii. 65; brings his guns into Dehlí after stormers (14 Sept), iv. 37.

Aitken, Lieut., commands at the Treasury Buildings, Lakhnao, iii. 297; his important position at the Baillie Guard, iii. 385; assaults and captures gateway to Farhat Bakhsh Palace, Lakhnao, iv. 108; leads sortie of 26 Sept., iv. 111n; takes part in sortie from Lakhnao entrenchment (29 Sept), iv. 110.

Ajaigarh, description of state, vi. 79n; Rájah of, lends aid to preserve order in Bandah, vi. 79.

Ajítmal, occupied by Rúp Singh, v. 215.

Ajit Singh, uncle of Mán Singh joins in revolt, v. 233; driven from Páuri along with his nephew Mán Singh, v. 233; surprised and defeated by Major Robertson at Bíjápúr (3 Sept '58), v. 234; escapes from Bíjápúr encounter, v. 235; joins Tántiá Topí, v. 310; escapes from Capt. Meade, v. 262; encamps near Mahúdrá, v. 262; flies with his comrades to Sironj, v. 262n.

Ajmír, situation and description, iii. x; its importance, and garrison, iii. 165; the fort garrisoned by disaffected Sipáhís, is reinforced by more of the disaffected, iii. 165; arsenal secured by Col. Dixon, iii. 166; Col. G. Lawrence orders repair of fort, iii. 170; reinforced by British troops, iii. 170; routine of civil duties preserved in, iv. 386; outbreak at gaol (9 Aug), iv. 386; Col. Lawrence pursues and cuts up rioters, iv. 387; effect of Mutiny on troops at Gwáliár, iii. 113; hill commanding arsenal, faithfully guarded by Muhammadians, iii. 170n.

Ajun Khán, intriguing border chief, ii. 372; comes down to Prangar to communicate with disloyal Sipáhís, ii. 373.

Ajúdhia, Gen. Hope Grant sinks rebel boat at, v. 189.

A'ká, a tribe to the north of Lower Provinces, vi. 2.

- Akálpúra, refuses to pay revenue, vi. 132; stormed and captured by Mr. Dunlop, vi. 132.
- Akbar, Emperor, rebuilds town of Alláhábád, vi. 69.
- Akbarábád, occupied by Col. Greathed, iv. 65.
- Akbar Sháh, becomes King of Dehlí (Dec 1806), ii. 5.
- Akbarpúr, place near Kánhpúr, iv. 161; Capt. Rattray defeats a body of rebels there (7 Oct), iv. 312; fords at, watched by Brig. Edwards, v. 242.
- Akhúnd of Sawád, intrigues with disaffected Sipáhís, ii. 373.
- Akyab, contemplated road from to Chátgáon, i. 340.
- A'lambágh, meaning of word, and history of place, iv. *xiii*; description of, iv. 239; mutiniers endeavour to defend, against Gen. Havelock, iii. 358; capture of (23 Sept), iii. 359; left in charge of Major M'Intyre, iv. 109; the garrison with which held, iv. 108; Brig. Hope Grant advances towards, iv. 74; Col. Adrian Hope sent to provision, iv. 107; Gen. Outram communicates by semaphore with, iv. 115; Maj. M'Intyre's able defence of, iv. 120; Sir Colin Campbell reaches with his force (12 Nov), iv. 120; left in charge of Capt. Moir, during attack on city, iv. 121; Sir J. Outram placed in command of, iv. 155; defences erected by him, iv. 239; the great service rendered by Sir J. Outram's defence of, iv. 251.
- Rebel attempts to recapture.*—Strong party sent from, with convoy, iv. 242; rebels make determined attack on (12 Jan '58), iv. 242; complete defeat of grand attack, iv. 244; second attack, at Jalálábád, defeated (16 Jan '58), iv. 245; reinforcement arrives at, iv. 246; defeat of the Maulaví's renewed attack (15 Feb '58), iv. 246; the rebels feint a grand attack, but fear to advance, iv. 247; rebels make a most determined attack (21 Feb '58), iv. 247; this grand attack also defeated, iv. 248; despairing attack of rebels on (25 Feb '58), iv. 248; last grand attack defeated, iv. 250; Sir Colin Campbell returns to (3 Mar '58), iv. 253.
- Brig. Franklyn placed in command of, iv. 280; rebels make violent attack on, iv. 280; Brig. Franklyn completely defeats the attackers, iv. 281; Jang Bahádur clears the front of A'lambágh by penetrating Lakhnão, iv. 281.
- Albert, Prince, his action in moulding the Queen's famous Proclamation, v. 272.
- Aldwell, Mrs., her description of imprisonment in Dehlí, v. 330; escapes from the massacre at Dehlí, ii. 75*n.*
- Alexander, Capt., detaches Gwáliár Cavalry to rescue Europeans at Á'ligarh, iii. 195; sent by Sindhiá, with Cavalry, to protect A'gra, iii. 101; he and his officers, dismissed by their men, at Háthras (1 July), iii. 197.
- Alexander, Capt., sent with his wife from Urái by his mutinous Sipáhís, vi. 174; escorted by his mutinous troops safely to A'gra, vi. 98.
- Alexander, Lieut., leads charge to rescue guns at Alláhábád, but is shot (6 June), ii. 188.
- Alexander, Mr., Commissioner, hears of intended mutiny at Baréli, iii. 206.
- Alexander, Mr. H. A. R., Magistrate of Dhákah, vi. 28.
- Alford, Serg.-Major, greatly distinguishes himself at attack on Bandah, v. 137.
- A'li Bakhsh, a faithful servant and true hero, vi. 65*n.*; shelters Mr. Niblett at A'zamgarh, vi. 63;

A'li Baksh—*cont.*

assists Mr. Venables in re-establishing authority in A'zamgarh, vi. 64; forms Committee of Public Safety during absence of English, vi. 65; promoted for his services, vi. 65*n.*

A'líganj, strong rebel position at, iv. 350.

A'lígarh, a district of Mírath division, vi. 38; description of district, iii. x, vi. 137; garrison of, iii. 102.

Inhabitants attempt to seduce Sipáhís from allegiance, iii. 102; plot to murder Europeans and plunder treasury, iii. 102; arrest and execution of a traitorous Brahman, iii. 102.

Reported mutiny at, ii. 95; mutiny breaks out (20 May), iii. 103; officers and all Europeans sent unmolested from, by revolted Sipáhís, iii. 103; escape of Lady Outram, iii. 103*n.*; Gwáliár Cavalry reach (26 May), iii. 196.

Europeans in vicinity form themselves into volunteer corps, and do good service, iii. 198; twelve plucky volunteers long hold a factory near, iii. 198; 500 rebels routed by twelve horsemen, vi. 138; relieved by expedition from A'gra (24 Aug), iii. 192; Major Montgomery leads expedition against, iii. 192; has desperate fight with Gházís, iii. 192; the gallantry of the brave De Kantzow, iii. 192.

Lieut.-Col. Greathed marches towards, against Dehlí mutineers, iv. 61; occupied by Col. Greathed (7 Oct), iv. 65; held by Col. Farquhar with a small force (6 Dec), iv. 201.

A'li Karím, a conspirator of Patná, his arrest ordered by Mr. Tayler, iii. 35; escapes arrest, through the folly of Mr. Lowis, iii. 35.

A'li Khán, Amir, his petition to the King of Dehlí, v. 325.

A'li Khán Mewátí, threatens Núriah, near Pííbhít, v. 192; repulsed by Lieut. Craigie, v. 192.

A'li Nakí Khán, minister of Oudh, transfers the government to the English, i. 294; selected to accompany his master into confinement, iii. 19.

A'li Nakí Khán's house, a strong building at Lakhnao, iv. 256; its capture by Lieut. Everett, iv. 283. A'lípúr, the Dehlí and Mírath forces meet there (5 June), iii. 141; Native Cavalry sent to, from Dehlí Ridge, ii. 434*n.*; threatened attack from (18 July), ii. 446; renewed attack from, threatened (6 Aug), ii. 485.

A'lípúr, important gaol in Calcutta, ii. 91; magistrate killed by prisoner there (1834), i. 144*n.*

A'lípúr, a subdivision of 24 Paraganas, vi. 25.

Alípúrá, a State to the south of Hamírpúr, vi. 83.

A'li Reza Beg, ordered by Náná Sáhib to supply mutineers at Lakhnao, ii. 502.

Alison, Lieut., his gallantry in attack of the Sikandarbág, iv. 40.

Alláhábád, a division of N.W. Prov., vi. 38; its situation and description, ii. xv, 180; description of district, vi. 69; the key to the whole North-West, vi. 69; its sanctity, vi. 69; Mr. C. Chester, Commissioner of, vi. 70; Mr. M. H. Court, Magistrate of, vi. 70.

No European troops there in May, ii. 83; garrison during May, ii. 182; news of Mírath mutiny reaches (12 May), ii. 182; reassuring telegram from (19 May), ii. 92.

Preliminary alarms.—Col. Simpson proposes that Sipáhís should occupy the Fort (22 May), ii. 184; civil population take refuge in Fort (23 May), ii. 184; Volunteer patrols organized, ii. 184; Sipáhís ask to be led against rebels at

Alláhábád—*cont.*

Dehlí, ii. 185; road to, protected from Banáras mutineers, ii. 185; perfect trust reposed in Sipáhís, ii. 186; the Government compliment Sipáhís just before their mutiny, iii. 6.

Open mutiny.—Capt. Birch induces Col. Simpson to bring guns to Fort, ii. 187; Sipáhís in Fort disarmed, ii. 191; mutiny of troops (6 June), ii. 188, iii. 8, vi. 70; Col. Simpson escapes amidst a shower of bullets, ii. 189; mutineers at, murder their officers, ii. 189; Sipáhís propose to carry public treasure to Dehlí, ii. 194; ultimately rob the Treasury, and disperse themselves, ii. 195; riot and robbery break loose in city the moment Sipáhís mutiny, ii. 192; general massacre of Christians takes place, ii. 193; escape of Europeans and Eurasians to the Fort, vi. 70; massacre and robbery of Bengalese there, ii. 194; Russell, of the Artillery, resolves to blow up the Fort if mutineers successful, ii. 192; his preparations for doing so, ii. 192; the Maulaví makes his first appearance there, ii. 196.

Authority re-established.—Col. Neill arrives with reinforcements (11 June), ii. 197, vi. 70; pillage and intoxication demoralize the Fort defenders, ii. 197; Neill clears the bridge the day after his arrival, ii. 199; he gets the Sikhs outside the Fort, ii. 200; and gives minute directions for the defence of, ii. 296, 297; Neill attacks mutineers, and drives them from the town, ii. 200; return of law and order (17 June), ii. 201.

Retributive measures.—Neighbouring villages cleared by Col. Neill, ii. 201; Government confers plenary powers on three private individuals, vi. 72; military executions at, ii. 202, 203; reckless executions in, vi. 72; gross exag-

Alláhábád—*cont.*

geration as to military executions at, ii. 203*n*; cholera breaks out among the troops, ii. 206; rampant disorder in centre of district, vi. 71; order maintained by land-owners on right bank of Jamnah, vi. 71; revenue disorganization during Mutiny, vi. 73; complicated duties of Collector during Mutiny, vi. 74.

The Advance from.—Havelock starts from, to retake Kánpúr (7 July), ii. 270; arrival of Capt. Peel (2 Sept), iv. 90; Gen. Outram arrives, iii. 349; Col. Powell leads detachment from (23 Oct) iv. 102; Sir Colin Campbell advances from (2 Nov), iv. 102; line of communication with Kánpúr cut, iv. 229; rebels occupy ground four miles from, iv. 229.

Becomes the seat of Government.—Brig. Campbell placed in command at (Jan '58), iv. 313; Lord Canning arrives (9 Feb '58), iv. 291; Lord Canning's real greatness at, when free from official councillors, v. 297; Gen. Franks re-establishes order in surrounding districts, iv. 231; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Allahganj, in Rohilkhand, camp of rebels at, iv. 218; Col. Walpole sent to deceive enemy at, iv. 218.

Allan, Capt., finally crushes Rúp Singh at Kúarí, v. 216.

Allá-ud-Dín, Maulaví, insurrectionary leader, sent to Andaman Islands, v. 83.

Allen, Mr., chief officer at Silhat, discovers Chitrágáo mutineers, iv. 295; orders out Silhat Light Infantry, iv. 295; gets the Chitrágáo mutineers driven into the jungle (18 Dec), iv. 296.

Allgood, Capt., enters the back of Sháh Najaf, and secures its capture, iv. 137.

Alwar, one of the Rájpút States, iii.

Alwar—*cont.*

163*n*, iv. xvii, vi. 139, 153; description of the State, iii. x, vi. 153; forms part of Mewát, vi. 153; Ráo Rájah of, places Contingent at service of British, iii. 173; the Ráo Rájah dies, iii. 173, vi. 153; Leodán Singh becomes Ráo Rájah of, vi. 153; local struggle in, diverts attention from Mutiny, vi. 153; visited by Tántiá Topí, v. 256.

Amain, village in which Lieut. Tomkinson was preserved for months, vi. 175.

Amarapúra, i. 49.

Amarchand Batiá, issues pay to Tántiá Topí's troops from Gwálíár treasury, v. 307.

Amarkautak, source of the river Són, iv. xviii.

Amarpatan, garrisoned by Réwah troops, v. 76.

Amar Singh, joins Kúnwar Singh on the Són, iv. 311; occupies Jagdís-púr with many thousand rebels, iv. 334; succeeds Kúnwar Singh as commander of the rebels (26 Apr '58), iv. 336; defeated by Sir E. Lugard (9 May '58), iv. 337; defeated again, at Hatampúr (11 May '58), iv. 337; a third time defeated (12 May '58), iv. 337; crushingly defeated by Sir E. Lugard (27 May '58), iv. 337; remnants of his army defeated near Keshwá (June '58), iv. 338.

Brig. Douglas moves against him, iv. 339; he makes an attack on A'rah, iv. 339; and re-occupies all his old positions, iv. 339; re-occupies Jagdís-púr and harasses Bihár, iv. 340; Brig. Douglas's plan for crushing him, iv. 339; a party of his men defeated at Rám-púr (9 Sept '58), iv. 340; his boats on the Són destroyed, iv. 340; defeated at Kárisát (14 Oct '58), iv. 341; defeated at Kámp-Ságár (16 Oct '58), iv. 341; defeated at Firu (17 Oct '58), iv. 341; Mounted

Amar Singh—*cont.*

Infantry for the first time employed against him, iv. 342; chased near the Són by Major H. Havelock, iv. 342; escapes in disguise from the slaughter of his rear-guard (20 Oct '58), iv. 343; his main body surrounded, but that also escapes by a mistake, iv. 343; his main force crushed, and driven from Bihár (24 Nov '58), iv. 345.

Amar Singh, Subahdar-Major, his gallantry and fidelity, iv. 111*n*; twice wounded at Chinhat, iv. 111*n*.

Ambálah, situation of, ii. xv; Gen. Fast brings 64th Regt. to allegiance at (1844), i. 206; telegram to, authorising Sipáhís to grease their own cartridges (27 Jan), i. 378; Muhammadans at, laugh at the greased cartridges, v. 348; Head-quarters of Army there (Mar), i. 405; disaffection among troops on account of new cartridge, i. 406; native officers assure their superiors of the widespread feeling of distrust, i. 408; Subahdar taunts men of 36th Regt. with conversion to Christianity, i. 405; incendiary fires break out (Apr), i. 412; Sipáhís apparently contented in early May, i. 428; last telegrams received from Dehlí at outbreak, ii. 103*n*; some fugitives from Dehlí reach, ii. 73.

Gen. Anson secures protection of (13 May), ii. 104; but refuses to disarm Sipáhís at, ii. 107; amount of supplies and transport collected there, ii. 120*n*; Dehlí siege-train arrives there, ii. 142; Dehlí Force moves from (27 May), ii. 127; Intelligence Department organized at, under Capt. Hodson, ii. 136; the Guide Corps arrives (4 June), ii. 351; suggestion to entrench, calls forth witty telegram from Sir John Lawrence, ii.

- Ambálah—*cont.*
 347*n*; protected during Mutiny by Rájah of Patiálá, v. 214.
- Ambapáni-wálá Nawáb, a rebel leader, hides in Sironj, v. 263, 310.
- Ambarpúr, in Oudh, stubborn defence of, by rebels, iv. 227; captured by Jang Bahádur (25 Feb '58), iv. 227.
- Amber, the ancient capital of Jaipúr, vi. 158.
- A'methí, town near Lakhnao, occupied by Gen. Franks (4 Mar '58), iv. 236; rebels congregate in (Aug '58), v. 191; plan for finally crushing rebels in, v. 201; submission of Rájah, and occupation of fort (8 Nov '58), v. 202.
- Amherst, Lord, Sipáhís degenerate under administration of, i. 191.
- Amír Khán, his exactions in Rájpútáná (1810), iv. 385; the free-booting founder of Tonk State, vi. 154.
- Amjhéra, its area, v. ix; rebel troops advance from, towards Bombay road, v. 46; capture of fort, by Lieut. Hutchinson (Nov), v. 50.
- Amjhéra, Rájah of, sends mercenaries to plunder stations, v. 47.
- Amorah, two fugitives from Faizábád drowned there, iii. 269; occupied by Col. Rowcroft (4 Mar '58), iv. 316; the Colonel defeats rebels at, iv. 317; he then falls back from (Apr '58), v. 196; Major Cox advances against, v. 196; and drives rebels out of (9 June '58), v. 196.
- Amrit Ráo, founder of Kírwí Ráj, v. 139.
- Amritsar, situation and description, ii. xv; Sir J. Lawrence's estimate of its importance, ii. 349; secured by prompt action, ii. 328; Sipáhís at, accused of joining in general conspiracy, ii. 323*n*; Nicholson disarms 9th Cavalry at (25 June), ii. 480; and places his Movable Column here, ii. 477; 59th Regiment disarmed at (9 July), ii. 478.
- Amrkót, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Amroa, roads near, cleared of marauders, v. 259.
- An, a river of Jhaláwar, vi. 162.
- Anádrá, mutineers from, attack English on Mount A'bú, and are repulsed, iv. 389; mutineers defeated at Mount A'bú hurry to Eriṇpuram, iv. 390; mutineers from, join those at Eriṇpuram, iv. 392.
- A'nand Ráo Púár, Chief of Dhár, v. 46; restored to his position after the Mutiny, v. 50.
- Anang Bhím Deo builds town of Katak Banáras, iv. xvii.
- Anárkalí, civil station at Láhor, Council at (12 May), ii. 320.
- Anár Singh, Commander of Jodhpúr troops, entrenches himself at Pálí, iv. 394; urged to advance from his entrenchments, is surprised and beaten, iv. 395; killed in battle near Pálí (8 Sept), iv. 396.
- Anderson, Capt., of the Sikhs, killed near Chákár Kothí (9 Mar '58), iv. 262.
- Anderson, Lieut., sent to Múltán, i. 14; murdered at Múltán, i. 15.
- Anderson, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385; takes part in action at Kajwá, iv. 103.
- Anderson, Capt. R. P., commands at Anderson's post, Lakhnao, iii. 298; heroically saves from death Mr. Capper, iii. 288.
- Anderson, Major, Member of Provisional Council at Lakhnao, iii. 278; publicly insulted before outbreak of Mutiny, i. 424; prepares plan of Residency to send to Gen. Havelock, iii. 306; sends plan by a spy to Havelock, ii. 312; demolishes, under fire, houses outside Residency defences, iii. 316; dies of disease at Lakhnao, iii. 326, 384.

Anderson's Garrison, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 297 ; mutineers attempt to storm, but fail (20 July), iii. 303.
 Anderson, Mr., opium agent, one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. - 53n.
 Andrews, Capt., killed at battle of Hindan (30 May), ii. 138.
 Andrews, Mr. R., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123 ; murdered there (8 June), iii. 126.
 Andrews, Mr. T., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123 ; murdered there (7 June), iii. 124.
 Angad, the pensioner and spy, his history, iii. 305 ; his communications with besieged at Lakhnao, iii. 383 ; carries news into Lakhnao Residency (22 July), ii. 211n, iii. 305 ; brings a letter from Col. Tytler (25 July), iii. 305 ; conveys plan of Lakhnao to Havelock (16 Sept), ii. 312n, iii. 319 ; refuses to go out a fourth time, iii. 320 ; makes his fortune by these trips, iii. 319.
 Angelo, Lieut., greatly distinguishes himself at Murádábád, iv. 365.
 Anjon, some Bijnaur raiders caught at ford near, vi. 113.
 A'ná Sáhib, generously aids the British, although deposed, vi. 168.
 Annand, Mr. A. S., Magistrate of Púrí, vi. 5.
 Annesley, Capt., joins in daring feat of turning third line of defence in Lakhnao, iv. 274.
 Annexation, Sipáhí view of, i. 254, 255n ;
 of Sindh, i. 202 ;
 of the Panjáb (29 Mar '49), i. 33 ;
 of Pegu, i. 48 ;
 of Satárah (1849), i. 51 ;
 of Nágpúr (28 Jan '54), i. 56 ;
 of Jhánsí (1853), i. 66 ;
 of Sambhalpur (1849), i. 70 ;
 of the Karnátik (1854), i. 80 ;
 of Tanjúr (1855), i. 80 ;
 of Oudh (4 Feb '56), i. 108 ;
 of Udaipúr, i. 80n ;
 of Jaitpúr, i. 80n.

Anson, Gen. Hon. George, Commander-in-Chief in India, i. 288 ; his character, iii. 7 ; estimate of his ability, ii. 124n.

Premonitions.—With Head-quarters at Ambálah (Mar), i. 405 ; hears of uneasy condition of troops at Ambálah, i. 406 ; addresses troops to remove their fears (23 Mar), i. 407 ; proposes to delay target-practice, but Lord Canning objects, i. 410 ; goes to Simla, i. 412 ; urges disbandment of 34th Regt. at Barrackpúr, i. 429.

The storm breaks.—Hears of disobedience at Mírath, i. 35 ; orders the 85 troopers to be tried by court-martial, ii. 35 ; receives news of Mírath and Dehlí outbreaks (12 May), ii. 103 ; immediately sends troops to secure principal magazines, ii. 104 ; directs siege-train to be formed at Philúr (13 May), ii. 105n.

Begins active operations.—Starts for Ambálah (14 May), ii. 105 ; finds a deficiency in ammunition, ii. 106 ; uncertain how to act, ii. 106 ; refuses to disarm Sipáhís at Ambálah, ii. 107 ; hampered by independent revolt of Gurkahs, ii. 107.

Ordered to re-capture Dehlí instantly, ii. 90 ; declares an advance on Dehlí impossible, ii. 112 ; issues reassuring General Order to Army (19 May), ii. 107n ; his first plan for conquering the outbreak, ii. 112n ; moves on Dehlí at instigation of Lord Canning (23 May), ii. 118 ; the force with which he advanced, ii. 118.

Directed to detach troops to overawe Kánhpúr (31 May), ii. 119, iii. 3 ; confers on Capt. Hodson charge of Intelligence Department, ii. 136 ; directs Gen. Hewitt to bring his contingent to Bághpat by 6 June, ii. 119 ; selects Chamberlain to command Panjáb Movable Column, ii. 346 ; dies of cholera

Anson—*cont.*

at Karnál (27 May), ii. 123, iii. 7 ; defended from charge of want of energy by Gen. Barnard, ii. 123 ; author of book on whist, ii. 347n.

Anson, Capt. Hon. H. A., wins the Victoria Cross for gallantry at the Sikandarbágh, iv. 139.

A'ntri, Gen. Napier detained there by false intelligence, v. 252.

Anúka Singh, his gallantry at Lakhnao, iv. 111n.

Appa Sáhib, Rajah of Satárah, i. 52n.

Apthorp, Major, reports the coming Mutiny at Sítápúr, iii. 254 ; commands at Gubbins's post, Lakhnao, iii. 298.

Apthorp, Col., commands advance guard which forces entrance into Bandah, v. 137.

A'rah, capital of Sháhábád, near Patná, iii. x, 26 ; grave importance of retaining power in, vi. 32 ; prison riot at, in 1855, i. 145.

Preparations against danger.— Railway officials fly from, in panic (11 June), iii. 32 ; treasure of, brought to Patná by Mr. W. Tayler, iii. 32 ; Mr. Boyle fortifies his house, iii. 52 ; description of the house, iii. 52 ; Mr. Eastwick's description of the house, iii. 67n ; rendered defensible by prescience of Mr. Tayler of Patná, iii. 53 ; names of the famous garrison, iii. 53n.

The Attack begins.—Kúnwar Singh directs Dánápúr mutineers to attack, iii. 52 ; mutineers plunder treasury, and are then stopped by European garrison (27 July), iii. 52 ; first attack of Sipáhís repulsed, iii. 54 ; the garrison summoned every night to surrender, iii. 54 ; Sipáhís attempt to corrupt Sikhs of garrison, iii. 54 ; Sipáhís bring two guns against defenders, iii. 54.

First attempted Relief.—Capt. Dunbar, with 415 men, attempts

A'rah—*cont.*

the first relief, iii. 55 ; attack and repulse of this attempt, iii. 56 ; disastrous retreat of first relief (30 July), iii. 57 ; effect of Capt. Dunbar's defeat at Gorákhpúr, vi. 58 ; the garrison hear the failure of relieving force, iii. 55 ; a wounded Sikh conveys to garrison news of Capt. Dunbar's defeat, iii. 58.

Renewed Attack.—The garrison sally out, and secure provisions, iii. 55 ; the Sipáhís return to attack garrison after defeat of Capt. Dunbar, iii. 59 ; attempt to stifle the garrison, iii. 59 ; mining and countermining at, iii. 59 ; gradual failure of provisions of garrison, iii. 60.

The Relief.—Major Eyre's party starts to the relief of, iii. 63 ; Sipáhís try to stop Major Eyre's advance, but are driven back, iii. 65 ; clever combinations of Sipáhís to defeat Major Eyre, iii. 66 ; relief of garrison by Major Eyre (2 Aug), iii. 60 ; Major Eyre enters the town, iii. 67 ; men of nine Sipáhí regiments found among the slain, iii. 69n ; Sipáhís fly to Kúnwar Singh, iii. 67 ; important consequences of its successful defence, vi. 33.

Major Eyre disarms populace, iii. 84 ; and at last gets aid from Dánápúr to crush Kúnwar Singh, iii. 84 ; Major Eyre organizes Volunteer Cavalry at, iii. 84.

Defeated Sipáhís from, invade and plunder Mírzápúr, vi. 49 ; Sipáhís from, totally defeated near Mírzápúr (20 Aug), vi. 49.

Capt. Le Grand starts from, to attack Kúnwar Singh (23 Apr '58), iv. 336 ; attacked by Kúnwar Singh's troops (27 Apr '58), iv. 336 ; occupied by Brig. Douglas (29 Apr '58), iv. 336 ; attacked by Amar Singh (20 June '58), iv. 339.

A'rakán, Bengal soldiers object to

A'rakán—*cont.*

assist in building work (1825), i. 197; general service regiments raised for (1850), v. 285; 38th Bengal Regt. refuse to go to (1856), i. 338.

Araválí range, hills near Málwá, v. x; run through Jaipúr, vi. 158, 159; Tántiá Topí in vicinity of (Aug '58), v. 225; Tántiá Topí driven into the hills (12 Dec '58), v. 248.

Arkát. i. 213, 219; project for English massacre discovered at (1822), i. 191; the siege of (1760), i. 148.

Armstrong, Major, warned of intended mutiny at Vellúr (1806), i. 165n. Arnold, Lieut., relieves Alláhbád with small party, ii. 197; shot at Chúrbúgh bridge (25 Sept), iii. 362.

A'roní, Prince Firúzsháh seeks shelter in the jungles of, v. 254.

Arpú, river near Biláspúr, v. 77.

Arthur, Lieut., killed at siege of Lakhnao (19 July), iii. 300, 326, 384.

A'sám, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; campaign in, against the A'bór hillmen (1859), vi. 32.

Asghar Alí, loyally holds Nagra through the Mutiny, vi. 67.

Ashan Ullah Khán, King's physician, sent to attend Capt. Douglas at Dehlí, ii. 497.

Ashburnham, Gen. Thomas, suggests to Lord Canning the formation of a Naval Brigade, iii. 93; urged to carry China expedition to Calcutta, by Lord Elphinstone, v. 2; diverted from China by Lord Canning, i. 441.

Ashe, Lieut., the famous gunner at Kánpúr, ii. 242; leads Artillery to relief of Kánpúr, ii. 224; murdered at Kánpúr (27 June), ii. 259.

Ashta, the point at which Col. Durand's fugitives entered Bhopál, iii. 159n.

Asiatic Turkey, i. 302.

A'sírgarh, its description, v. ix, 39; its capture by Brig.-Gen. Doveton (1819), v. 39; mutiny of troops at (1840), i. 212n.

Its garrison in May, v. 39; Col. Le Mesurier commands at, v. 39; Lieut. Gordon enlists native volunteers to check Sipáhís (June), v. 40; Capt. Keatinge fortifies a refuge near, v. 40.

A hawáldar-major prevents mutinous Sipáhís from entering the fort, v. 40; Sipáhís marched out of fort, v. 40; fort garrisoned by Gordon's Volunteers, - v. 40; Capt. Blair reinforces, v. 40; disarming Sipáhís at, v. 40; Col. Stuart's column arrives there (22 July), v. 41; Col. Durand joins Brig. Stuart's troops at, iii. 161.

Brig. Hill's occupation of, stops Tántiá Topí (Nov '58), v. 241.

Assan-ullah, Iákím, Dehlí King's physician, ii. 20; his evidence at trial of the King, ii. 25n.

Astell, Mr. Henry, Judge of A'zamgarh, vi. 63.

Asufu'd-Daulah, his vice-royalty at Lakhnao, iii. 242.

A'tak, threatened by Dost Muhammad (1849), i. 31; Guide Corps marched to (14 May), ii. 350; guarded by mutinous Sipáhís, ii. 363n; the fort secured by withdrawal of Sipáhí troops, ii. 345.

Atkinson, Col., suggests disbanding 19th Regt. at Damdamah, instead of Barrackpúr, i. 394.

Atráolia, captured and occupied (29 Sept), iv. 223; seized by Oudh rebels (4 Nov), iv. 224; rebels driven from, by Col. Longden (9 Nov), iv. 224; Kúñwar Singh joins detachment from Belwá at (17 Mar '58), iv. 318.

Attila, his speech to his soldiers at Châlons, iii. 368n.

Auckland, Lord, becomes Governor-General (1836), i. 91, 271; inclined to grant increased stipend

Auckland, Lord—*cont.*

to Dehlí Emperor (1838), ii. 8; his war with Afghanistan, i. 94; his personal kindness to Dost Muhammad, i. 325; advised in his Afghan War by Mr. Colvin, iii. 97; investigates claims to succession at Jhánsí, i. 65; his decision as to the Jhánsí Ráj (1838), iii. 120; his proposed treaty with Oudh quashed by Court of Directors, i. 92: suppresses, but does not abrogate, his treaty with Oudh, i. 93. Aurangábád, its situation, v. 7; its description, v. ix; manufactures of, iii. x.

Spot where Muhamdí fugitives were massacred (5 June), iii. 259; cause of the disloyal feeling in, v. 8; threatened disturbance in, v. 8; open defiance of some Sipáhís (23 June), v. 9; Capt. Abbott temporizes with the disobedient, v. 8.

Gen. Woodburn's troops diverted to, iii. 141; disturbances at, suppressed, iii. 141, v. 9; Major Follett succeeds Gen. Woodburn in command at, v. 11; local opinion as to dangerous condition of district, v. 12n; Bombay column unnecessarily detained in, v. 10; Brig. Stuart succeeds to command of troops halted at, iii. 161; Bombay column at length leaves (12 July), v. 12.

Aurungzíb, his descent from Taimur, ii. 2; his war against the prince of Rájpútáná, iii. 237.

Austin, Capt., drives rebels from Bhogníwálá with his guns, iv. 361.

Ava, first contest with, in 1826, i. 47.

A'wah, Thákur of, tries to make terms with the English, but his offer refused, iv. 394; Capt. Monck-Mason not allowed to negotiate with him, iv. 395; joins the rebel ranks with his forces, iv. 395; he marches on Pálí, iv. 395;

A'wah, Thákur of—*cont.*

and defeats the Jodhpúr Contingent there, iv. 396; he and the Erinpuram mutineers take up position at his fort, iv. 394; the fort strengthened by rebels, iv. 396; found too strong for Sir George Lawrence to attack, iv. 397; but is attacked and captured by Col. Holmes (19 Jan '58), iv. 400; the Thákur skilfully evacuates his fort, iv. 401; it is destroyed as a place of defence, iv. 401; this is the isolated case of rebellion in Rájpútáná, vi. 164.

Ayúdhya, ancient capital of Oudh, iii. 269.

Ayúdhya, in Chutiá Nágpúr iv. 306; Rájah of Purahát proclaimed independent ruler there, iv. 306; Capt. Hale attacks and disperses his following, iv. 306.

A'zamgarh, a district of Banáras division, ii. xv, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 63; Maj. Burroughs commands troops at, vi. 63; dangerous state of Sipáhís at, reported, ii. 155; Sipáhís refuse cartridges, ii. 160.

The Outbreak.—Treasure from Gorákhpúr, causes rising, ii. 161; the mutiny at (3 June), vi. 63; Sipáhís protect some officers and kill others, ii. 161; they escort surviving officers ten miles from the station, ii. 162n; European civil officers flee on outbreak, vi. 63; European inhabitants escape to Gházípúr, ii. 162; rebels attack police-station and release prisoners, vi. 65.

Struggle for Supremacy.—Sipáhís from, aid the mutineers at Kánhpúr, ii. 248; mutineers march to Faizábád, ii. 162; partly tranquillized by Mr. Wynyard after mutiny, vi. 55; A'li Baksh shelters Mr. Niblett at, vi. 63; during absence of English, A'li Baksh forms Committee of Public Safety, vi. 65; Mr. Venables and

'zamgarh—*cont.*

Mr. Dunn return to rescue hidden Europeans, vi. 64; Mr. Venables and Mr. Dunn re-enter and take possession of, vi. 64; A'li Bakhsh assists Mr. Venables to re-establish authority in vi. 64; Mr. Venables sends away Sipáhís from (18 July), vi. 66; and goes out himself against rebels, vi. 65; an attack of rebels defeated (16 July), iv. 222; Mr. Venables attacks the Palwár clan, vi. 65; he marches a third time against rebels (20 July), vi. 66; the Palwárs drive him back into the town, vi. 66; Mr. Venables inflicts fearful loss on rebels in his third retreat, vi. 66; Palwárs fear to follow him into the town, vi. 66; council of war held at (20 July), vi. 66; rebels disappear from, through fear of Mr. Venables (21 July), vi. 67; various officers and gentlemen arrive, and strengthen Mr. Venables, vi. 66: effect of Dáná-púr mutiny on, vi. 67; Mr. Tucker authorises its evacuation, vi. 67; abandoned by direction (30 July), vi. 67.

Re-occupation. — Occupied by Gurkhás (13 Aug), iv. 222, vi. 67; Mr. Pollock assumes charge of district, vi. 68; Gurkhás from, capture Aträolia (29 Sept), iv. 223; Col. Longden ordered to clear rebels from, iv. 104; Gurkhás at, ordered to cross into Oudh, iv. 227.

Small force there under command of Col. Milman (Mar '58), iv. 319; Col. Milman advances from, to attack Kúnwar Singh, iv. 319; but is driven back to, iv. 320; reinforcements arrive, and Col. Dames assumes command (27 Mar '58), iv. 320; Lord Mark Kerr's skilful relief of (6 Apr '58), iv. 325; retreat of Kúnwar Singh from, iv. 330; effectually relieved by Sir E. Lugard, iv. 330; Yeo-

A'zamgarh—*cont.*

manry Corps does good service at, vi. 23.

Azígarh, Rání of, renders generous assistance to fugitives from Náo-gáon, iii. 130.

Azim Jáb, Khán, son of Dost Muhammad, i. 320; negotiates with John Lawrence, i. 322.

A'zím-ud-Dín Khán, Saiad, Deputy Collector, one of the brave defenders of A'trah, iii. 53n.

Azim-ullah Khán, appears in England as agent for Náná Sáhib, i. 79; returns from England a rebel, i. 425; his visit to the Crimea (1854), i. 454; accompanies Náná Sáhib in his mysterious visit to Lakhnao in April, i. 422; joins Bithúr troops in a march on Dehlí, ii. 234; advises Náná Sáhib to return to Kánhpúr, ii. 234; instigates attack on English, ii. 236; offers terms of capitulation to Kánhpúr defenders, ii. 251; negotiates Kánhpúr capitulation, on behalf of Náná Sáhib, ii. 252; present at massacre of Kánhpúr garrison, ii. 256; Col. Williams's judicial inquiry into his conduct, vi. 78.

B.

Bábá Bhat, brother of Náná Sáhib, assist in rebellion, ii. 236; sent by Náná Sáhib to Mr. Morland, i. 422; Col. Williams's judicial inquiry into his conduct at Kánhpúr, vi. 78.

Bábá Gangádhar Ráo, created Rajah of Jhánsí (1838), iii. 119.

- Bábar, Emperor, his victory at Pánípat (1526), vi. 140.
- Bábá Sáhib, one ruler of Dewás, v. x.
- Bábú Rám-baksh, Náná Sáhib's letter of condolence to, ii. 501.
- Bad Faith, the prime cause of the Mutiny, v. 282.
- Badámí, station to which dangerous Sipáhís were sent, v. 22; Thákur Singh sent by Mr. Seton-Karr to command at, v. 22.
- Badáun, *see* Budáun.
- Badáwar, Rájah of, restored to rank and fortune, in Agra district, i. 126.
- Badlapúr, occupied by Gen. Franks, iv. 229, 231.
- Badlí-ki-Sarai, place where mutineers made their great stand outside Dehlí, ii. 142; battle of (8 June), ii. 143; complete defeat of mutineers, ii. 145; Guide Corps arrives just too late for action, ii. 351.
- Badrúp, rebels driven from (22 Dec), iv. 241.
- Bádsháhbágħ, Jálāndhar mutineers escape from Dehrá Dún at, vi. 118.
- Bádsháhganj, Mehndí Husen defeated at (23 Feb '58) iv. 234.
- Bádsháh Manzil, palace at Lakhnao, iv. xvii.
- Bagdá, nephew of Sáh Mall, his combat with Mr. Dunlop, vi. 130.
- Bágherhat, a station of Jessor, vi. 26.
- Bághpat, selected by Gen. Anson as point of junction for Dehlí and Mírath forces, ii. 119.
- Bagodá, Capt. Dalton compelled to retire to, iv. 98; Lieut. Earle brings Sikhs to, to support Capt. Dalton, iv. 98.
- Bágrá, a town of Jaipúr, vi. 158.
- Bagrod, scene of slight conflict with Tántiá Topí, v. 238.
- Bagshawe, Adjutant, murdered at Jálāndhar (7 June), ii. 375.
- Bagurá, a district of Rájsháhí, iii. xii, vi. 3, 26.
- Bagwah, seamen from Calcutta pass through, iv. 300.
- Báh, plunderers of, captured at Kachrú (20 Mar '58) v. 216.
- Bahádurgarh, a town of Rohtak, vi. 141.
- Bahádurpúr, occupied by Sir Hugh Rose, v. 151.
- Bahádur Sháh, proclaimed titular Emperor (1837), ii. 8; his character, iv. 50; palace intrigues of, ii. 9; the Queen Zínat Mahal interferes with succession to title, ii. 10; objects to succession of Fakir-ud-din (1850), ii. 18; fails in securing pensions for his favourites, ii. 20; kingly title to end with his death, ii. 12; makes special appeal for recognition of Jawan Bakht's succession (1856), ii. 21. Wishes to become a Shíáh, ii. 29; actually corresponds with Persia (1857), ii. 30.
- Proclaimed King of Dehlí (11 May), ii. 2; his helplessness at outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 61; personally endeavours to save Capt. Douglas from danger, ii. 58; makes an effort to save English ladies, ii. 61n; his famous proclamation, v. 323; surrenders to Capt. Hodson, iv. 53; Gen. Wilson refuses to see him, iv. 54; his trial (27 Jan '58), v. 270, 311; the trial lasts forty days, v. 271; he is sentenced to be transported for life, v. 271, 361; the sentence proposed by Sir J. Lawrence, v. 361.
- Baháwalpúr, near Rájpútáná, iv. xvii; to north of Sindh, vi. 144; the chief of, directed to send troops against Multán, i. 20.
- Bahráich, situation of, iii. xi; description of division, iii. 261; garrisoned only by local corps, iii. 239; Mr. C. Wingfield, Commissioner at, iii. 261; Mr. Cunliffe, Deputy Commissioner at, iii. 264; Lieut. L. Clarke commands at, iii. 264; officers escape from the troops, iii. 264; they reach Nán-

Bahráich—*cont.*

párá, but are refused shelter, iii. 264; they return to Bahráich, iii. 264; they attempt to cross the Ghághrá, but are murdered, iii. 265.
 Begum of Oudh and Náná Sáhib driven through (Dec '58), v. 204.
 Bahúnáth Singh, rebel leader in Oudh, v. 189.
 Baillie, Col., Resident at Court of Oudh, iii. 242n.
 Baillie Guard, name of the Residency buildings at Lakhnao, iii. 242; mutineers try to burn gate (19 Aug), iii. 316; Gen. Havelock enters triumphantly (25 Sept), iii. 365.
 Bainbridge, Mr., joins in attack on mutinous Sipáhís at Dhákah, iv. 293.
 Bairámghát, fugitives from Bahráich murdered at, iii. 265.
 Bairsiá, taken from Dhár and added to Bhopál, vi. 167n.
 Baisúna, between Mírath and Bijnaur, first hears of mutiny through Bijnaur, vi. 104.
 Baiswárá, plan for finally crushing rebels in, v. 200.
 Baitarání, river of Katak, iv. xvi.
 Bajanagar, receives mysterious chapátis (9 Feb), i. 420n.
 Bájí Ráo, Peshwá, surrenders (1818), i. 71; the circumstances of his pension, v. 289; retires to Bithúr, i. 72; avoids Káhnpuír, because not saluted there, i. 423n; actively loyal to the Company during his retirement, i. 72; formally adopts a successor, i. 73; his adopted son Náná Sáhib, i. 422; succession to his pension refused, i. 74.
 Bájrúl, Zamíndár of, plunders district round Dehlí, vi. 129; Mr. Dunlop advances against, vi. 129.
 Bakhtáwar Singh, or Bakhtáwass Singh, witnesses Commissioner Fraser's murder at Dehlí, ii. 60n; his evidence at trial of King of Dehlí, ii. 496.

Bakht Khán, Subahdár, effusively loyal at Baréli, becomes an active leader in rebellion (14 May), iii. 203n; induced by Khán Bahádur Khán to go to Dehlí (June), iii. 212; becomes the general in command at Dehlí, ii. 426; attempts to attack rear of Dehlí Ridge, but fails (4 July), ii. 426; evacuates Dehlí (19 Sept), iv. 50; urges the Dehlí King to defy the English, iv. 50; endeavours to persuade the King of Dehlí to keep with the army, iv. 51.

Bákirganj, a district of Dhákah, vi. 3, 28; remains tranquil during Mutiny, vi. 31.

Baksar, its situation and importance, iii. 62; Major Eyre organizes a small force at (29 July), iii. 62; arrival of Capt. L'Estrange with a few troops, iii. 62.

Bálábét, its situation, v. ix; fort captured by Major Gaußen (23 June), v. 67.

Balamgarh, *see* Ballabgarh.

Balandshahr, a district of Mírath division, vi. 38; meaning of name, ii. xv; mutiny at (21 May), iii. 103, vi. 134; civil officers driven from, by Gújars, vi. 134; officers return to (25 May), vi. 135; passes into possession of rebels, iv. 62; Lieut.-Col. Greathed marches towards, against Dehlí mutineers, iv. 61; he fights a battle there (28 Sept), iv. 63.

Baláotí, a stream, attempt made to check Major Eyre at, iii. 64.

Bálá Ráo, brother of Náná Sáhib assists in rebellion, ii. 236; wounded at Pándú Nadí conveys news of disaster to Náná Sáhib, ii. 279; goes to Cháodrá Bhopál Singh at Fathpúr in Oudh, v. 306; joins Tántí Topí at Kálp v. 306; tries to establish himself at Tulsípúr, v. 204; driven from Tulsípúr, by Col. Rowcroft, v. 204; driven from Kandakót into Nipál, v. 204; escapes finally int.

Bálá Ráo—*cont.*

Nipál, but is anxious for pardon (May '59), v. 207; Col. Williams's judicial inquiry into his conduct, vi. 78.

Balasor, *see* Báleswar.

Baldeo Singh raises loyal horsemen on the Chambal, v. 218.

Báleswar, district of Orísá, iv. xvii, vi. 3.

Bálíganj, head-quarters of Body-guard, Calcutta, vi. 21.

Balindah, spot near Fathpúr, where Havelock joined Renand in the advance on Kánhpúr, ii. 271.

Balkh, one base of operations for Dost Muhammad, i. 320.

Ballabgarh, Rájah of, submits and is spared, iv. 75; tried and hanged at Dehlí, iv. 76.

Ballia, Kúnwar Singh crosses the Ganges near, iv. 334.

Balmain, Mr., Assistant Magistrate of Mírzápúr, vi. 46.

Balrámpúr, Rájah of, offers to protect English at Sikrorá, iii. 262; saves nineteen Europeans, iii. 264; plan for finally crushing rebels in his district, v. 201; capture of fort (16 Dec '58), v. 203.

Bamnughátí, Rájah of, fears outbreak from Dharuahs, vi. 5.

Banáras, a division of N. W. Prov., ii. xv, vi. 38; description of the division, ii. 149, vi. 39; the fortification of Rájghát at, vi. 43; respect paid to representative of ancient ruler of, v. 290n; mutinous regiments ordered to (1844), i. 206; prison disturbances at (1846), i. 144; discontented members of Dehlí Royal Family reside there, ii. 150.

Preparation for the Storm.—No European troops there in May, ii. 83; relief from Dánápúr stopped at Chaprá, ii. 155; arms distributed to Europeans, ii. 157; Mr. Tucker's method of preserving order, ii. 153; Col. Gordon proposes to retreat with the troops to

Banáras—*cont.*

Chanár, vi. 41n; Capts. Olpherts and Watson propose retreat to Chanár, ii. 152; discussion of proposal to retreat from, ii. 152n; the entreaties of Mr. Gubbins and Mr. Lind prevent retreat from, vi. 41n; the Mint constituted a rallying place, ii. 153; although in great peril first reinforcements are sent on to Kánhpúr, ii. 154; tranquillity partly restored (20 May), ii. 92; troops reinforce at end of May, ii. 98.

Disarmament and Mutiny.—Incendiary fires break out, ii. 160; discussion of disarmament, ii. 164n; Major Barrett protests against disarmament of his Sipáhís, ii. 165; Gen. Neill arrives there (4 June), ii. 162; disarms Sipáhís, ii. 163; mutiny at (4 June), iii. 8; alarm and flight of Europeans on day of disarmament, ii. 172; flight of Europeans to Mint, for protection, ii. 174; Sipáhís resent disarmament, and fire on Europeans, ii. 167; Sikhs appear to mutiny, and are scattered by grape, ii. 168; three conflicting accounts of disarmament discussion, ii. 165n; official opinion of method of disarming Sipáhís, ii. 170; moral effect of the stern method of disarmament there, ii. 171.

Repressive measures. — Many Hindus and Sikhs help the English, ii. 173, 174; faithful Sikhs deliver up treasure, &c., to English, ii. 173n; command of troops given to Col. Gordon by Col. Neill, ii. 197; martial law proclaimed (9 June), ii. 176; retributive executions busily engaged in, ii. 177; general anarchy prevails in rural districts, ii. 176.

Authority restored. — Perfect tranquillity of city, after the so-called mutiny, ii. 175; Col. Longden leads party from, to co-

Banáras—*cont.*

operate with Gurkhás (Oct), iv. 224; its critical position in Mar. 1858, iv. 321; Lord Mark Kerr starts from, for A'zamgarh (2 Apr '58), iv. 322.

Useful service of the Rájah of, vi. 45; excellent service of Pandit Gokal Chand at, vi. 45; the great services of Surát Singh at, vi. 43; loyal assistance of Ráo Devnaráin Singh at, vi. 44; activity of Mr. Chapman in, vi. 45.

Banáras, Rájah of, energetically assists the English, ii. 174; supplies escort for ladies from Gorákh-púr, vi. 56.

Banás, river, on the banks of which Gen. Roberts defeated Tántiá Topí (14 Aug '58), v. 226; guarded by Brig. Showers (Jan '59), v. 225.

Bandah, a district of Alláhábád division, vi. 38, v. ix; description of district, vi. 78; Mr. Mayne's efforts to preserve order, vi. 79; treasure sent to safer stations, vi. 80; treasury balances trusted to Sipáhís, vi. 80.

Insurrection.—Arrival of Fath-púr fugitives causes insurrection (8 June), vi. 80; first insurrection suppressed, vi. 80; English ladies protected by Nawáb, vi. 81; the Nawáb joins in attempt to disarm Sipáhís, vi. 81; mutiny at (14 June), iii. 131, vi. 81; the place abandoned by officials, vi. 81.

General anarchy.—On retreat of the Europeans general anarchy prevails, vi. 81; mutiny at, causes fugitives from Náogáon to turn to Kalinjar, iii. 129; order partly restored by the Nawáb, vi. 82; Réwah troops sent to, v. 76; friendly letters sent to Mr. Mayne by the Nawáb, vi. 82; Mr. Mayne refuses to answer the Nawáb's letters, vi. 82.

Attack and Capture.—Gen. Whitlock leads his army against, vi. 82; a trap laid for Gen. Whit-

Bandah—*cont.*

lock, v. 135; an ambush at Kabrai, v. 136; entrance to the town disputed, v. 136; Col. Apthorp forces entrance into, and Nawáb flies to Kálpí, v. 137; entered by Gen. Whitlock (19 Apr '58), v. 140; Mr. Mayne returns to, vi. 82; Mr. Mayne punishes people in disturbed districts, vi. 83; the place brought back to order, vi. 83.

Bandah, Nawáb of, his family and antecedents, vi. 79; his numerous acts of kindness to English fugitives, iii. 131; accepts charge of English ladies, vi. 81; joins in attempt to disarm Sipáhís, vi. 81; after retreat of the English officials, he gets rid of the Sipáhís, vi. 82; renders generous assistance to fugitives from Náogáon, iii. 130; saves lives of English fugitives from Náogáon, vi. 82; communicates with Mr. Mayne, vi. 82; Mr. Mayne refuses to answer his letters, vi. 81; tries to preserve order, vi. 82; maintains some authority till the approach of Gen. Whitlock's force, vi. 82; flees from Gen. Whitlock, vi. 82; flies to Kálpí for shelter, v. 126; retreats from Jáurá Alipúr with Tántiá Topí, v. 221; suggests the seizure of Indúr, v. 228; assists Tántiá Topí at Náthduwárá, v. 307; surrenders (Nov '58), v. 247.

Banda Husén, rebel leader, defeated by Gen. Franks at Chandá, iv. 231.

Bangáun, strong rebel position at, iv. 350; Col. Walker completely defeats Gújádar Singh at (Apr. '59), v. 206.

Banhásiá, capture of fort (5 Dec '58), v. 203.

Bankes, Lieut., wounded near Lakhnao, iv. 284.

Bankha Baí, threatens to burn her palace, i. 60; abandons hope of Nágpúr independence (1854), i. 62.

- Bánkí, rebels finally defeated at, by Lord Clyde, v. 204.
- Bánkípúr, civil station of Patná, iii. 43; mutinous Sipáhís executed at (1764), i. 151.
- Banks, Maj., selected to succeed Sir H. Lawrence at Lakhnao, iii. 277; member of Provisional Council at Lakhnao, iii. 278; becomes Chief Commissioner, iii. 378; succeeds Sir H. Lawrence in civil capacity (4 July), iii. 297; shot at siege of Lakhnao (21 July), iii. 304, 379.
- Banks's House, Lakhnao, first capture of (17 Nov), iv. 147; its second capture (10 Mar '58), iv. 265.
- Bánkurá, a district of Western Bengal, vi. 3.
- Bannerman, Capt., drives enemy from English right at Chhotá Udaipúr, v. 246.
- Banní Bridge, a strong position near Lakhnao, iii. 357; mutineers abandon without a struggle (22 Sept.), iii. 358; Brig. Hope Grant's skirmish with rebels at, iv. 74; his column at, augmented to 5,000, iv. 106; Sir Colin Campbell strengthens his hold on, iv. 156; the Maulavi's plan for capturing, iv. 240.
- Bannú, John Nicholson's services in, ii. 339.
- Bánpúr, its situation, v. ix; fortified castle at, abandoned by rebels, v. 103.
- Bánpúr, Rajah of, attacks Lálitpúr mutineers to get their treasure (15 June), v. 66; repulsed by Lálitpúr mutineers, tries to seduce Ságár Sipáhís, v. 67; receives prisoners from Ságár detachment, v. 67; openly invites and receives adhesion of Ságár detachment, v. 67; entrenches himself near Ságár, v. 72; repulses Col. Dalzell's expedition at, v. 72; attempts to relieve Ráhatgarh, but is defeated, v. 97; endeavours to establish himself at Barodiá, v. 98; but is driven away by Sir Hugh Rose (30 Jan '58), v. 98; joins in attack on Chirkári, v. 306; his defeat at Kotrá (Ap. '58), v. 121; invited to join rebel government at Gwáliár, v. 147.
- Banqueting Hall, the hospital during the siege of Lakhnao, iii. 297.
- Báns Gopál, leads Holkar's infantry against Residency, iii. 153; admits that his troops at Indúr were demoralised before mutiny, iii. 145.
- Banswárá, one of the Rájput states, iii. 163ⁿ, iv. xvii, vi. 157; description of the state, vi. 157; Tántiá Topí driven into (2 Dec '58), v. 247, 309; the raid of Tántiá Topí into, vi. 157; the Bhils pursue and irritate Tántiá Topí, v. 247; Tántiá Topí enters capital of, v. 248; loyalty of the ruler of, vi. 157.
- Baníthra, Brig. Hope Grant's skirmish with rebels at, iv. 74.
- Bárá, Rájah of, sides with the English, ii. 196.
- Bárah Bankí, situation of, iii. xi.
- Bárár, the kingdom of, annexed (1854), i. 60; effect of annexation on Maráthás, v. 14.
- Barári, in Oudh, occupied by Jang Bahádúr, iv. 227.
- Barber, Lieut., dies of sunstroke while escaping from Náogáo (20 June), iii. 130.
- Barber, Mrs., superintends nursing at Lakhnao, iii. 327.
- Bardwán, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; the division remains tranquil during the Mutiny, vi. 6.
- Barelí, a district of Rohilkhand, iv. xviii, vi. 38; its military character, iv. 366; its garrison, iii. 202; troops at, commanded by Brig. Sibbald, iii. 102.
- Premonitory symptoms.*—Emisaries from other places stir up

Baréli—*cont.*

sedition in, iii. 205; the greased cartridge question plainly affects conduct of Sipáhís (Apr), iii. 202; Brig. Sibbald absent from, on inspection duty, iii. 204; feigning confidence practised at, with usual result, iii. 203; guns placed for safety near Irregular Cavalry, iii. 203; change in position of guns alarms Sipáhís, iii. 203; guns returned to their former station of danger, iii. 205; news of Mírath outbreak reaches, iii. 205; Brig. Sibbald returns from inspection tour, iii. 206.

Mutiny comes to a head.—Notice of intended mutiny (29 May), iii. 206; officers prepare for anticipated rising, iii. 208; steadiness of Irregulars prevents mutiny (29 May), iii. 206; the murder of each officer deliberately planned, iii. 208; mutiny breaks out (31 May), iii. 207, vi. 106; Capt. Mackenzie attempts to recover the guns, iii. 209; Capt. Mackenzie and Lieut. Becher renew attempt to induce Irregular Cavalry to be loyal, iii. 214; Muhammad Shafí leads Irregular Cavalry to mutiny, iii. 210; Capt. Mackenzie compelled to abandon station, iii. 211; only 23 troopers remain loyal, iii. 211; the party of officers reach Nainí Tál in safety, iii. 212.

Under Rebel rule.—Khán Bahádur Khán proclaimed Viceroy of Rohilkhand at, iii. 212; English prisoners defy the titular Viceroy to his face, iii. 212; murder of Europeans at, iii. 212; destruction of Mr. Thomason's tomb to mark hatred of his revenue system, iii. 212; Bakht Khán persuaded to go to Dehlí, iii. 212; Hindús of district oppressed by new ruler, iii. 213.

Downfall of Native rule.—Mutiny at, makes retention of Bijnaur impossible, vi. 108; battle in front of (5 May '58), iv. 367; fierce

Baréli—*cont.*

attack of Gházís at, iv. 368; Sir Colin Campbell captures outer defences of, iv. 368; Khán Bahádur Khán withdraws his troops from, iv. 370.

Baréli Brigade joins in attack on Dehlí Ridge (4 July), ii. 425.

Bargís, name of a people in Orísá, vi. 4.

Barhámpúr, situation and description, ii. xv; station for native troops near residence of Nawáb Nazím, of Bengal, i. 366; great excitement in the lines, i. 368; troops break into revolt (27 Feb), i. 370; scene of the first outbreak, vi. 26; incipient mutiny stopped by concession, i. 372; court of inquiry as to revolt, i. 373; this outbreak first warns Lord Canning of the coming danger, i. 387; Lord Canning's slowness in dealing with mutiny at, vi. 7; distrustful feeling of Sipáhís at, widely spread in Oudh, iii. 236; mutinous 19th Regiment marched to Barrackpúr, i. 395; the men bring the greased-cartridge scare with them, i. 367; resolution to disband mutinous regiment concealed from men, i. 387; mutinous 19th Regiment disbanded at Barrackpúr without trouble, i. 400; opinion of newspapers on mutiny at, iii. 11; another mutiny threatened at (June), iii. 25; troops of the Nawáb Nazím at, disarmed (2 Aug.), iv. 98.

Barhi, Col. Fischer marches from, to Hazáríbág (13 Sept), iv. 99; seized by Rúp Singh as headquarters (Aug '58), v. 215; captured by Lieut. Forbes and dismantled, v. 215.

Bárá, a town of Dholpúr, vi. 154; the Maulaví's strong position near, iv. 347; the Maulaví forced to evacuate his position (13 Apr '58), iv. 348; occupied by Sir Hope Grant, iv. 348.

- Baring, Capt., deputed to watch disbandment of 19th Regt., i. 402.
- Barisál, chief station of Bákirganj, vi. 31.
- Barká, a loyal village prepares to resist Sáh Mall, vi. 130; Mr. Dunlop's strange combat with Bagdá at, vi. 131.
- Barker, Brig., attacks a village near Fathpúr (11 Dec), iv. 313; completely defeats Harichand at Panú (7 Oct '58), v. 200; storms and wins Birwah fort (10 Oct '58), v. 200.
- Barlow, Sir George, assists in settling position of King of Dehlí (1804), ii. 4; urges punishment of Madras mutineers (1806), i. 178; his unwise policy towards Rájpútáná, iv. 403.
- Barnard, Sir Henry, his character, and disposition for work, i. 413; his want of self-reliance, ii. 401; wins the affections of his troops, ii. 420; Major Baird Sinith's high opinion of him, ii. 428; Gen. Reed's testimony to his unselfish earnestness, ii. 428; Commissioner Greáthéd's opinion of him, ii. 428; Gen. N. Chamberlain's description of his ceaseless industry, ii. 428; his noble faithfulness, ii. 428.
- Reports incendiary fires at Ambáláh (24 Apr), i. 412n; thinks Sipáhís contented in early May, i. 428; shows miserable unpreparedness of Indian army, ii. 111n; Gen. Wilson writes despairingly to him, iv. 59n; reaches A'lipúr with Dehlí Force, ii. 140.
- On death of Gen. Anson assumes command of troops, ii. 123; defends Gen. Anson from charge of want of energy, ii. 123; on morning of assuming command, puts Dehlí Force in motion, ii. 127; fights battle of Badlí-ki-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143; seizes the Ridge outside Dehlí, ii. 145; effect of his victory of 8 June on Calcutta, iii. 21
- Barnard, Sir Henry—*cont.*
His project of carrying Dehlí by *coup-de-main*, ii. 395; determines on sudden rush on Dehlí, ii. 398; attends council of war at Dehlí (14 June), ii. 399; his reasons for abandoning second project for rush on Dehlí, ii. 404; his summary of condition of affairs before Dehlí at end of June, ii. 422; his sound reasons for postponing third projected assault on Dehlí, ii. 425n; his energy, and ceaseless exertion before Dehlí, ii. 407; his last letter to Lord Canning, ii. 505; his death from cholera (5 July), ii. 427; high opinion entertained of him by his officers, ii. 428.
- Barnard, Capt., carries first news of Míráth mutiny to Gen. Anson, ii. 103.
- Barnes, Capt., goes to Udaipúr to ask help for fugitives, iii. 169.
- Barnes, Lieut., conveyed to Lakhnao and there murdered (16 Nov), iii. 260n.
- Barnes, Mr. George, Commissioner of Cis-Satlaj States, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39; hastily gathers supplies for Dehlí Army, ii. 120; calls forth witty telegram from Sir J. Lawrence, ii. 347n; calls on Native States to disarm subjects, ii. 383; preserves the military road to Dehlí, ii. 384; his official report on means taken to recover Dehlí, ii. 120n, 121n.
- Barnípúr, a sub-division of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25.
- Barnston, Major, his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh, iv. 131n, 140; endeavours to drive rebels from Sháh Najaf, iv. 134; severely wounded at this last attack, iv. 142.
- Barod, Tántiá Topí defeated by Col. Somerset at, v. 250.
- Barodah, native state of Bombay Presidency, v. 1; financial condition of, discussed in early May, i.

Barodah—*cont.*

428; loyalty of the Gáekwár of, vi. 168; probabilities of rising in, v. 245; Tántiá Topí advances against (27 Nov '58), v. 245.

Barodiá, Rájah of Bánpúr driven from, by Sir Hugh Rose, v. 98; the fort captured, v. 101.

Barot, seat of Sáh Mall's authority, vi. 129; scene of Sáh Mall's defeat and death, vi. 131.

Barpúra, station to which Europeans retired, on mutiny at Itá-wah, iii. 107.

Barrackpúr, a subdivision of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25; situation, meaning, and description, ii. xv; head-quarters of Bengal army, i. 363; its proximity a danger to Calcutta, ii. 85.

Causes of the mutiny at (1824), i. 194, 196; mutiny caused by Burmese war, i. 338.

Burning of telegraph-house (26 Jan), vi. 11, i. 365; Gen. Hearsey reports secret instigation of Sipáhís (Feb), i. 384; he, for a time, tranquillizes Sipáhís with a convincing argument, i. 386; Sipáhís disbelieve Gen. Hearsey's assurances, i. 395; routine allows time for greased-cartridge tale to circulate, i. 376; the story of bone-dust flour current there, i. 417; detachments of Sipáhís from, spread the alarm in various places, i. 366; emissaries from, seek to make 19th Regt. rise against the English, i. 399.

Open Mutiny begins.—Mangal Pándí's mutiny (29 Mar), i. 395; Mangal Pándí hanged (8 Apr), i. 402; Isrí Pándí, the Jamadar, confesses to conspiracy when hung (22 Apr), i. 429; inquiry into guilt of 34th Regt., i. 404; demoralisation of Sipáhís shown by the Mangal Pándí affair, i. 398; Sipáhís quiet in early May, i. 247.

Disarmament.—34th Regt. disbanded (6 May), i. 430; Sipáhís

Barrackpúr—*cont.*

at, allowed to retain their arms, iii. 6; the disbandment of all Sipáhís at, urged by Calcutta inhabitants, ii. 92 and *n*; Lord Canning's perversity in allowing troops at, to remain armed, iii. 14, vi. 7; arrangements for mutiny, iii. 17; Sipáhís disarmed at (14 June), iii. 18; Sipáhís of 2nd Grenadiers are prime agents in Mutiny, i. 389; rapid transmission of news of mutiny at, i. 361*n*; connection of mutineers with Oudh family, i. 421*n*; road to, patrolled by Cavalry, vi. 19.

Barrett, Major, protests against disarmament of his Sipáhís at Bánáras, ii. 165; joins his Sipáhís in their revolt, ii. 167.

Barron, Lieut., I.N., his good service in Dánápúr, vi. 172.

Barrow, Capt., leader of the 18 Cavalry who accompanied Havelock to retake Kánpúr, ii. 270; his services with the Cavalry at the A'lambágh, iv. 252; defeats rebel attack on Jalálábád, iv. 248; heroic charge of his Eighteen at victory of Kánpúr, ii. 285.

Barrow, Capt. Lousada, Deputy Commissioner at Salóní, iii. 273.

Barrow, Major, Mr. Forjett takes him to witness the conspiracy of his own Sipáhís, v. 36.

Barry Close, his letter on the Vel-lúr mutiny, i. 163*n*; on the Nandídrúg mutiny, i. 173*n*.

Bársat, a subdivision of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25; mutinous 19th Regt. refuse to rise against English at, i. 395.

Barsotelli, Signor, heroically joins in saving Mr. Capper's life, iii. 288.

Barston, Major, scatters rebel Infantry, iv. 407.

Bartholomew, Capt., trains mounted Infantry for Major Havelock, iv. 342.

Barua Ságár, junction of Tántiá Topí and Mán Singh theré, v. 306.

- Barwání, point at which Gen. Michel recrossed Narbadá, v. 245.
- Barwell, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 387.
- Basant Alí Khán, his declaration that the King of Dehlí allowed the murder of the Europeans, v. 332.
- Basári, near Gárhákótá, rebels driven from, v. 100.
- Basáu, a town of Jaipúr, vi. 158.
- Basáud, Sáh Mall evacuates, on approach of the English, vi. 130; burned by Mr. Dunlop, vi. 130.
- Báserhát, a subdivision of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25.
- Bashíratganj, first battle fought there (29 July), iii. 333; second battle at (4 Aug), iii. 339; third battle at (12 Aug), iii. 341; mutineers chased through, by Gen. Havelock (21 Sept), iii. 357.
- Bassano, Capt., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Bastí, partly tranquillized by Mr. Wynyard in June, vi. 55.
- Bates, Major, forces the Shergatí pass, in Chútiá Nágpúr (7 Jan '58), iv. 308.
- Batson, Dr., offers to go alone to Mírath to call succours to Dehlí, ii. 69; is caught by villagers and brutally used, ii. 69.
- Batt, Lieut., I.N., his distinguished service at Kálí Kankí, vi. 171; repairs the fort at Baksar, vi. 171; his gallantry in Jagdíspúr jungles, vi. 171.
- Batten, Mr., renders great service in restoring order at Káhpúr, vi. 78.
- Battles (actions in which troops were pitted against each other in the open, arranged in chronological order):—
 The Hindan (first battle, 30 May; second battle, 31 May), ii. 138, 139.
 Ghází-ud-dín Nagar (31 May), iii. 7.
- Battles—cont.
- Badlí-ki-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143
 Chinhat (29 June), iii. 284.
 Sassiáh (5 July), iii. 181.
 Trímú Ghaut (11 July), ii. 482.
 Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 271.
 Aong (15 July), ii. 278.
 Pándú Nadí (15 July), ii. 279.
 Káhpúr (16 July), ii. 282.
 Second battle at Trímú Ghaut (16 July), ii. 483.
 Unáo (29 July), iii. 331.
 Bashíratganj (29 July), iii. 333.
 A'rah (3 Aug), iii. 66.
 Second battle at Bashíratganj (4 Aug), iii. 339.
 Third battle at Bashíratganj (12 Aug), iii. 341.
 Jagadíspúr (12 Aug), iii. 86.
 Bithúr (16 Aug), iii. 343.
 Najafgarh, won by Nicholson (25 Aug), ii. 491, iv. 1.
 Pálí (8 Sept), iv. 395.
 Kúndapati (11 Sept), iii. 351.
 Mánduri (19 Sept), iv. 223.
 Mangalwár (21 Sept), iii. 356.
 A'lambágh, Lakhnao (23 Sept), iii. 358.
 Balandshahr (28 Sept), iv. 63.
 Chatrá (2 Oct), iv. 100.
 Akbarpúr (7 Oct), iv. 312.
 A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 72.
 Kudya (19 Oct), iv. 224.
 Dhár (22 Oct), v. 48.
 Chandá (30 Oct), iv. 224.
 Kajwá (1 Nov), iv. 103.
 Danchua (6 Nov), iv. 312.
 Ráwal (12 Nov), v. 51.
 Narmul (16 Nov), iv. 79.
 Káhpúr (27 Nov), iv. 168.
 Káhpúr (6 Dec), iv. 191.
 Kásganj (Dec), iv. 202.
 Patiálí (17 Dec), iv. 204.
 Sobanpúr (26 Dec), iv. 226.
 Karaulí (27 Dec), iv. 206.
 Kálí Nadí bridge (2 Jan '58), iv. 212.
 Pálámau (21 Jan '58), iv. 308.
 Nasratpur (23 Jan '58), iv. 230.
 Shamsábád (27 Jan '58), iv. 219.

Battles—*cont.*

Chandá, in Oudh (19 Feb '58), iv. 231.
 Hamídpur, in Oudh (19 Feb '58), iv. 232.
 Phúlpúr (22 Feb '58), iv. 227.
 Bádshálganj (23 Feb '58), iv. 234.
 A'mórha (5 Mar '58), iv. 317.
 A'zamgarh (6 Apr '58), iv. 328.
 Kankar (7 Apr '58), iv. 351.
 Tigra (10 Apr '58), iv. 329.
 Bhogníwálá (17 Apr '58), iv. 361.
 Manohar (20 Apr '58), iv. 333.
 Naghíná (21 Apr '58), iv. 362.
 Jagdíspúr (23 Apr '58), iv. 335.
 Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.
 Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 123.
 Núrganj (6 May '58), iv. 371.
 Jagdíspúr (9 May '58), iv. 337.
 Hatampúr (11 May '58), iv. 337.
 Jathin (12 May '58), iv. 337.
 Dalílpúr (27 May '58), iv. 337.
 Kopuldrúg (May '58), v. 170.
 Harhá (18 June '58), v. 196.
 Gwáliár (19 June '58), v. 159.
 Jáurá-A'lípúr (21 June '58), v. 162.
 Sánganír (7 Aug '58), v. 224.
 Kankráuli (14 Aug '58), v. 226.
 Sirpúrah (30 Aug '58), v. 193.
 Núriah (29 Aug '58), v. 192.
 Miánganj (5 Oct '58), v. 200.
 Panú (7 Oct '58), v. 200.
 Shájhahánpúr (8 Oct '58), v. 200.
 Battye, Quintin, his military family, ii. 353*n*; killed in action before Dehlí (9 June), ii. 352.
 Battye, Richmond, killed on the Black Mountain (18 June '88), ii. 353*n*.
 Battye, Wigram, killed at Fathábád (2 Apr '79), ii. 353*n*.
 Battye, Lieut., his gallantry during Jhelam mutiny, ii. 470.
 Baugh, Lieut., hurries to arrest Mangal Pándí, i. 396.
 Báuni, a State to the north-west of Hamírpúr, vi. 83.

Báusí, deserting Cavalry from Bhágalpúr hurry to, iv. 94.
 Bávriahs, a predatory class of people at Lodiáná, ii. 380*n*.
 Bax, Mr., Civil Magistrate, called Bax-Ironside, accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63*n*; proceeds with troops and punishes a village, near Gházípúr, vi. 61; his letter to Mr. Tayler, iii. 78*n*; assists Brig. Douglas in his operations in Gházípúr, vi. 62; secures the tranquillity of Gházípúr, vi. 62.
 Bayley, Mr. Clive, his testimony to the devotion of Mr. Tucker of Fathpúr, ii. 275*n*.
 Bayley, Mr. H. V., Judge of Bardwán, vi. 6.
 Baynes, Capt., gives first news of projected mutiny at Nandidrúg (1806), i. 173.
 Baynes, Capt., heads the stormers at Water bastion, Dehlí, iv. 25.
 Beadon, Sir Cecil, his optimist view of the situation of affairs, iii. 1; contemptuous terms in which he refused Volunteer aid, vi. 16; his inapt reply to offers of aid from French residents at Calcutta, iii. 2; his "line of six hundred miles" in danger, iii. 24; his famous line repeatedly pierced, vi. 35; the men who preserved his boasted line of six hundred miles, iii. 94; believes delusive assurances of Sipáhí loyalty, iii. 6; his calculation for rate of reinforcing Banáras, ii. 101; demonstration of his unwise optimism, iii. 5; his want of foresight demonstrated by Mr. Grant, iii. 9.
 Beatson, Capt. Stuart, Adjutant-General of the force, sent to retake Kánpúr, ii. 270; dies of cholera, ii. 298*n*.
 Beaufort, Mr. F. L., Judge of Jessor, vi. 26.
 Becher, Q.-M.-Gen. Arthur, wounded at attack on Dehlí Ridge (18 June), ii. 415.

- Becher, Col. Charles, attacks Tántiá Topí at Bagrod, v. 239; moves to Chaprá to intercept Firúzsháh, v. 255.
- Becher, Lieut., second in command of Irregular Cavalry at Barélí, iii. 205; tries to bring the Irregulars to action, iii. 209; renews attempt to induce them to remain loyal, iii. 211; specially commended by Col. Troup for his gallantry, iii. 211*n.*
- Becher, Major John, Deputy Commissioner of Hazárah, his successful administration, ii. 361; his admiration of Edwardes and Nicholson, ii. 366; with assistance of Kohistánís, destroys mutineers who cross the frontier, ii. 371.
- Becher, As.-Adj.-Gen. Septimus, receives report of disaffection of troops at Ambálah, i. 406.
- Bedlá, Ráo of, hurries, with troops, to help the Nímach fugitives, iii. 169.
- Begam Kothí, place within the Residency, Lakhnao, iii. 298; fierce struggle at, and capture of, iv. 270.
- Begam Samru, battle near her walled garden at A'gra, iii. 181.
- Bégamábád, Gújar atrocities at, vi. 128; atrocities avenged by Mr. Dunlop, vi. 128.
- Begamganj, boats escaping from Faizábád intercepted at, iii. 268; seven land from the boats and run, but only two ultimately escape, iii. 269.
- Beher, small stream near Réwah, v. 75.
- Belgáon, its situation, v. ix; state of its fort and garrison, v. 18; General Lester commands at, v. 18; Mr. Seton-Karr, Collector and Magistrate at, v. 14; causes of discontent in, before 1857, v. 14. Effect of Mírath outbreak on, v. 18; emissaries from the north appear in, v. 19; one emissary arrested in June, v. 19; influence of Náná Sáhib's actions on, v. 19.
- Belgáon—*cont.* A few European troops arrive, v. 22; dangerous Sipáhís sent away, v. 22; fresh conspirator seized and blown from gun (13 Aug), v. 22; Mr. Seton-Karr begins to disarm people, v. 23.
- Col. Le G. Jacob and Mr. Manson given political charge of, v. 165; the Chief of Nárgúnd murders Mr. Manson, v. 170; he is tried and executed at Belgáon, v. 172*n.*
- Bellári, a watershed in Southern Maráthá country, v. *ir.*
- Bell, Lieut.-Col., captures Machí Bhawan and Great Imámbárah, iv. 279.
- Bell, Major Evans, his statements about the Indúr mutiny and its leaders, traversed, iii. 144*n.*; his statements as to murders at Indúr controverted, iii. 145*n.*; his statements about Indúr Residency inaccurate, iii. 143*n.*; his statements as to withdrawal from Indúr Residency controverted, iii. 150*n.*
- Bellew, Dr. Henry, Medical Officer to Mission to Kandahar (1857), i. 324.
- Belwá, entrenched camp of rebels at, iv. 316; detachment from, joins Kúnwar Singh at Atráoliá, iv. 318.
- Beneí Singh, Ráo Rájah of Alwar, vi. 153; his turbulent spirit, vi. 153; places troops at service of British, and dies, iii. 173.
- Bengal, its immense importance to the English, vi. 36; resumption policy applied to, i. 123; estates sold for trifling debts, i. 129*n.*
- Bengal Army, its beginning under Clive, i. 149; treatment of, i. 149; the first mutiny (1764), i. 150; disarmament of regiment, i. 151; mutiny of English officers (1766), i. 152; effect of Burmese War on (1824), i. 193; the re-organisation of 1824 promotes discontent, i. 193; evidence as to deterioration of (1832), i. 200; effect of annexa-

Bengal Army—*cont.*

tions on, i. 203; extraordinary allowances, grants, and withdrawals of (1838-43), i. 205n; some regiments mutiny at Firúzpúr (1844), i. 204; mutiny of troops in Panjáb (1849), i. 227.

Largely recruited from Oudh, i. 254; its constitution compared with that of Bombay, i. 242; summary of causes of deterioration of, i. 255; systematic attempts to corrupt, i. 258; its dangerous condition pointed out by John Jacob, i. 348; effect of Barrackpúr mutiny on, i. 196, 197n; causes which urged it to demoralisation, i. 189; gradual degradation of native officers in, i. 153; its cohesion rested on personal character of English officers, i. 155; unwise changes in officering, i. 156.

Bengal Residency, the six points of danger in, vi. 36; the men who saved it, vi. 37.

Béni Bahádúr Singh, joins Fazal Azím in opposing Gen. Franks, iv. 230.; defeated by Gen. Franks (23 Jan '58), iv. 230.

Béni Mádhú, an Oudh tálukdár, threatens to attack Lakhnao, v. 186; commands Oudh rebels south of Lakhnao, v. 199; driven from Atráolia (29 Sept), iv. 223; attempt to surround him at Shankarpúr, v. 202; driven from country south of Ghághrá, v. 204; escapes from unclosed side of Shankarpúr, v. 203; completely defeated at Dundiá Khérá by Lord Clyde (24 Nov '58), v. 203.

Bennett, Lieut., commands the troops at Bandah, vi. 79; attempts to disarm Sipáhís at Bandah, vi. 81.

Benson, Col., recommends disbanding troops at Ráwalpindí (1849), i. 228; cuts off Tántiá Topí from Máu (Dec '58), v. 247; overtakes Tántiá Topí at Zírápúr, v. 249.

Bentinck, Lord William, Sipáhís degenerate under administration

Bentinck, Lord William—*cont.*

of, i. 191; threatens to assume the government of Oudh (1831), i. 87; his plan for the government of Oudh, i. 89; favours mild treatment in all emergencies, i. 176; supports Indian Bible Society, i. 348.

Beresford, Mr., and his wife, bravely fight on roof of Dehlí Bank, but are murdered, ii. 62.

Berford, Mr., Magistrate at Muzaffarnagar, provokes rising by his pusillanimity, iii. 201; breaks down in health, vi. 123.

Berkeley, Brig., his great services at the Alambágh, iv. 252; sent to punish outrage at Suráon (12 July '58), v. 195; captures Dahái (14 July '58), v. 195; captures Tirúl (16 July '58), v. 195; captures Bhairpúr and returns to Allahábád (18 July '58), v. 196; again goes out, and occupies Partábgarh (Aug '58), v. 196; occupies Sultánpúr and restores direct post-line from Allahábád to Lakhnao, v. 196.

Berners, Mr. Henry, a solicitor serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.

Best, Mr. J. B., Deputy Collector of Gházípúr, vi. 60.

Bétiah, the brave Mr. Bird reaches safely, from Gorákhpúr, vi. 59.

Betúl, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60; wild country south of Narbadá, v. 242.

Bethune, Mr., his special interest in Indian Female Education, i. 136.

Bethune Institution, specially favoured by Lady Canning, i. 349.

Betwá, a river of Jaláun, iii. x, v. x; one boundary of Sindhiá territory, iii. 135; head-quarters of Kálpi insurgents established near, iv. 314; defensive line of, abandoned by rebels in panic, v. 103.

Bewar, Capt. Hodson visits, in his daring ride to Sir Colin Campbell (30 Dec), iv. 207; place at which

Bewar—*cont.*

Brig. Seaton's and Col. Walpole's forces joined, iv. 201.
 Bhágalpúr, the capital of Eastern Bihár, iv. *xii*, 91, vi. 3; Mr. G. Yule, Commissioner at, iv. 92; distribution of Sipáhí regiments in, iv. 92; Sipáhís at, watch keenly the fate of A'rah, iv. 94; Mr. Yule tries to maintain order without European troops, iv. 92; preserves tranquillity till end of July, iv. 92; a few European soldiers retained as garrison, iv. 93; Native Cavalry desert, and hurry to Báusí (14 Aug), iv. 94.
 Bhágirathí, river passes through Nadiá, vi. 25.
 Bhágpat, visited by Mr. Dunlop while on the verge of rebellion, vi. 126.
 Bhagwant Singh, Ráná of Dholpúr, vi. 154; remains loyal, vi. 154; rewarded for his loyalty, vi. 155.
 Bhairpúr, captured by Brig. Berkeley, v. 196.
 Bhairáb, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.
 Bhaliá, point of junction of Ghághrá and Ganges, iii. 268.
 Bhaluá, district of Chitrágón, iv. *xiv*, vi. 3.
 Bhandárá, garrison of, v. 77.
 Bhánderí, Tántiá Topí retreats from Jhánsí through, v. 306.
 Bhánsror, Tántiá Topí's advance on Udaipúr stopped at, v. 248.
 Bháo Singh, his true copy of the King of Dehlí's proclamation, v. 329.
 Bharatkúp, near Kírwí, where Mádhava Ráo surrendered to Gen. Whitlock, v. 140.
 Bharat Pál, his succession to Karaulí Ráj recognised, i. 68; superseded by Madan Pál before actually appointed (1852), i. 69.
 Bharatpúr, one of the Rájpút states, iii. 163*n*, iv. *xvii*, vi. 160; description of, iii. x, vi. 160; George Hunter wounded at (1830), i. 208. Sir H. Lawrence visits (Feb),

Bharatpúr—*cont.*

i. 331; State ruled by a Council, vi. 160; Capt. Nixon commands troops at, vi. 89; troops placed at the service of the British, vi. 160; Mr. Colvin invites aid from the Játs of, iii. 101; they send the supports asked for, iii. 101; the contingent of troops from, mutiny near Kosí (31 May) vi. 83.
 Anticipated attack of Tántiá Topí on, v. 219; Tántiá Topí advances to seize, but is stopped by Brig. Showers (22 June '58), v. 221.
 Bharatpúr, Rájah of, his troops occupy Hódal, iii. 108; mutiny of his troops there (31 May), iii. 109; fidelity of the Rájah relied on, i. 443.
 Bharóch, situation of, iii. *xii*; riot between Parsís and Muhammadians in, v. 6.
 Bhaugáon, attempt to march Mainpúrí Sipáhís to, iii. 103.
 Bhetiá, situation of, iii. *xii*; occupied by Gurkhás, iv. 226.
 Bhijalpúr, Lieut. Sherriff defeats party of rebels there, v. 148*n*.
 Bhils, aborigines drilled by the British, iii. 138; fear to fight at Indúr, iii. 148.
 Bhilwárá, Tántiá Topí advances on, v. 307; but he is defeated near there (7 Aug '58), v. 224; Tántiá Topí falls back on (12 Dec '58), v. 309; and enters the dense jungle near, v. 248.
 Bhím Ráo Bhonslá honours the plunderers of British stations, v. 47.
 Bhím Ráo, Chief of Kopuldrúg, receives rebel reinforcements from Dhárwár, v. 170; he is killed at Kopuldrúg, v. 170.
 Bhirwán, Mán Singh secretly visits, v. 260.
 Bhitur centre of activity at beginning of Mutiny, i. 422.
 Bhognípúr, a village near Kálpí, iv. 160; occupied by Brig. Carthew, iv. 314.

- Bhogníwálá, Col. Coke defeats rebels at (17 Apr '58), iv. 361.
- Bhokár, most westerly part of Lower Provinces, vi. 2; a tributary Mahall, vi. 4.
- Bholá Khán, Sipáhí, his description of the burning of Kánhpúr barrack, ii. 245n.
- Bholánáth, a Brahman, labours to re-establish order in Kánhpúr, vi. 77.
- Bholánáth Chandr, his description of the meeting of the Ganges and Jamnah, ii. 181n; his account of the sack of Alláhabád by mutineers, ii. 194; his description of the defences of Dehlí, ii. 392n; his evidence merely hearsay gossip, ii. 203n.
- Bhonslá, royal family declared extinct (1854), i. 60; injured by Lord Dalhousie, i. 424; Lord Dalhousie's treatment of, shakes native belief in British honesty, v. 287.
- Bhopál, situation of, iii. x; under care of Central Indian Agency, iii. 135; Col. Durand becomes Political Agent at (1849), iii. 134; conspicuous loyalty of the Begam of, vi. 166.
- The Begam gives information of the coming outbreak (Apr), vi. 166; part of Contingent marches to Indúr, iii. 138; Contingent stationed at Síhor, iii. 136; the Begam expels a native found raising troops (June), vi. 166; she shelters fugitives from Indúr (July), vi. 166.
- Mutiny of the Contingent at (July), vi. 166; mutineers from, join others at Gwálíár, iv. 66; rebels from, defeated at Madan-púr (Jan '58), v. 74.
- The Begam sends 800 men to strengthen Central India Field Force, v. 95, vi. 166; grain supplied from, to Sir Hugh Rose's force, v. 101; the town covered by Brig. Parke, v. 231; pressure
- Bhopál—*cont.*
brought upon the Begam to induce her to rebel, vi. 166; rewards conferred on, for loyalty, vi. 167n.
- Bhopál, Begam of, taught the noble principles of her conduct, by Col. Durand, iii. 134; receives Col. Durand and his party of fugitives with honour, iii. 159n.
- Bhopál Singh, rebel leader in Oudh, v. 189.
- Bhopáwár, its situation, v. ix; plundered by mercenaries from Dhár and Amjhéra, v. 47.
- Bhowáni Singh, Hawaldar-Major, the only trooper of the disgraced 2nd Cavalry re-enlisted, ii. 228n; Náná Sáhib's letter of commendation to, ii. 500; the faithful Subahdar-Major dies in defence of Kánhpúr, ii. 245.
- Bhudoí, the titular Rájah of, causes annoyance near Mírzápúr, vi. 47; seized and hanged near Mírzápúr, vi. 48.
- Bhúmij, a people of Chútiá Nágpúr, iii. xii, iv. 95.
- Bhután, mutinous Sipáhís from Dhákah, fly to, iv. 293.
- Bíáur, fugitives from Nasírábád retire to, iii. 168; position held by Sir George Lawrence's field force, iv. 396.
- Bibiapúr, village on the Gúmtí, seized by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 259.
- Bibíganj, outside A'rah, attempt to stop Major Eyre's advance at, iii. 65.
- Bibígarh, at Kánhpúr, minute description of the, ii. 266n; description of the rooms after the massacre, ii. 299 and n; account of deaths in, previous to final massacre, ii. 267n.
- Bichpúrí, evacuated by Gújars as Mr. Dunlop enters, vi. 130.
- Biddle, an Englishman who acts as agent for Náná Sáhib, i. 79.
- Biddulph, Capt., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh, iv. 140.

Biddulph, Col., takes guns through the heart of Lakhnao to support British left, iv. 148; killed at Lakhnao (18 Nov), iv. 149.

Bihár, Eastern, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; same as Bhágalpúr, description of, iv. xiii; state of, during November, iv. 297; by securing Bhágalpúr and Munger, Mr. Yule disarms conspiracy in Eastern division, iv. 93.

Bihár, Western, correct name of the Patná division, vi. 3; prison disturbances at (1845), i. 144; important interests in, threatened, iii. 39.

Mr. W. Tayler's efforts to preserve order in, iii. 29-40; confidence felt in Mr. Tayler, iii. 39; great danger to, by defeat of Capt. Dunbar's troops, iii. 69; saved from Sipáhí marauding by Major Eyre, iii. 67; unpatriotic conduct of some officers in, after driving Mr. W. Tayler from office, iv. 310; troops sent to Patná after Mr. Tayler's recall, iv. 311.

Defeat of rebels at Akbarpúr (7 Oct) iv. 312; defeat of rebels at Danchua (6 Nov), iv. 312; Col. Rowcroft's column organized in, iv. 225, 312.

Threatened by Kúnwar Singh (Mar '58), iv. 317; Brig. Douglas's plan for crushing scattered rebels in, iv. 339; cleared of rebel troops (24 Nov '58), iv. 345; the men who saved the district and the capital of India, vi. 33.

Bihiyá occupied by Sir E. Lugard, iv. 336.

Bijaigarh occupied by Col. Greathed, iv. 65.

Bijápúr, Ajít Singh surprised and defeated at, v. 234.

Bijáwar, district to the west of U'rcháh, v. xii.

Bijérághúgarh, captured by Lieut. Osborne, v. 77.

Bijnáur, a district of Rohilkhand,

Bijnáur—*cont.*

iv. xviii, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 103; Mr. A. Shakespear, Collector and Magistrate of, vi. 103; news of Mírath outbreak reaches, vi. 104; released gaol-birds infest the district, vi. 104.

Preliminary Disturbances. — Mutineers from Rúrkí enter the district, vi. 104; prisoners break out of gaol (21 May), vi. 105; Mr. Shakespear stops egress of prisoners from gaol, vi. 105; some prisoners escape, most of whom are recaptured, vi. 105; Mr. Shakespear secures treasure in a well (21 May), vi. 105; Mahmúd Khán comes to steal treasure too late, vi. 106; help given to English by Chaudhárí near, vi. 104; Mahmúd Khán sent to suppress Mewátí marauders, vi. 106; military assistance arrives, vi. 106; Mahmúd Khán returns with armed Patháns (30 May), vi. 106; mutinously disposed troops sent from, vi. 107; much of the treasure removed from, by Lieut. Gough, vi. 107; the town isolated by the general revolt, vi. 107; Mahmúd Khán suddenly returns to (7 June), vi. 107.

Muhammadan Rule in. — Bahádur Khán's rule at Baréli makes retention of Bijnáur impossible, vi. 108; Mahmúd Khán persuaded to keep from open revolt, vi. 108; Mr. Shakespear skilfully hands over district to care of Mahmúd Khán (7 June), vi. 108; Mahmúd Khán proclaims himself ruler, under King of Dehlí (10 June), vi. 109; Mahmúd Khán appropriates money remaining in well, vi. 109; and begins to persecute Hindús, vi. 110; Umráo Singh driven from district, by Mahmúd Khán, vi. 110; Hindús unite and drive Mahmúd Khán to Najíbábád (6 Aug), vi. 110; anarchy in, after the Hindú revolt, vi. 110.

Bijnáur—*cont.*

Civil War.—Mr. Shakespear authorizes two Muhammadans to take charge of place (16 Aug), vi. 111; Mahmúd Khán declares war on (23 Aug), vi. 111; and captures the town, vi. 111; civil war between Hindús and Muhammadans, vi. 111; decisive defeat of Hindús (18 Sept), vi. 111; flight of younger Chaudháríes to Mírath, vi. 111.

Muhammadan Rule re-established.—Muhammadans massacre unoffending Hindús, vi. 111; Mahmúd Khán establishes his rule at, vi. 112; Mahmúd Khán harries neighbouring district, vi. 112; the third raid from, defeated by Capt. H. Boisragon, vi. 112; dependency at, by reason of Capt. Boisragon's victory, vi. 114.

British Authority restored.—Brig. Jones's force banishes Muhammadan domination from (17 Apr '58), vi. 114; occupied by Brig. Jones, iv. 364; Mr. Shakespear returns to, and soon restores order, vi. 115.

Bijráon, Capt. Meade makes the final move from (27 Feb '59), v. 258. Biskánír, one of the Rájpút States, iii. 163n, iv. xvii, vi. 150; description of the State, vi. 150; the Rájah's feuds with Jaisalmír (1835), vi. 150; Sirdár Singh becomes Rájah (1852), vi. 150; renders real assistance during Mutiny, vi. 151; the remnants of Tántiá Topí's army surrender to Rájah of, v. 256; remains loyal, and the reasons for its loyalty, vi. 150; the State rewarded for loyalty, vi. 151.

Biláspúr, garrison of, v. 77; Mr. Skinner fortifies himself in his house, vi. 135; Mr. Sapte arrives, and relieves Mr. Skinner, vi. 135. Bilsí, rebels about to attack, iii. 216.

Bíná, rapid stream near Ráhatgarh,

Bíná—*cont.*

v. 95; Sir Hugh Rose's passage of, fruitlessly disputed by Rájah of Bánpur, v. 98; defensive line of, abandoned by rebels in panic, v. 103.

Bingham, Lieut., with first column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.

Bírbhúm, a district of Western Bengal, vi. 3.

Birch, Capt., has guns brought into Alláhábád Fort, ii. 187; murdered at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 190.

Birch, Col. Richard, Military Secretary, immediately investigates cause for greased-cartridge scare, i. 377; early advises a General Proclamation to the Army, i. 447n.

Birch, Lieut., distinguished at battle of Chinhat, iii. 377; his great services during defence of Lakhnáo, iii. 387.

Birch, Lieut., attacked by infuriated Kols, in Singhbhúm, iv. 306; severely wounded, iv. 306.

Birch, Lieut., disarms Burhánpúr mutineers, v. 40.

Birch, Lieut.-Col., commands troops at Sítápúr, iii. 252; firmly believes in the loyalty of his men, iii. 253; murdered by his Sipahís (3 June), iii. 254.

Birch, Maj.-Gen., on caste as affecting discipline, i. 243n.

Birch, Mrs., superintends nursing at Lakhnão, iii. 327.

Bird, Assist.-Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnão, iii. 386.

Bird, Mr., Joint Magistrate of Gorákhpúr, vi. 52; defeats attempt of prisoners to escape from Gorákhpúr gaol (7 June), vi. 55; remains alone at Gorákhpúr after other officials had retreated (13 Aug), vi. 58; maintains his dangerous position for a few days, vi. 59; at last escapes into the jungle, vi. 59; a price set on his head, vi. 59; he reaches Bétiah, in Champáran district, safely, vi. 59.

- Bird, Robert Martins, adverse to Tálukdárs, i. 118; charged by Col. Sleeman with habitually insulting native gentry, i. 121.
- Bird, Mr. Wilberforce, his personal kindness to Dost Muhammad, i. 325.
- Birkingsyoung, Mr., a planter, brave volunteer horseman of A'lígarh, vi. 138.
- Birwah, stormed and won by Brig. Barker, v. 200.
- Bisháratpúr, loyal and generous conduct of Zamíndár of, vi. 51.
- Bishop, Capt., murdered at Siálkot mutiny (9 July), ii. 473.
- Bisúah, near Sítápúr, point at which Firúzsháh crossed the Ganges to join Tántiá Topí, v. 251.
- Bitaulí, occupied by the Begam of Lakhnão (9 Apr '58), iv. 346; evacuated by Begam of Lakhnão (19 Apr '58), iv. 348.
- Bítáur, Gen. Napier hurries to, to intercept Firúzsháh, v. 252.
- Bithúr, Bájí Ráo retires to (1818), i. 72; granted as jaghír to Náná Sáhib, i. 74; Col. Smith's boat-party destroyed near, iii. 232n; Náná Sáhib's retreat to, and flight from, ii. 293; plunder and destruction of palace at (19 July), ii. 294; Tántiá Topí leads Sheorájpúr mutineers there, and is defeated, v. 306; Gen. Neill sends troops towards, merely to create good impression, iii. 343; Gen. Havelock attacks rebels at, iii. 343; desperate fighting at, but defeat of Náná Sáhib (16 Aug), iii. 344; destruction of palace and temple at (11 Dec.), iv. 197.
- Bithúr, Mahárájáh of, *see* Náná Sáhib.
- Black, Capt., Capt. Conolly's letter to him, with respect to Erinpuram mutiny, iv. 410.
- Black Hole, Lord Clive revenge, i. 148.
- Blair, Capt., disarms Sipáhís of A'sírgarh, v. 40.
- Blair, Lieut., his distinguished conduct at battle near Balandshahr, iv. 63.
- Blake, Brig., courtesy of Sipáhís to, announces mutiny at Gwáliár, iii. 115; murdered at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.
- Blake, Mrs., escapes from the murders at Gwáliár, iii. 116n.
- Blake, Mr., murdered at Jaipúr, superstition concerning his death, ii. 409n.
- Blane, Major Seymour, urges Gen. Nicholson to advance cautiously into Dehlí, iv. 31.
- Block, Mr. C. S., principal civil officer at Sultánpúr, iii. 271; receives notice of intended mutiny, iii. 271; murdered near Sultánpúr (9 June), iii. 272.
- Blunt, Capt., commands Artillery in Lieut.-Col. Greathed's column, iv. 61; his daring courage in attack on Sikandarbágh, iv. 128; present with his guns at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.
- Bogarú, district of Eastern Bengal, iv. xiv.
- Bogle, Lieut., rescues Miss Jackson and Mrs. Orr from captivity, iv. 281n.
- Boileau, Capt., commands Infantry at Sikrorá, iii. 261; escapes from Sikrorá to Balrámpúr, iii. 263.
- Boileau, Capt., sent to do duty with Nipálese, iv. 222; leads party of Gurkhás, at action of Mánduri, iv. 223.
- Boileau, Major, reinforces escaladers at Jhánsí, v. 116.
- Boileau, Capt. T. T., commands at Sago's Honse, Lakhnáo, iii. 297.
- Boisragon, Capt. H., takes command of force against Bijnaur raiders, vi. 112.
- Boisragon, Lieut. T., sent from Rúrkí against Bijnaur, vi. 112.
- Bokhára, Persia tries to influence, against England (1856), i. 317.
- Bolan Pass, suggested route for British Mission to Kandahar (1857), i. 323.

- Boláram, Colin Mackenzie nearly murdered by his own Sipáhís at, i. 239.
- Bolton, Lieut., murdered at Kánpúr (27 June), ii. 259.
- Bombay, description of Presidency, v. 1; line of telegraphic communication with Madras, in 1857, iii. 137ⁿ; general policy of Lord Elphinstone for protection of, v. 37.
- Mr. Forjett, Superintendent of Police at, v. 29; Mr. Forjett enlists European police, v. 29; dangerously inflammable condition of town, ii. 310; Mr. Forjett disobeys orders, and saves the town, v. 34; riot at the Muharram, v. 33; Mr. Forjett quells the mutiny, v. 34; conspirators acknowledge that Mr. Forjett's vigilance defeated them, v. 35.
- Sipáhís conspire to break out at the Duálí festival, v. 35; the conspiracy in Gangá Parshád's house, v. 36; this conspiracy also defeated by Mr. Forjett, v. 36.
- March of a column from, to Indúr, iii. 140; Queen's Proclamation at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.
- Bombay Army, its constitution, i. 155; its constitution compared with that of Bengal, i. 242.
- Bombay, Inám Commission of, its nature and operations, i. 127.
- Bonai, a tribuary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.
- Bondí, Begam of Oudh and Náná Sáhib driven through, v. 204.
- Bone, Mr., Engineer, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90ⁿ.
- Bonham, Lieut., commands Artillery at Sikrorá, iii. 261; his Sipáhís give him money and a horse, but force him to leave Sikrorá (9 June), iii. 263; his heroic conduct at battle of Chinhat, iii. 286ⁿ, 377; wounded three times at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Bontein, Major, reports greased-car-
- Bontein, Major—cont.
- tridge scare at Damdamah (23 Jan), i. 375; suggests disbanding 19th Regt. at Calcutta instead of Barrackpúr, i. 394; pronounces on the greasing substance, i. 377; suggests substitution of tearing for biting, i. 383.
- Bonus, Lieut., wounded in escalade, at Jhánsí, v. 117.
- Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, plot to rise against the English there, on 10th March, frustrated, i. 389.
- Boulderson, Mr., reproved for supporting Tálukdári claims, i. 119ⁿ.
- Boulton, Lieut., escapes massacre by his own Sipáhís, but afterwards perishes (July), iii. 249.
- Bourchier, Major George, commands Horse Battery, in Punjáb Movable Column, ii. 476; supports Cavalry with his guns in their heroic stand at Dehlí, iv. 34; his description of appearance of Dehlí after capture, iv. 48; commands Artillery in Lieut.-Col. Greathed's column, iv. 61; takes part in battle of Balandshahr, iv. 63; his description of the surprise at A'gra, iv. 71ⁿ; his description of the rout of the rebels at A'gra, iv. 72; first to open fire at relief of Lakhnao, iv. 119; his daring in attack of the Sikandarbágh, iv. 140; takes guns through the heart of Lakhnao to support British left, iv. 149; present with his battery at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; by rapid advance secures the capture of Gwáliár camp, iv. 191; his description of chase of Gwáliár contingent from Kánpúr, iv. 191; blows up house at Itáwah, held by fanatics, iv. 201.
- Bourne, Mr. Sturges, present at Christ Church when young Canning won the Latin verse prize, i. 269ⁿ.
- Bouverie, Capt., accompanies Lord Canning to India, i. 280.
- Bowling, Dr., murdered at Sháhjahánpúr (31 May), iii. 214.

- Bowman, Rev. G. L., accompanies Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Bowring, Lewin, appointed to the Panjab (1849), i. 39.
- Boyd, Assist.-Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Boyd, Capt., with second column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Boyle, Mr. Vicars, fortifies his house at A'rah, iii. 52; takes charge of defences of the house, iii. 53n; the great service he rendered at A'rah, vi. 33.
- Boyson, Mr., killed in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 326, 384.
- Bradford, Col., suppresses mutiny at Govindgarh (1850), i. 230.
- Bradford, Mr., escapes from Faizábád to Dánápúr, iii. 271.
- Bradshaw, Lieut., killed in daring capture of a gun, at assault of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 27, 38.
- Bradshaw, Mrs., her account of the last moments of Sir Hugh Wheeler, ii. 254n.
- Brahmanism, effect of Western science on, i. 131.
- Brahmans, their influence on Indian society, i. 132; spread of English education renders them antagonistic to English rule, i. 133; specially alarmed by favour shown to widow-remarriage, i. 138.
- Brahmaputrá, its junction with the Manás, vi. 31.
- Bramley, Lieut., killed at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 356.
- Brasyer, Lieut., disarms Sipáhís in Fort of Alláhábád, ii. 191.
- Brasyer, Capt., with his Sikhs forces abandonment of secnd line of defence in Lakhnao, iv. 252, 273.
- Bridge, Capt., commands Madras Horse Artillery, at attack on Lakhnao, iv. 121; his daring in attack of the Sikandarbágh, iv. 140; present with his battery at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.
- Brigade Mess, a post at Lakhnao,
- Brigade Mess—*cont.*
iii. 298; mine exploded there, and assault delivered (10 Aug), iii. 306.
- Briggs, Capt., organises military train for supply of troops at Dehlí, ii. 384n.
- Briggs, Major, Military Secretary at Haidarábád, v. 83.
- Bright, Mr. G., Magistrate in Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Brijmohan Singh, the Sipáhí who first used the new cartridges, his house burnt down (Apr), ii. 34.
- Brind, Major James, commands heavy guns on Dehlí Ridge, ii. 448n; commands right section No. 1 battery, Dehlí, iv. 9; crushes the Mori bastion, iv. 10; captures the Jámí Masjid (20 Sept), iv. 46; clears Dehlí from the ruffianly element, iv. 57; ensures the safety of gateways in Dehlí, iv. 57; commands siege-train at attack on Barclí, iv. 367; his death (1888), iv. 9n.
- Brind, Brig. Frederick, commands at Siálkot, and neglects to disarm Sipáhís, ii. 471; murdered at Siálkot mutiny (9 July), ii. 473.
- Brindában, a town of Mathurá, vi. 85.
- Brinjáris, supply pack-cattle for Rúrkí column, iv. 359.
- Broadfoot, George, his death in the Panjab (1846), i. 5.
- Broadhurst, Mr. W. H., Collector in Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Brockman, Capt., leads stormers at Jhánsí, v. 116, 117; gallantly captures guns at attack on Gwálíár, v. 157; chases Tántiá Topí for weeks, but fails to catch him, v. 255n.
- Brougham, Major, disarms Sipáhís on Sawád frontier, ii. 374; assists at disarming Sipáhís at Fort Mackeson, ii. 479.
- Brown, Capt., severely wounded at Dehlí, ii. 412.
- Brown, Capt. G. G., accompanies

- Brown, Capt. G. G.—*cont.*
 Gen. Napier's force to Ránód, v. 251n; pursues Garhákótá rebels, v. 100.
- Brown, Lieut., his daring in attack of the Sikandarbágh, iv. 140.
- Brown, Mr., Assistant Magistrate of Dinájpúr, resolves to fight for the station, iv. 299.
- Brown, Mr., Engineer, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Brown, Mr. George, a merchant, serves in Calcutta Cavalry Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Browne, Capt. Samuel, his conspicuous bravery at Kursí, iv. 287; commands Cavalry at Pílibhit, v. 192; sent to assist Lieut. Craigie at Núriah, v. 193; attacks Sirpúrah and captures a gun single-handed, v. 193; desperately wounded, but saved, v. 194; receives Victoria Cross, v. 194n.
- Browne, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385; wounded, iv., 114.
- Browne, Mr. Cave, his story of a general conspiracy among Panjáb Sípáhís, ii. 323n; on the importance of Firúzpúr Magazine, ii. 322n; relates anecdote showing importance of Pesháwar in opinion of natives, ii. 338n.
- Browne, Mrs., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; murdered at Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126.
- Brownlow, Capt., burning of his house at Baréli, signal for mutiny, iii. 207.
- Brownlow, Lieut., of the Engineers, his coolness and daring at Saháranpúr, iii. 200; killed by accidental explosion of powder, at Lakhnao (17 Mar '58), iv. 282.
- Brownlow, Lieut. Henry, shot down in assault of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 42n.
- Brownlow, Midshipman, his gallantry in Jagdíspúr jungle operations, vi. 171.
- Bruce, Capt., energetic head of the police at Kánhpúr, vi. 76; renders great service in restoring order at Kánhpúr, vi. 78.
- Bruce, Mr., fellow-student with Viscount Canning, i. 268.
- Bryce, Lieut., wounded at siege of Lakhnao, iii. 300.
- Bryce, Mr., Carpenter, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Brydon, Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Bryson, Sergeant-Major, shot at siege of Lakhnao (9 July), iii. 300.
- Buch, Dr., murdered at Baréli (31 May), iii. 212.
- Buckley, Conductor, escapes from explosion of Dehlí Magazine to Mírath, ii. 68.
- Budáun, a district of Baréli division, iii. x, iv. xxi, vi. 38; causes of ill-feeling there, iii. 215; Mr. Edwards, Collector, the only Englishman there, iii. 215, 216; sends his wife and child to Nainí Tál, iii. 216; Mr. Phillipps reaches, on his way to Baréli (29 May), iii. 216; Mr. Phillipps leaves, on failing to get assistance, iii. 216; three Englishmen join Mr. Edwards, iii. 216; mutiny at (1 June), iii. 217; the money-loss small, for Mr. Edwards had previously refused to receive revenue from landowners, iii. 218; the four Englishmen flee, and three at last reach Fathgarh, iii. 217; Mr. Edwards escapes to Dharmpúr, iii. 217; ultimately reaches Kánhpúr in safety, iii. 217.
- Khán Bahádur Khán acknowledged ruler of, iii. 217; district becomes the seat of civil war, iii. 217; armed landholders three times try to plunder during Khán Bahádur Khán's sway, iii. 223; Gen. Penny marches on, iv. 351; he is attacked and killed (30 Apr '58), iv. 351.
- Budháyan, important fort covering

- Budháyan—*cont.*
 approach to Sultánpúr, iv. 232; secured by Gen. Franks's generalship, iv. 233.
- Bunbury, Capt., his Sipáhís mutiny at Sultánpúr, iii. 272; sheltered, in his flight from Sultánpúr, by Rústan Sáh, iii. 272*n*; his services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252.
- Bundélás, Rájpút clans of Central India, v. 110*n*; make attacks on Ságár, v. 69.
- Bundelkhand, i. 64, 219; annexation of Jaitpúr in (1853), i. 80; formation of Jhánsí territory in, iii. 118; its proximity to Sindhiá territory, iii. 135; disaffection caused by new settlement of the land, v. 291; revolutionary condition of, in June, ii. 309; kept free from rebel power by Lieut. Osborne, v. 77; entered by Gen. Whitlock, v. 135.
- Búndí, one of the Rájpút States, iii. 163*n*, iv. xvii, vi. 160; description of the State, vi. 160.
- The quarrel with Jodhpúr (1830), vi. 161; Rám Singh, Ráo Rájah of, vi. 161; indisposition of ruler of, to help the British, vi. 161; the Maháráo shuts his gates on Tántiá Topí, v. 223, vi. 161; disloyal feeling forgiven (1860), vi. 161.
- Burbank, Capt., chases Dhákah mutineers, but they escape into the jungle, iv. 302.
- Burbank, Capt. of Marines, his excellent service in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 172.
- Burdwán division, description of, vi. 6.
- Burgess, Lieut., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; kills a traitor in the fort, iii. 125; murdered at Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126.
- Burgess, *alias* Grierson, Corporal, one of explosion party at Kashmír Gate, Dehlí, iv. 22; shot in attempting to light fuse (14 Sept), iv. 25.
- Burhánpúr, its situation and history,
- Burhánpúr—*cont.*
 v. ix; some A'sírgarh Sipáhís sent away to, v. 40; Sipáhís mutiny there (12 July), v. 40; mutineers from, disarmed by Bhíls, v. 40.
- Burha Ráptí, tributary of the Ráptí, iv. xviii.
- Burhat Ghát, occupied by Col. Rowcroft, iv. 226.
- Burkinyoung, Mr., joins in brave retention of factory near A'ligarh, iii. 198*n*.
- Burlton, Capt., sent with Gwáliár troops to pacify A'ligarh district, iii. 196; dismissed by his mutinous men, at Háthras (3 July), iii. 197.
- Burlton, Mr., disappears in confusion of mutiny at Mathurá, vi. 92; killed at Mathurá (14 June), vi. 97.
- Burma, first contest with (1826), i. 47; Lord Dalhousie's war with, i. 96; province of Pegu annexed (1849), i. 48; difficulty in garrisoning with Indian troops, i. 337; general service regiments raised for service in, v. 285; proposal to march Bengal troops to (1856), i. 340.
- Burmese War, its effect upon the Sipáhí mind, i. 193.
- Burmester, Capt., murdered by his Sipáhís (7 July), iii. 249.
- Burn, Col., made military Governor of Dehlí, iv. 57.
- Burnes, Capt., escapes from Sítápúr to the Mitaulí Rájah, iii. 255.
- Burnes, Sir Alex., his 'pin and needle' presents at Kábúl (1839), i. 325*n*.
- Burney, Col., commands at Báusí, iv. 94; convinces his Sipáhís of the hopelessness of mutiny, iv. 95.
- Burr, Col., his defeat of the Peshwá, in 1817, v. xi.
- Burroughs, Capt., enters the Sikandarbágh, and is wounded, iv. 129.
- Burroughs, Major, commands at A'zamgarh, vi. 63; unable to suppress rising of Sipáhís, ii. 160.

Burrowes, Capt., murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 64.
 Burton, Major, Political Agent at Kotá, iv. 397; returns from short absence to Kotá, iv. 398; attacked and murdered with his two sons there (15 Oct), iv. 399. vi. 162.
 Busher, Sergeant, escapes from Faizábád and reaches Captainganj in safety, iii. 269.
 Bushir, to be occupied by British troops (1856), i. 306.
 Bushby, Mr., administers Ságár and Narbadá territories with judgment, v. 61; his death (Feb), v. 81.
 Butána, branch of Jamnah canal watering Rohtak, vi. 140.
 Butler, Lieut. Thomas, his daring act at the Láhor Gate, Dehlí, iv. 32; struck down in this attack, iv. 33; swims across Gúmtí to inspect rebel works at Lakhnão, iv. 263; gives possession of first line of defence at Lakhnão to Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 263; wins the Victoria Cross (9 Mar '58), iv. 263; takes part in attack on Ruiyá, iv. 356.
 Byng, Capt., mutinous Sipáhís at Jabalpúr ask him to command them, i. 214.
 Byng, Lt.-Col., commands Cavalry at Jabalpúr, v. 133.
 Byng, Major the Hon. R. B., sent in pursuit of Chitrágáo mutineers, iv. 295; catches the Chitrágáo mutineers at Látú, iv. 295; killed in attack on mutineers there (18 Dec), iv. 295.

C.

Cafe, Capt., attempts to storm Ruiyá, and is beaten back, iv. 355; wins Victoria Cross (15 Apr '58), iv. 355.

Calcutta, condition of European inhabitants in May, ii. 84; conspiracy before the Mutiny, v. 292; two conspiring Sipáhís arrested by their comrades, vi. 20; important results of postponing fête at Sindhiá's visit (10 Mar), vi. 12.

At the first reports of Mutiny inhabitants take alarm, ii. 85; just cause of alarm, ii. 85; optimist view of affairs at, iii. 1; the Government forecast of the campaign, iii. 2; reasons for the false security felt by the official world, iii. 7; community distrust Lord Canning's cautious measures, ii. 86; Lord Canning retains his native body-guard in despite of mutiny, ii. 89; native guard at last removed from Government House, vi. 21; dread of massacre on Queen's birthday, ii. 89; dangerous condition on that day, vi. 14.

Protective measures. — Troops sent to the North-West Prov. (20 May), iii. 2; Madras Fusileers arrive (24 May), ii. 96; the proximity of Barrackpúr, and residence of King of Oudh, sources of danger, ii. 85; means of protecting dangerous posts around, ii. 91; inhabitants offer themselves as Volunteers, ii. 87; contemptuous terms in which volunteer aid was refused, vi. 16; serious consequences resulting from this refusal, iii. 5; citizens organize a Volunteer force in a few days, when permitted, iii. 10; Cavalry Volunteers patrol Barrackpúr road two days

Calcutta—*cont.*

after enrolment, vi. 19; the devotion and steadiness of the European community in, vi. 24; inhabitants urge the disbandment of Barrackpúr and Dánápúr Sipáhís, ii. 92 and *n*; deputation of merchants urge Lord Canning to order disarmament of Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 41; disastrous results of Lord Canning's refusal to disarm Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 47; the dangerously weak condition of, in June, exposed by Mr. Grant, iii. 9; Highlanders and other regiments arrive in June, ii. 101; arrival of reinforcements, iii. 5; troops hurried to the front from, iii. 6; the "Gagging Act," iii. 13; the storm of unpopularity it evoked, iii. 13, 14; a spy of the King of Oudh detected (13 June), vi. 19.

Panic Sunday.—"Panic Sunday" at (14 June), iii. 16; eyewitnesses of "Panic Sunday," vi. 20*n*; pusillanimity of the higher officials, iii. 16; parts of the city completely deserted, iii. 17; Dr. Mouat's testimony, iii. 17*n*; the mercantile and trading community remain steadfast, iii. 17*n*; Highlanders hurried away at night to disarm Barrackpúr Sipáhís, iii. 18.

Arrest of the King.—Arrest of the King of Oudh at (15 June), iii. 18; Mr. Edmonstone discreetly effects the arrest, iii. 18; the King submits with dignity, iii. 19; his Prime Minister accompanies him to Fort William, iii. 19.

Disarmament discussion.—Knowledge of the progress of the mutiny possessed by Government up to 7 July, iii. 22; arrival of Gen. P. Grant, iii. 19; the merchants press upon Lord Canning the necessity for disarming Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 41; a deputation admitted to His Lordship (20 July), iii. 41; the

Calcutta—*cont.*

request curtly refused, iii. 41; the disasters which followed due to this obstinacy, iii. 42; Grand Jury recommend disarmament of natives (13 July), iii. 91; Lord Canning's Bill for disarming, iii. 91; he disarms both Europeans and natives, iii. 91; a licence clause provided, iii. 91; the Act a statesman-like measure, iii. 91; indignation which it calls forth, iii. 91.

Active Operations begin.—Reported rising at the 'I'd, vi. 20; news possessed by, Government (1 Aug), iii. 88; arrival of Sir J. Outram, iii. 87; Mr. J. P. Grant sent to Banáras, iii. 88; Muhammadan body-guard disarms itself (4 Aug), vi. 21; Madras Sipáhís volunteer for service and land at (5 Aug), iv. 97; Lord Elgin and Capt. W. Peel arrive (8 Aug), iii. 93; arrival of Capt. Sotheby (11 Aug), iii. 93; formation of the Naval Brigade, iii. 93; the Brigade begins its glorious career (18 Aug), iii. 93; Sir Colin Campbell lands, iii. 94; his great difficulties on landing, iii. 85; he is compelled to force the Government into action, iii. 87; gloomy outlook on arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 84.

Yeomanry Corps raised at, vi. 22; reinforcements freely arrive during Sept. and Oct., iv. 91; troops diverted from China, iv. 89; troops sent to suppress disturbances in Chitrágáon (26 Nov), iv. 294; Mr. J. P. Grant becomes President of the Council (Feb '58), iv. 291.

Panic of 3 Mar. 1858, iv. 291; Sir Orfeur Cavanagh's account of the cause of this panic, iv. 292*n*; the town open to attack by Kún-war Singh, vi. 35; its many narrow escapes from attack or seizure, vi. 36; the men who saved it from depredation, vi. 33, 37; Queen's

Calcutta—*cont.*

Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Calcutta Gate, at Dehlí, closed against insurgents, ii. 58, 393n.

"Calcutta Review," its description of the desolation on line of march to Kánpúr, ii. 277n.

Cameron, Brig., nearly killed by Gházís, iv. 369.

Cameron, Capt., commands troops at Nausháhrá, ii. 363; conducts mutinous troops from Nausháhrá to Mardán, ii. 364.

Cameron, Mr., works a mortar in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.

Campbell, Brig., placed in command at Alláhabád (Jan '58), iv. 313; clears district near Alláhabád, iv. 314; sent in wrong direction by Sir Colin Campbell to pursue Lakhnao rebels (14 Mar '58), iv. 278; ordered to stop fugitives from Músábágh on left front (19 Mar '58), iv. 283; deliberately allows the rebels to escape, iv. 284; incalculable mischief caused by his neglect, iv. 285n; his failure justified by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 289.

Campbell, Brig., of the Bays, charges on, and captures rebel guns at Jalálábád, iv. 250.

Campbell, Capt. Rose, Maj. Davidson's emissary to Rájah of Shorá-púr, v. 86; assumes charge of Shorá-púr after flight of the Rájah, v. 88; leaves Shorá-púr, v. 87.

Campbell, Col., preserved by faithful troopers at Siálkot mutiny, ii. 473n.

Campbell, Col., his former services, iv. 21; commands third column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; leads his column to the assault of Kashmír Gate, iv. 26; penetrates to the Jámí' Masjid, iv. 27; his critical position in the middle of Dehlí, iv. 35.

Campbell, Lieut., wounded, but escapes to large fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123.

Campbell, Lieut., sent to do duty with Nipalese, iv. 222.

Campbell, Lieut.-Col., commands division on illness of Brig. Steuart v. 130n.

Campbell, Major, wounded in No. 2 battery (11 Sept), iv. 13.

Campbell, Mr. J., sends Játs from Rohtak to join Meade's Horse, v. 218.

Campbell, Mrs. Lorne, preserved by faithful troopers at Siálkot mutiny, ii. 473n.

Campbell, Sir Colin, suppresses the Ráwlpindí mutiny (1849), i. 227; selected by Lord Palmerston for chief command in India, iii. 94; proves himself a great general, iv. 196; responsible for two acts at Lakhnao which place him in the second rank of generalship, iv. 288.

Organization of an army.—Arrives at Calcutta (13 Aug), iii. 94, iv. 84, vi. 22; non-existence of of an army for operations when he reached Calcutta, iv. 85; forced to stimulate the Indian Government into action, iv. 87; organizes a bullock train from Rániganj, iv. 87; patrols road to Alláhabád, iv. 88; starts for seat of operations (27 Oct), iv. 91; nearly captured by mutineers at Shergháti, iv. 101; encourages Gen. Havelock to hold on to Kánpúr, iii. 347; his commendation of Gen. Outram's great act of self-abnegation, iii. 353; reaches Alláhabád (1 Nov), iv. 102; arrives at Kánpúr (3 Nov), iv. 104.

Active operations commence.—He sends a force to clear the district of A'zamgarh, iv. 104; resolves to capture Lakhnao before achieving anything else, iv. 104; disregards Tántiá Topí, iv. 105; clears country north of Banáras with troops marching to Lakhnao, iv. 225; hurries to Lakhnao misled by accounts of shortness of provisions,

Campbell, Sir Colin—*cont.*

iv. 114; his instructions to Gen. Windham on leaving him at Kánpúr, iv. 159; the careful forethought of his instructions, iv. 160.

Reaches Banní, near Lakhnao (9 Nov), iv. 106; is met by Mr. Kavanagh (10 Nov), iv. 117; his plan for relieving Lakhnao, iv. 118; the force with which he approached Lakhnao, iv. 117; acts on Gen. Outram's advice in advancing through Lakhnao, iv. 119n; reaches A'lambágh (12 Nov), iv. 120; leaves his baggage at the A'lambágh, iv. 120.

The Attack.—Force with which he made his attack, iv. 121; captures Dilkushá (14 Nov), iv. 122; captures the Martinière, iv. 123; rebels attempt to drive him from the captured positions, but fail, iv. 124; a second and more desperate effort is made, and again fails, iv. 125; the English again advance (15 Nov), iv. 125; and force entrance into Lakhnao (16 Nov), iv. 127; the advance signalled to Sir J. Outram, iv. 126; heroic capture of the Sikandar Bágħ, iv. 129; resolves to carry the Sháh Najaf, iv. 134, 135; his critical position before Sháh Najaf, iv. 135; leads the desperate attack in person, iv. 133; is unable to force an entrance, iv. 135–137; the army saved by Sergeant Paton, iv. 137; who effects the capture of Sháh Najaf, iv. 137; and receives the Victoria Cross, iv. 137n.

The Relief.—Plan for final junction with Sir J. Outram, iv. 141; secures his left flank (17 Nov), iv. 141; captures Banks's House, iv. 141; attack and capture of the Mess House, iv. 142; capture of the Motí Mahall, iv. 143; his rage at Capt. Wolesley for exceeding orders, iv. 143n; he reaches the Residency (17 Nov), iv. 146.

Campbell, Sir Colin—*cont.*

Arrangements for withdrawing garrison from Residency (19 Nov), iv. 151; reaches A'lambágh with the relieved garrison (25 Nov), iv. 155.

The Return March.—Plans for the return to Kánpúr, iv. 155; leaves Sir J. Outram in charge of A'lambágh, iv. 155; starts with convoy to Kánpúr (27 Nov), iv. 156; receives urgent summons from Gen. Windham to hasten to Kánpúr, iv. 156; reaches Mangalwár, iv. 157; re-enters Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 158; his prompt measures for saving the Kánpúr bridge, iv. 182.

The Kánpúr Battle.—Before attacking Tántiá Topí sends convoy on to Alláhbád, iv. 185; his plan for driving Tántiá Topí from Kánpúr, iv. 187; sends his camp to river side before attacking Tántiá Topí, iv. 189; drives Gwáliár Contingent from Kánpúr (6 Dec), iv. 191; orders Gen. Mansfield to occupy the Subadar's Tank to force surrender of Tántiá Topí, iv. 192; orders destruction of Bithúr, iv. 197.

The Doáb.—Resolves to capture Fathgarh, iv. 199; forced to await return of carriages from Alláhbád in order to move from Kánpúr, iv. 199; marches westward from Kánpúr (24 Dec), iv. 210; reaches Míran-kí-Sarai (30 Dec), iv. 210; meets Capt. Hodson at Míran-kí-sarai after his daring ride, iv. 207; his kind reception of Capt. Hodson, iv. 208; saves bridge over Kálí Nadí from destruction (1 Jan '58), iv. 211; his troops, without orders, scatter the rebels there, iv. 213; he occupies Fathgarh (3 Jan '58), iv. 214; re-establishes communication with the north-west (4 Jan '58), iv. 215; places Brig. Seaton in command of Fathgarh, iv. 218.

Campbell, Sir Colin—*cont.*

Preparations for capture of Lakhnao.—His desire to subdue Rohilkhand before Lakhnao overruled by Lord Canning, iv. 215; deceives rebels in Rohilkhand as to his intentions, iv. 218; orders siege-train from A'gra, iv. 217; sends Col. Walpole against Allahganj, iv. 218; directs the advance of a small column from Rúrkí, iv. 219; leaves Fathgarh with the bulk of his troops (1 Feb '58), iv. 220; returns to Kánpúr (4 Feb '58), iv. 220.

Final advance on Lakhnao.—

His plan for the capture of Lakhnao, iv. 257; advances against the Dilkushá to the final capture of Lakhnao, iv. 258; seizes Muham-mad Bágh (2 Mar '58), iv. 258; returns to the A'lambagh, iv. 253; troops with which he advanced to final capture of Lakhnao, iv. 258, 259.

Throws two bridges across the Gúmtí at Bibiapúr (4 Mar '58), iv. 259; sends Gen. Outram with troops across the Gúmtí, iv. 259; the troops which crossed, iv. 260; his anxiety about the passage of the Gúmtí, iv. 260*n.*; repulse of Cavalry attack, and seizure of Chinhát, iv. 261; batteries placed to enfilade first line of rebel defence, iv. 261; capture of the Yellow House, iv. 262; seizure of the Martinière, iv. 264; the rebels abandon their first line of works (9 Mar '58), iv. 263.

Capture of Banks's house (10 Mar '58), iv. 265; erection of batteries to rake the Kaisarbágh defences, iv. 265; seizure of the iron bridge, iv. 266; capture of Hashmat A'lí's camp, iv. 266; occupation of the Sikandarbágh, iv. 267; Kadam Rasúl and Sháh Najaf abandoned by the enemy, iv. 268; storm and capture of the Begam Kothí, iv. 270; the sternest struggle during

Campbell, Sir Colin—*cont.*

the siege, iv. 270; the death of Captain Hodson (11 Mar '58), iv. 271; storm of the Imámbárah, iv. 273; abandonment of second line of defensive works, iv. 273.

Advance against the Kaisarbágh, iv. 273; struggle in the Chíní Bazaar, iv. 274; rebels abandon the Tárá Kothí and Mess-house, iv. 274; storm of the Kaisarbágh, iv. 275; Dr. Russell's de-scription of the plunder of the place, iv. 275; capture of the third line of defence (14 Mar '58), iv. 276.

Extraordinary order to Gen. Outram, iv. 277; the disastrous consequences of this order, iv. 277; directs Sir J. Outram to re-cross Gúmtí, and occupy Kaisarbágh, iv. 278; sends Gen. Hope Grant to pursue along Sítápúr road, iv. 278; sends Brig. Campbell on the Sandíla road, iv. 278; sends Gen. Outram against the Machchí Bhawan, iv. 279; capture of the Músá Bágh, iv. 283; escape of the enemy through wilful blun-dering, iv. 284; the Maulaví driven from the city, iv. 286; com-plete subjugation of Lakhnao (21 Mar '58), iv. 286.

Sends Sir E. Lugard to relieve A'zamgarh, iv. 328.

Operations in Central India.—Accepts Sir Robert Hamilton's plan for campaign in Central India, v. 91; seeks to divert Sir Hugh Rose from Jhánsí, v. 107; sends Col. Maxwell, with troops, to Kalpí, iv. 315.

Rohilkhand Campaign.—Lord Canning insists on immediate attack on Rohilkhand, iv. 349; Sir Colin Campbell sends three columns into Rohilkhand (Apr '58), iv. 349; occupies Sháhjahánpúr, iv. 365; the Maulaví and Nána Sáhib es-cape from him (30 Apr '58), iv. 365; occupies Farídpúr, iv. 367;

Campbell, Sir Colin—*cont.*

drives Khán Bahádur Khán from Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367; the rebel force escapes from Baréli, iv. 370; sends Brig. Jones to relieve Sháhjahánpúr, iv. 373; after capture of Baréli, distributes his forces, iv. 376; hurries from Farídpúr to relieve Sháhjahánpúr, iv. 377; joins Brig. Jones in Sháhjahánpúr, iv. 377; repulses the Maulaví's attack at Panhat (18 May '58), iv. 377; drives the Maulaví into Oudh, iv. 378; returns to Fathgarh, iv. 378.

Seeks to divert Sir Hugh Rose from attack on Jhánsí, v. 107; orders him to relieve Charkhári, v. 107; Sir R. Hamilton authorizes Gen. Rose to disobey that order, v. 108; detaches troops to support attack on Kálpí, v. 125; thinks Central India operations ended with capture of Kálpí, v. 131; directs the break up of Central India Field Force, v. 131; reprimands Sir Hugh Rose for re-assuming command of troops, v. 150; he is allowed a share in Kírwí booty, v. 141.

Final Operations.—His plan of operations for finally crushing resistance, v. 200; moves against A'methí and compels submission of Rájah (8 Nov '58), v. 202; completely defeats Béni Mádhú at Dúndiá Khérá (24 Nov '58), v. 203; drives the Begam of Oudh and Náná Sáhib from Bondí, v. 204; drives rebels from Bondí and Baliráich, v. 204; drives Begam of Oudh and Náná Sáhib into Nipál, v. 204; finally defeats the rebels at Bánkí, on the Nipál frontier (Jan '59), v. 204; becomes Lord Clyde (Oct '58), v. 200.

Campbell, Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnau, iii. 386.

Canning, Mr. George, appointed Governor-General in 1822, but never

Canning, Mr. George—*cont.*

sails, i. 264; becomes Foreign Secretary, i. 266; his opinion of Indian officials, i. 276n.

Canning, Lord Hubert, accompanies Viscount Canning to India, i. 280n.

Canning Viscount:—

Biographical Details.—His early life, i. 265-268; his school-days, i. 266; goes to Eton, i. 266; enters the University (Dec '28), i. 268; takes his degree, i. 269; his marriage (5 Sept '35), i. 270; becomes Member of Parliament (Aug '36), i. 270; takes his seat in the House of Lords (24 Apr '37), i. 270; becomes Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1841), i. 271; becomes Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests (1846), i. 271; declines office under Lord Derby, i. 272; becomes Postmaster-General (1852), i. 273; re-appointed Postmaster-General under Lord Palmerston (1856), i. 273.

Appointed Governor-General (1 Aug '55), i. 264, 274; his appointment received with disapprobation, i. 274; banquet at London Tavern on his appointment, i. 274; his speech on assuming the Governor-Generalship, i. 276.

He lands in India (28 Jan '56), i. 281; his reception at Bombay, i. 281; reaches Calcutta (29 Feb '56), i. 282; immediate pressure of public business, i. 282; his Supreme Council, i. 283.

Personal Characteristics.—His conscientiousness, i. 283; the real strength of his character, v. 297; his military prescience, v. 297; at first hampered by bad advisers, ii. 125n; led astray on first landing in India, v. 296; his early mistakes due to ignorant official councillors, v. 299, vi. 7; his unfortunate dependence on official advisers, vi. 8; invites confidential commu-

Canning, Viscount—*cont.*

nications from Agents at Native Courts, i. 283; his real greatness when he shook himself free from official councillors, v. 297.

General Policy.—His interest in religious societies alarms the natives (1856), i. 348; his cautious dealing with the Hindu Widows Remarriage question, i. 350; proposes General Enlistment Act, i. 342; issues General Enlistment Order (25 July '56), i. 343.

Consents to conference with Dost Muhammad, i. 313, 317; resolves to subsidize Afghanistan, i. 314; declines to send British Mission to Herat, i. 305; his opinion of the agreement with Afghanistan, i. 326, 328.

Adopts Lord Dalhousie's policy with respect to Dehlí Princes, ii. 22; resolves to abolish kingly title of Dehlí family, ii. 23; his final instructions as to Dehlí succession, ii. 24.

His desire to avoid war with Persia, i. 305; directed from Home to make war on Persia, i. 305; consults Sir John Lawrence as to command of Persian expedition, i. 307; appoints Gen. Stalker to the command, i. 309; sends Outram to supersede Gen. Stalker, i. 312; Persian war ends at moment of Indian outbreak, i. 440; his terms for making peace with Persia, i. 319; his opinion of the war with Persia, i. 304.

Approves the policy of annexing Oudh, i. 279; appoints Mr. Coverley Jackson interim Commissioner of Oudh, i. 292; orders inquiry into alleged indignities in Oudh, i. 297; severely reprimands Mr. Jackson for neglecting to supply information about indignities, i. 298; resolves to depose Jackson, i. 299; wishes Outram to return to Oudh, i. 311.

The Storm rises.—Warned by

Canning, Viscount—*cont.*

Gen. Outram before outbreak to make Alláhábád secure, ii. 181 and. n; he is rendered uneasy by the *chapáti* distribution, i. 421; knows of conspiracy to seize Fort William (26 Jan), vi. 11; permits Sipáhís to grease their own cartridges (27 Jan), i. 378; first warned of the great coming danger by the outbreak at Barhámpúr (Feb), i. 387; his slowness in dealing with Barhámpúr mutiny, vi. 7; objects to deferring target practice at Ambáláh (4 Apr), i. 410; realizes the depth of the disaffection at Barrackpúr, i. 403n; fears Gen. Hearsey's second address to Barrackpúr Sipáhís, i. 390; delay in disarming Barrackpúr Sipáhís, vi. 7; asks for additional English officers (Apr), i. 335.

The Storm breaks.—Hears that Sipáhís are apparently contented in early May, i. 427; news of Mírath outbreak reaches him (12 May), i. 437; his condemnation of the irritating way of carrying out sentence on Mírath troopers, ii. 38n; realizes the significance of Mírath-Dehlí outbreak, i. 438, 453; inclines to prompt severity in early May, i. 436; resolves on calm determination to suppress Mutiny, i. 439; finds his Presidency officers painfully despondent, i. 448; summons China expedition to his help, i. 441; his official and private appeal to Lord Elgin, i. 445; assumes the whole responsibility of diverting China expedition, i. 444; summons English troops from Burmah and Madras, i. 442; demands immediate reinforcements from Court of Directors, i. 445; calls for troops from the Panjáb, i. 442; authorizes the acceptance of help from Pattiála and Jhínd (May), i. 443; his fears for the fidelity of the Panjáb, ii. 314; the question of ceding Pesháwar re-

Canning, Viscount—*cont.*

ferred to him, ii. 464; refuses to abandon Peshawar, ii. 466; authorizes enlistment of Sikhs and Afghans, ii. 355; list of the troops he had summoned in May, ii. 95.

Tranquillizing Measures.—Confers increased punitive powers on military officers (16 May), i. 447; confers plenary military power on Sir H. Lawrence (16 May), i. 451; issues tranquillizing proclamation to native army, i. 447; retains his native body-guard in despite of Mutiny, ii. 89; pursues policy of feigning belief in Sipahis, i. 334, iii. 8, 15; compliments Sipahis at Allahabad just before they mutiny, iii. 7; his reason for temporising with Sipahis, iii. 31.

Distrusts his own countrymen, but trusts the Sipahis, iii. 10; Calcutta community distrust his measures, ii. 86, iii. 13; refuses to enrol Calcutta inhabitants as Volunteers, ii. 87, vi. 7; contemptuous terms in which volunteer aid was refused (25 May), vi. 16; taunts the inhabitants of Calcutta with panic, ii. 88; induced by Mr. Grant to accept services of Volunteers at Calcutta, iii. 9; tardily sanctions the enrolment of Volunteers at Calcutta (12 June), iii. 10; his neglect of available resources condemned, ii. 4; receives reassuring telegrams from North-West (10-19 May), ii. 94.

Reinforcements.—Conceals first arrivals of reinforcements, ii. 96n; his anxiety about line of communication with Agra, ii. 148; his instant efforts to protect that line, ii. 83; hurries troops up country, but leaves Sipahis armed near Calcutta, iii. 6, 7; his perversity in allowing disaffected troops to remain armed, iii. 14; fatal evidence of want of strength in policy, iii. 116; disregards Major

Canning, Viscount—*cont.*

Cavenagh's wise suggestions on the Queen's birthday, vi. 14.

Active Operations.—His directions as to military movements in June, iii. 9n; resolves to recover Dehlí before everything, ii. 90; his good opinion of Gen. Anson, i. 288; directs European troops on Northern hills to concentrate on Dehlí, ii. 90; urges Gen. Anson to advance immediately on Dehlí (17 May), ii. 113; directs detachment from Dehlí force to overawe Kánpúr (31 May), ii. 119, iii. 3; urges Dehlí force to send troops southwards (10 June), iii. 8; his verdict on the delay of moving on Dehlí, ii. 125.

His extraordinary misappreciation of the magnitude of the crisis, iii. 4; refuses to send special mail to England for troops, v. 5; his criticized resolution with respect to treatment of mutineers, iii. 89; refuses to restrain the Press, iii. 12; grants exceptional powers to executive and military officers (8 June), ii. 100, 101; effect of Sir H. Barnard's victory of 8 June on him, iii. 21; he passes the Gagging Act (13 June), iii. 13.

Recognizes the strength of the mutiny by June, ii. 99; personally thanks De Kantzow for his devotion at Mainpúr, iii. 105; disarms Barrackpúr Sipahis (14 June), iii. 18; arrests the King of Oudh (15 June), iii. 18; accepts the help of Nipál in June, iv. 221.

The Disarming Dispute.—On the difficulty of disarming Sipahis in Bengal, ii. 93; receives deputation from Calcutta merchants, urging disarmament of Dánápúr Sipahis (20 July), iii. 41; curtly refuses to order their disarmament, iii. 41, vi. 8; receives the reinforcements which could have disarmed Dánápúr Sipahis, iii. 39; throws on Gen. Lloyd the respon-

Canning, Viscount—*cont.*

sibility of disarming Dánapúr Sípahís, iii. 40; disastrous result of his refusal to disarm Dánapúr Sípahís, iii. 47, iv. 85; his famous disarming Act, iii. 91; allows the removal of native guard from Government House (29 July), vi. 21; suggests disarming his Muhammadan body-guard (4 Aug), vi. 21; pleased that his body-guard disarms itself, vi. 22; forms Naval Brigade, at suggestion of Gen. Ashburnham, iii. 93; sanctions formation of Yeomanry Corps (Aug), vi. 22; proposes to raise battery of Eurasian artillery, iv. 71n; his instructions to Gen. Franks (Nov), iv. 228; his series of superseding appointments, iii. 345.

Recommends Sir P. Grant for chief command in India, iii. 94; Lord Palmerston selects Sir Colin Campbell for chief command in India, iii. 94; induces Sir Colin Campbell to capture Lakhnao before entering Rohilkhand (Jan '58), iv. 216; goes to Alláhábád (9 Feb '58), iv. 291.

The Oudh Proclamation.—His famous proclamation to the people of Oudh (Mar '58), v. 173; it rewards six faithful men, v. 173; confiscates all other landed property in Oudh, v. 174; excludes from mercy all who had murdered Englishmen and women in Oudh, v. 174; his Oudh proclamation reaches Lakhnao (20 Mar '58), iv. 285; his Oudh proclamation boldly condemned by Sir J. Outram, v. 175; his reasons for condemning it, v. 175; his Oudh proclamation universally condemned, iv. 286; Mr. Edmonstone's explanation of the Oudh proclamation, v. 174; His Lordship's defence of the proclamation, v. 176; his second defence, v. 177; refuses to believe that the land-settlement caused

Canning, Viscount—*cont.*

the unsettlement, v. 177; enlarges Sir J. Outram's powers of mercy in Oudh, v. 176; his defence of his Oudh proclamation to the Court of Directors, v. 181; the Court supports his Oudh policy, v. 180; Lord Ellenborough condemns the proclamation, v. 178; and sends an insulting despatch to India, v. 179; the Cabinet support this despatch, v. 179; the despatch causes indignation in India, v. 180; the Prime Minister disowns it, v. 180; Lord Ellenborough resigns office, v. 179; Mr. Montgomery appointed Chief Commissioner of Oudh, v. 183.

Central India.—Appoints Col. Durand to temporary charge of Central India, iii. 135; takes advice from Sir R. Hamilton, as to campaign in Central India, v. 91; seeks to divert Sir Hugh Rose from Jhánsí, v. 107; despatches Lord Mark Kerr to save A'zamgarh, iv. 321; orders Gen. Whitlock to advance into Bundelkhand, v. 135; orders Gen. Whitlock to march on Kírwí, v. 138; organizes column to move to Suráon, v. 195.

Official Acts.—His care in explaining the Queen's Proclamation, v. 276; appoints Col. Durand as Foreign Secretary, v. 298; his general orders on the death of Capt. Peel, iv. 382; his testimony as to Mr. Venables' valuable services, iv. 383n; dismisses Capt. Showers from political employ (Feb '60), iii. 174n; text of his order, dismissing Major Showers from political employ, iii. 371.

Canning, Viscountess, takes lively interest in female education, i. 348.

Canning, Viscountess, mother of Viscount Canning, dies 15 April 1837, i. 270.

Canning, William Pitt, drowned at Madeira, i. 268.

- Capper, Mr., stays alone at Malaún till actual outbreak of mutiny, iii. 256; saved from death by the heroism of his companions, iii. 287; wounded in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Captain Bazaar, captured by Capt. Lowe (26 Sept), iv. 108.
- Captainganj two fugitives from Faizábád reach, iii. 269.
- Carew, Lieut., I.N., his excellent service in Jagdíspúr jungles, vi. 171; important service of his battery at Hétampúr, vi. 171; disabled by exposure in the sun, vi. 171.
- Carmalt, Mr., tutor of Viscount Canning, i. 265.
- Carmichael, Brig., clears country south of the Ghághrá, v. 204.
- Carmichael, Sergeant, one of explosion party at Kashmír Gate, Dehlí, iv. 22; lights the fuse, and is shot dead (14 Sept), iv. 25.
- Carnac, Mr., joins in attack on mutinous Sipáhís at Dhákáh, iv. 293.
- Carnegie, Capt., Magistrate of Lakhnao, i. 431; reports disaffection of 7th Regt., near Lakhnao (2 May), i. 431; distinguishes himself in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Carnegy, Lieut., his prudent daring at Kadam Rasúl, iv. 267.
- Carnegy, Mr. Patrick, becomes Deputy Collector of Jaunpúr (8 Sept), vi. 51; acts as a soldier in Jaunpúr, vi. 51; his important services during Gen. Franks's campaign, iv. 238; while at Mohan rebels attempt to capture the place, v. 197.
- Carnell, Lieut., marches to Ajmír with some of Mairwárá's battalion, iii. 166.
- Carpenter, Col., commands part of infantry in Whitlock's column, v. 133.
- Carshore, Mr. W. S., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; murdered at Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126.
- Carter, Mrs., and child, murdered by order of Náná Sáhib on morning of his flight from Bithúr, ii. 293*n.*
- Carthew, Brig. M., his character, iv. 98; commands Madras Sipáhís who offer to act against mutineers, iv. 98; reaches Kánhpúr with detachment (14 Nov), iv. 162; commands troops on west of Kánhpúr, iv. 163; reports advance of Tántiá Topí (25 Nov), iv. 165; commands first brigade at battle of Kánhpúr (26 Nov), iv. 165; ordered to fall back on Bithúr road and to protect theatre (27 Nov), iv. 171; fight his way to the Bithúr road, iv. 171; repulses Tántiá Topí on one side of Kánhpúr, iv. 169; successful in all his encounters at battle of Kánhpúr, iv. 172.
- Posted to defend key of position at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173; left unsupported, iv. 175; ordered to advance up Bithúr road, iv. 175; ordered to fall back on bridge in Bithúr road, iv. 174; driven from position at bridge for want of supports, iv. 177; receives small support when actually falling back, iv. 180; his able conduct during the disastrous attack on 28 Nov., iv. 180; erroneously censured by Sir Colin Campbell, but censure withdrawn, iv. 179.
- Sent to command at Fathpúr (Jan '58), iv. 313; his onerous task at Fathpúr, iv. 313; patrols the Kánhpúr road, iv. 315; returns to Fathpúr, iv. 314; advances on Bhognipúr, iv. 314; occupies Bhognipúr, and forces rebels to re-cross the Jamnah, iv. 314; occupies Sikandrá, iv. 314; clears the district of rebels, iv. 314.
- Cartridges, greased, the story of the, i. 359; routine causes disastrous delay in settlement of the grievance, i. 375; as a cause of the Mutiny argued, v. 280; rapidity with which the tale spread, i. 376;

Cartridges, greased—*cont.*

the fat really used, i. 381; mutton fat used at Mírath before 1857, i. 379; Sipáhís handle cartridges freely at first, i. 380; allowed to grease their own cartridges, i. 378; Sir John Lawrence supports the greased-cartridge theory, v. 280; real bearing of the cartridges on the Mutiny, v. 292; only a pretext for revolt, v. 292; the theory exploded, v. 314.

Cartwright, Colonel, tries to prevent Mutiny at Barrackpúr (1824), i. 195.

Case, Lieut., killed at Chinhát (29 June), iii. 326.

Case, Lieut.-Col., engaged at battle of Chinhát, iii. 377; killed at battle of Chinhát (29 June), iii. 285, 377.

Caste, its nature and incidents, i. 141; used for disloyal purposes by astute Brahmans, i. 141; Lord Canning charged with attempts to destroy caste, ii. 88; English charged with mixing bone-dust with flour, i. 417; also charged with mixing animal fat with *ghi*, i. 417; report of an intention to defile the mass of the people, i. 417; the Railway and the Electric Telegraph understood as blows at caste, i. 346.

Affected in prison by messing arrangements, i. 142; changes in prison regulations give colour to a charge of tampering with, i. 142; prison outbreaks in consequence, i. 144; prisoners deprived of their *lotahs*, i. 144; religious importance of the *lotah*, i. 144; furious outbreaks in consequence, i. 145.

Its effect in the Bengal army, i. 154; fear of the new cartridges at Ambálah in March, i. 405; general fear of loss of caste pervades the army, i. 406; attempts of Gen. Anson to counteract this fear, i. 407; Lord Canning at first disposed to resist concession to the men's

Caste—*cont.*

fears, i. 410; effect of the bone-dust scare on the Sipáhís at Kánhpúr, i. 418; the mysterious circulation of the *chapáts*, i. 419; agitating effect of their circulation, i. 421; differences of opinion as to its effect on the army, i. 242; Sipáhí view of the supposed wish to destroy, i. 257.

Mixture of caste in the army, i. 243; its danger in Bengal, i. 243; its harmlessness in Madras and Bombay, i. 243; the dread of crossing the "black water," i. 343; its bearing on caste, i. 343; the effect of the General Enlistment Act on caste, i. 344, 346; fears from the increased enlistment of Sikhs, i. 345.

The Muhammadans of Patna fear the forcible conversion of the whole population, i. 347; Mr. Halliday's Proclamation on the subject, i. 347; Lord Canning's subscriptions to religious societies considered proof of antagonism to caste, i. 348; Hindú Widow's Marriage Act causes fresh alarm, i. 349; unwise proselytizing zeal of many officers, i. 352.

Castle, Mr., a planter, brave volunteer horseman of Alígarh, vi. 138; joins in heroic retention of factory near that town, iii. 198n.

Castlereagh, Lord, his death prevents George Canning's voyage to India, i. 264.

Catania, Mr., leads a party of loyal natives into A'zamgarh, vi. 66.

Caulfield, Capt., struck down in attack on Láhor Gate, Dehlí, iv. 33.

Caulfield, Capt., commands Infantry in Rewári expedition, iv. 76; assumes command of the whole expedition, iv. 82; leads Rewári force towards Alwar, iv. 83; reaches Paltaólí and is superseded by Colonel Seaton (23 Nov), iv. 83.

- Caulfield, Mr., risks his life to save refugees at Banáras Kachahri (4 June), ii. 174*n*.
- Cautley, Lieut., murdered near Mo-hádaba (June), iii. 269.
- Cave-Brown, Mr., his account of proposed uses of Philúr Fort, ii. 105; his account of the panic at Simlah, ii. 103, 107; his description of sack of Metcalfe House, ii. 409*n*.
- Cavenagh, Sir Orfeur, his strength of character and calmness, vi. 23; loses his leg at the battle of Ma-hárájpúr (1840), vi. 11; accompanies Jang Bahádur during his tour in Europe, vi. 11; hears of general disaffection in India (1856), vi. 11.
- Becomes Town Major of Calcutta (Nov '56), vi. 11; Lord Canning's confidence in him, vi. 23; hears of attempt to seize Fort William (26 Jan '57), vi. 11; is informed by a Sipáhí of objection to new cartridges (28 Jan), vi. 12; removes objection to new cartridges, vi. 12; official obstruction revives objection to new cartridges, vi. 12; his unexpected return to Fort disconcerts conspiracy (10 Mar), vi. 12; advised by native officer to blow guilty Sipáhís from guns, vi. 13.
- His wise suggestions on the Queen's birthday disregarded, vi. 14; forces on the Government some arrangements troops expected from China, iv. 86; causes the formation of Sikh regiments (4 June), vi. 15; replaces Sipáhí guards by Europeans (8 June), vi. 15; organizes the Volunteer Guards (11 June), vi. 15; his excellent scheme for organizing Volunteers in Calcutta, vi. 16; his testimony as to the value of the Volunteers, vi. 18; detects a spy of the King of Oudh (13 June), vi. 19.
- The Fort crowded on "Panic Sunday" (14 June), vi. 20*n*; his description of "Panic Sunday" at Calcutta, iii. 17*n*; a Muhamma-dan asks shelter in the Fort from his co-religionists, vi. 20; procures the removal of native guard from Government House (29 July), vi. 21; prepares to disarm body-guard, vi. 21; body-guard disarm themselves (4 Aug), vi. 21; enlists stray Europeans to protect isolated stations, vi. 23.
- Selected to govern the Straits Settlements (1859), vi. 23.
- Cawnpore, *see* Kálhnpúr.
- Cawood, Mr., resides at Bijnaur, vi. 103.
- Central India, its description and extent, iii. 135; distribution of native troops in, iii. 136; telegraphic communication with, in 1857, iii. 137*n*; Colonel Durand becomes Agent for Governor-General in, iii. 135; princes and people stand firmly to the British power, v. 240, vi. 165, 167; tranquillized by the surrender of Mán Singh, v. 268.
- Central India Field Force, composition of, v. 94; Sir Hugh Rose takes command of, at Mán (17 Dec), v. 94; capture of Jhánsí (5 Apr '58), v. 119; the victory at Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 123; capture of Kalpí (22 May '58), v. 148; capture of Gwáliár (19 June '58), v. 158; Sir Hugh Rose's farewell order to, v. 162*n*; the Force broken up and distributed, v. 163.
- See also* Rose, Sir Hugh, and Whitlock, Brig.
- Centralisation, its disastrous effects on the Indian army, i. 188; humiliates the officers, i. 189.
- Central Provinces, popular feeling in favour of English supremacy, v. 240.
- Ceylon, troops sent from, to stop mutiny at Páliamkottá, i. 175.
- Chachanpúr, occupied by Sir Hugh Rose, v. 106.

- Chaibásá, large town of Chutiá Nág-púr, iv. *xiii*, 95; the capital of Kolhán, iv. *xiii*; mutiny at (5 Aug), iv. 96.
- Chákar Kothí, key to the rebel position at Lakhnão, iv. 261; captured by Sir J. Outram (9 Mar '58), iv. 262.
- Chakarnagar, captured by Lieut. Forbes, v. 215.
- Chalmers, Lieut., carries to Alláhábád news of fall of Kánhpúr, ii. 215*n.*
- Chalmers, Ensign, commands Pioneers at Pilíbhít, v. 192.
- Châlons, Attila's speech to his soldiers at, iii. 368*n.*
- Chambal River, situation of, iii. *x*, iv. *xv*; one boundary of Sindhiá territory, iii. 135; Gen. Monson's retreat from, ii. 115; Col. Durand crosses river in face of the enemy (19 Nov), v. 52; efforts to prevent the English from crossing, v. 147; Tántiá Topí escapes from Gen. Roberts across (18 Aug '58), v. 227.
- Chamberlain, Brig. Neville, his character, iv. 39; his description and early services, ii. 343; appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39; called to military conference at Pesháwar (12 May), iii. 343. Commands Panjáb Irregular Force in May, ii. 343; goes to Ráwalpindí, ii. 346; arrives at Dehlí camp (24 June), ii. 422; considers success at Dehlí more important than retention of Panjáb, ii. 466*n.*
- Created Chief of the Staff at Dehlí (July), ii. 385; leads attack on Sabzimandi (9 July), ii. 438; leads counter-attack from Hindu Ráo's House (14 July), ii. 440; his left arm broken by shot at this encounter, ii. 440.
- His high opinion of Sir H. Barnard, ii. 428; urges Gen. Wilson to persevere in capture of Dehlí, iv. 39.
- Chambers, Mrs., murdered at Mírath, ii. 52, 202*n.*
- Chamier, Capt., fights the rebels guns at Kánhpúr (27 Nov), iv. 171; his gallantry at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 177; commands Artillery at defence of Bithúr road, iv. 173; his services at the A'lambágħ, iv. 252.
- Champáran, a district of Patná division, iii. *xii*, 26, vi. 3; abandoned by European officials, iii. 70; raided by Mehndi Husén (Aug), iv. 311.
- Champion, Colonel, defeats last Rohilla chief (1774), iii. 206*n.*
- Chanár, its situation, ii. *xv*, vi. 46.
- Capt. Olpherts and Watson propose retreat to, from Banáras, ii. 152, vi. 41*n.*; some missionaries from Banáras fly to (4 June), ii. 172.
- Chandá, its situation, iv. 224*n.*; garrison of, v. 77; rebels at, defeated by Gurkhás (30 Oct), iv. 224; defeat of rebels at, by Gen. Franks (19 Feb '58), iv. 231.
- Chandábakhsh, rebel leader in Oudh, v. 189.
- Chandah, plundered by Jaunpúr Sipáhís (6 June), iii. 272.
- Chandérí, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60; a town of Gwáliár, v. *ix*; its beauty, importance, and strength, v. 104; approaches to, cleared by Brig. Stuart, v. 105; stormed and captured (17 Mar '58), v. 106; Tántiá Topí marches against (26 Sept '58), v. 235; he attempts, but fails to capture, v. 308; he is repulsed at, and turns to Mangraulí, v. 236.
- Chándípúr, capture of fort by Capt. Sotheby (17 Feb '58), iv. 316.
- Chand Kaur, *see* Lahor, Maháramí of, i. 34.
- Channing, Dr., his classification of truly great minds, iii. 61*n.*
- Cháodrá Bhopál Singh, receives Náná Sáhib and followers after the first defeats at Kánhpúr, v. 306.

- Chápairá, occupied by Gen. Michel, v. 229.
- Chapátís, an incitement to revolt, v. 292; their mysterious circulation in Narsinhpúr, North-West Provinces, and Oudh, v. 63; their distribution first noticed in January, i. 420n; particulars of their mysterious circulation, i. 418; communication with prisoners by means of, i. 419n; their dissemination traced to conspirators of Oudh, v. 63; their moment of circulation, v. 292; their circulation and meaning, v. 340; shaped like ship-biscuits to indicate the English, v. 340, 341; seen by Capt. Ternan at Narsinhpúr, v. 62; he divines their real meaning, v. 63; Major Erskine ridicules this opinion, v. 63; their effect in exciting the agricultural class, v. 280; circulated before the mutiny at Vellur (1806), vi. 87.
- Chapman, Bishop of Colombo, Lord Canning's tutor, i. 281; examines young Canning for Eton, i. 266.
- Chapman, Mr. F. C., an indigo-planter, scours the country around Banáras, vi. 45; captures many dangerous people, vi. 45; appointed second in command of Yeomanry Cavalry, vi. 45; chases, but fails to catch, the murderers of Mr. Moore, vi. 48.
- Chapman, Mr. R. B., Deputy-Collector of Dhákah, vi. 28.
- Chaprá, capital of Sáran, near Patná, iii. xi, 26; first execution of mutinous Sipáhís there (1764), i. 150; troops, from Dánápúr, stopped on their way to Banáras, ii. 155; treasure of, brought to Patná, by order of Mr. W. Tayler (15 June), iii. 32; abandoned by European officials, iii. 70; raided by Mehndí Husén (Aug), iv. 311; the Magistrate of, sends a gun-boat to patrol the Ghághrá river, iv. 311; confusion in, on defeat of Captain Le Grand (23 Apr '58), iv. 335.
- Chaprá, a district of Tonk, vi. 154.
- Chaprá Barod, Tántiá Topí's defeat at (28 Dec '58), v. 309.
- Chárbaigh, canal at Lakhnao, along which Gen. Havelock advances, iii. 360; defences at bridge of, iii. 361; Sir J. Outram gives information with respect to, iv. 407.
- Chardah, Rájah of, joins the rebel camp at Belwá (4 Mar '58), iv. 316.
- Charkhári, district to west of U'r-cháh, v. xii; to the south of Bandah, vi. 78; near Hamírpúr, vi. 83.
- Charkhári, Rájah of, a disloyal fugitive from Fathgarh, iv. 313; joins Náná Sáhib across the Jamnah, iv. 314.
- Charkhári, Rájah of, establishes his authority near Kálpí, iv. 314; his loyalty, v. 107, 134; he is attacked by Tántiá Topí, v. 135; many chiefs join in the attack on, v. 306; Gen. Whitlock ordered to relieve him, v. 135; but he halts at Panah, v. 135; the loyal Rájah is besieged by Tántiá Topí, v. 107; Sir Hugh Rose ordered to march on, v. 107; Sir R. Hamilton authorizes him to disobey that order, v. 108; the Rájah is compelled to surrender after eleven days' siege (Mar '58), v. 111.
- Charlton, Lieut., shot at siege of Lakhnao (13 July), iii. 300.
- Charlton, Lieut., wounded at Lakhnao (5 Sept), iii. 315; distinguishes himself by special gallantry at defence of that place, iii. 385.
- Chárwah, position occupied by Brig. Parke (10 Nov '58), v. 242.
- Chasru Bágh, first head-quarters of the Maulaví, at Alláhábád (8 June), ii. 196.
- Chatá, place at which Mr. Thornhill hears of mutiny at Mathurá, vi. 91; the villagers swarm round Mr. Thornhill at night, vi. 92; villagers offer to defend Mr. Thorn-

Chatá—*cont.*

hill, vi. 92; Mr. Thornhill, by circuitous route, reaches Mathurá and A'gra from, vi. 91; Capt. Nixon starts from, for Dehlí, and Mr. Thornhill for Mathurá (31 May), vi. 93.

Chatámu Lake, Thibet, source of the river Tístá, iv. *xix*.

Chatárí, Nawáb of, loyally assists the English in Bulandshahr district, vi. 137.

Chatar Manzil, a palace near Residency, Lakhnão, iii. 364; description of, iv. *xiii*; its meaning, iv. 108*n*; occupied by Gen. Outram (26 Sept), iv. 108.

Chatar Singh, his daughter, wife to Maharajah of Lahor, i. 22; openly rebellious in Hazárah (1848), i. 24.

Chátgáón, base of operations against Burma (1824), i. 194; contemplated road from, to Akyab (1856), i. 340.

Chatgáón see Chitrágáón.

Chatrá, a town of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. *xii*; Col. Fischer tries to find Rámgarh mutineers at (24 Sept), iv. 99; Major English's victory at, stops intended rising at Dharuahs (Nov), vi. 5; battle at (2 Oct.), iv. 100, 304; Dhákah mutineers escape from, into Oudh (19 Jan '58), iv. 304.

Chatrá, place in Nipál, to which Dhákah mutineers had fled, iv. 302.

Chatrpúr, occupied by Gen. Whitlock (9 Apr '58), v. 135.

Chatsú, a town of Jaipúr, vi. 158.

Chauka, river west of Bahráich, iii. 261.

Chauká Ghát, near Faizábád, headquarters of Begam of Oudh in July '58, v. 189.

Chauría, occupied by Major Richardson, to stop Dhákah mutineers (19 Jan '58), iv. 303.

Cháuringhi, fashionable quarter of Calcutta, ii. 91, iii. 15; the part

Cháuringhi—*cont.*

in which the miserable panic was witnessed, vi. 20*n*.

Cháwá Ghát, point at which Dhákah mutineers cross the Tístá (2 Dec), iv. 301.

Cheek, Arthur, boy-ensign, his fortune and death (16 June), i. 190.

Chéit Singh, the former Rájah of Banáras, respect paid to his post representative by Hindús in 1851 v. 290*n*.

Chenáb, operations on the banks of i. 27.

Chesney, Major, urges capture of Dehlí by *coup-de-main*, ii. 397.

Chester, Col., suggests formation of siege-train at Philúr, ii. 105*n*; killed at battle of Badlí-ki-Sarai (8 June). ii. 146.

Chester, Mr. C., Commissioner of Alláhábád, vi. 70; his character, ii. 182.

Chhartarbj, Ráo Sáhib chased from pass, by Col. Somerset (15 Feb '59), v. 257.

Chhatarpúr, a State to the south of Hamírpúr, vi. 83; fugitives from Náogáón reach, by accidentally circuitous route, iii. 128; the Rání of, protects fugitives from Náogáón, iii. 129, vi. 167; first attempt of fugitives to leave, unsuccessful, iii. 129; occupied by Gen. Whitlock (9 Apr '58), v. 135.

Chhatísgarh, district south of Rewah, v. *xi*.

Chhibrámáu, Capt. Hodson visits, in his daring ride to Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 207; his perilous adventure on returning through (30 Dec), iv. 208.

Chhotá Kálá Sind, river of Gwáliár, iv. *xv*.

Chhotá Kálí Sind, a river of Jhaláwar, vi. 162.

Chhotá Udaipúr, entered by Tántiá Topí (29 Nov '58); v. 245; Brig. Parke catches him there, v.

- Chhotá Udaipúr—*cont.*
 245; defeat of Tántiá Topí at (1 Dec. '58), v. 247, 309.
- Chichester, Capt., leads a company to relief of Govindgarh, ii. 328.
- Chick, Mr., heroically joins in saving Mr. Capper's life, iii. 288.
- Chicken, Acting-Master George, his amazing daring at Pirú (4 Sept '58), vi. 172; wins Victoria Cross, vi. 172.
- Chiklá, plundered by Tántiá Topí (26 Nov '58), v. 245, 309.
- Chilass, Hoti-Mardáu mutineers fly to, ii. 371*n.*
- Chiliánwála, battle fought (13 Jan '49), i. 29; Nicholson present at battle of, ii. 339
- Chilká Lake, most southerly point of Lower Provinces, vi. 2.
- China expedition, its interception first suggested by Gen. Hearsey (15 May), i. 451; then by Sir H. Lawrence (16 May), i. 452; and by Sir P. Grant (17 May), i. 452; Lord Canning resolves to utilize expedition (18 May), i. 452.
- Chináb, river of the Panjáb, iv. xvii.
- Chinhat, advance of mutineers to, for attack on Lakhnao (29 June), iii. 283; Sir H. Lawrence goes out to meet them, iii. 284; reasons for risking a battle, iii. 376; the enemy attacks both flanks of the English, iii. 285; Col. Case and half his party are killed, iii. 285; traitorous conduct of Oudh artillery at, iii. 285, 377; the English retreat, iii. 285; gallant charge of cavalry at Kukrail bridge, iii. 285; end of the disastrous battle (29 June), ii. 308, iii. 286; victorious enemy stopped at the Guímtí, iii. 286; results of the defeat, iii. 286; calmness of Sir H. Lawrence during the reverse, iii. 287.
- Chíní Bazaar, its capture turns third line of defence in Lakhnao (14 Mar '58), iv. 274.
- Chinsurah, near Calcutta, iii. 15; Gen. Hearsey calls for assistance from (29 Mar), i. 397; troops summoned from (13 June), vi. 19.
- Chírápúr, Capt. Ternan surprises and destroys party of insurgents at (Dec), v. 74.
- Chirkhári, many chiefs join in the attack on, v. 306.
 See Charkhári,
- Chirkí, town to which Tántiá Topí flies after defeat of Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 125, 307; Tántiá Topí hurries from, to join Ráni of Jhánsí at Gopálpiúr, v. 143.
- Chítór, a town of Udaipúr, vi. 155; Brig. Parke takes up pursuit of Tántiá Topí near (18 Aug '58), v. 227.
- Chitpúr Bazaar, a quarter of Calcutta, ii. 84.
- Chitragáon, district of Eastern Bengal, iv. xiv; and a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; its garrison, vi. 31; mutiny at (18 Nov), iv. 292, vi. 31; mutineers plunder treasury, and steal elephants to carry the cash, iv. 292; they march on Sítákund, iv. 292; they seek to escape by Hill Tiparah, iv. 293; the Rájah of Tiparah endeavours to stop mutineers, iv. 294; the Commissioner of, causes Tiparah Zamíndars to close passes to Sipáhís, iv. 294; they are stopped at Sankhula by Rájah of Tiparah (2 Dec), iv. 294; lose the elephants and treasure, iv. 295; endeavour to reach Manipúr, iv. 295; the mutineers attack a British police-station (15 Dec), iv. 295; the Silhat regiment catches them at Látí, iv. 295; Major Byng attacks them and is killed (18 Dec), iv. 296; they are driven out of Látí by Lieut. Sherer, iv. 296; they get assistance in Manipúr, iv. 296; but are again attacked and driven into jungles, by Capt. Stevens (12 Jan '58), iv. 296; in a third attack

Chitragáon—*cont.*

they are stripped of all their arms and accoutrements (22 Jan '58), iv. 290; they are completely defeated, by Jámadár Jagathír (30 Jan. '58), iv. 297; the remnants of the mutineers perish miserably in the hilly country, iv. 297.

Chittagong, *see* Chitragáon.

Chitty, Lieut., I.N., his dangerous service in landing troops near Káráchí, vi. 172; specially thanked by Lord Elphinstone, vi. 172.

Chitúr, project to murder English at (1822), i. 191.

Christ Church, Oxford, the college at which Viscount Canning was trained, i. 268.

Christian, Mr. George Jackson, Commissioner at Sítápúr, iii. 252; suggests the means of ridding Lakhnao of dangerous Sipáhís, iii. 248; brings the ladies and children of Sítápúr to his house, iii. 254; murdered at Sítápúr (3 June), iii. 255.

Christian, Mrs., murdered at Sítápúr (3 June), iii. 255.

Christianity, forcible conversion to, feared in 1806, i. 164; its spread, one cause of Vellúr mutiny, i. 182; native fear of conversion to, i. 346–349; British officers openly carry on proselytizing work (1856), i. 352.

Christie, Lieut., dangerously wounded in Central India (Nov), v. 59.

Christie, Lieut.-Col., commands column in the Doáb, iv. 315; drives the rebels from Siraulí (Mar '58), iv. 315.

Christie, Mr., murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187n.

Chumair, village in centre of Sir Hugh Rose's attack on Kúnch, v. 122.

Chumblá, river of Gwálíár, iv. xv.

Chuní Lál, his evidence as to the murder of the Europeans, at Dehlí, v. 332; his evidence as to appointment of Mirzá Mughul in Dehlí, v. 327.

Chunní, a pedlar, his evidence as proclamation of the King of Dehlí v. 327.

Church, Mr., Midshipman, one Peel's brigade, iv. 90n.

Church Garrison, a post at Lakhnao iii. 298.

Churcher, Mr. David, escaping from Fathgarh, saves Major Robertson from drowning, iii. 231n; conducts Major Robertson to Kalhú and tends him till he dies, iii. 231n; ultimately reaches Kánpú in safety, iii. 231n.

Churní, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.

Chute, Col., commands detachments sent to suppress mutiny at Mardán (23 May), ii. 363; reaches Mardán on May 25, and Sipáhí fly on his advance, ii. 364; returns, with his column, to Pesháwar (10 June), ii. 374.

Chutiá, residence of Rájahs of Nág-púr, iv. xiii.

Chutiá Nág-púr, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4; its name and situation, iv. 95; description of, iv. xiii; Sipáhí garrison of, iv. 95; nature of population, and cause of general disturbance in, vi. 35; Capt. Dalton, Commissioner of, vi. 34; he receives support from the Rájah of Rámgarh, vi. 34; mutiny at Hazáríbágh (30 July), iv. 95; mutiny at Ránchí (31 July), iv. 96; mutinies at Parúliá and Chaibásá (5 Aug), iv. 96; Capt. Dalton asks for a European regiment, iv. 97; mutineers from, congregate at Rhotásgarh, iv. 99; charge of operations in, transferred to Major English (26 Sept), iv. 99; cleared of Rámgarh mutineers (2 Oct), iv. 100; nature of operations in, iv. 304; order not restored till end of 1858, iv. 309.

Civil stations, typical examples of their condition during the Mutiny, vi. 4.

Clarendon, Lord, withdraws British

- Clarendon, Lord—*cont.*
 consuls from Persia, preparatory to war, i. 306.
- Clanrikarde, Marquis of, accompanies Lord Canning to India, i. 280*n.*
- Clark, Dr. Stewart, brave volunteer horseman of A'lígarh, vi. 138.
- Clark, Lieut., driven from parade-ground at Bandah by Sipáhís (14 June), vi. 81; joins in gallant charge at Ráwal (12 Nov), v. 51.
- Clarke, Capt., takes part in action at Kajwá (1 Nov), iv. 103; killed by accidental explosion of powder at Lakhnao (17 Mar '58), iv. 282.
- Clarke, Lieut. Longueville, commands cavalry at Bahráich, iii. 264; escapes from Bahráich, but murdered while crossing the Ghághrá (12 June), iii. 265.
- Clarke, Lieut. Melville, bravely seconds his captain, at Mírath outbreak (10 May), ii. 48.
- Clarke, Mr. Stewart, Surgeon, joins in brave retention of factory near A'lígarh, iii. 198*n.*
- Clerk, Sir George, Lieut.-Governor North-West Prov. (1844), i. 119; objects to the annexation of Satárah (1849), i. 52; warned of the disunion of English officials, i. 234; opposed to the right of lapse, i. 52; opposed to large increase of English officers in native army (1856), i. 336.
- Clery, Lieut., leads second sortie from Residency, Lakhnao (12 Aug), iii. 309; generally distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Clifford, Mr., Assistant Magistrate, returns to Mathurá with Mr. Thornhill, vi. 98; courageously accompanies Mr. Thornhill into Mathurá to save other officials, vi. 99.
- Clifford, Miss, murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 60.
- Clifton, Capt., greatly distinguishes himself at Bandah (19 Apr '58), v. 137.
- Clinton, Lord Arthur, Midshipman, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n.*
- Clive, Lord, i. 6, vi. 26; his success at Plassey, ii. 115; founds the native army, i. 146; overcomes mutiny of English officers (1766), i. 152.
- Clyde, Lord, *see* Campbell, Sir Colin.
- Coast Army, *see* Madras Army.
- Coats, Major, hastens to bring succour to Vellúr (1806), i. 167.
- Cockburn, Mr. G. F., Commissioner of Orísá, vi. 5; sends his last troops to Sambalpúr (Dec), iv. 308; raises local levies, iv. 308; assumes charge of Sambalpúr (19 Dec), iv. 308; his noble deeds in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 35.
- Cockburn, Lieut., leads Gwáliár cavalry to rescue of Europeans at A'lígarh (23 May), iii. 195; a hundred of his troopers mutiny, iii. 196; out-maneuvres and destroys his mutinous detachment, iii. 196; works energetically to create horse soldiers in A'gra (Feb '58), v. 218.
- Cockerell, Mr., joint magistrate of Kirví, his life saved by Rám Chandra Ráo, v. 303.
- Cockerell, Mr. F. R., Magistrate of Nadiá, vi. 25.
- Cocks, Arthur, Henry Lawrence's intended agent to Multán (1848), i. 28; resigns service in consequence of resumption policy in Panjáb, i. 130*n.*
- Cocks, Mr., Chief Commissioner, procures the capture of Jowahir Singh (22 Dec), iv. 205.
- Cocks, Mr. Arthur, Commissioner at Mainpúrí, iii. 103; flies from Mainpúrí to A'gra, iii. 104.
- Cocks, Mr. B. C. S., brave volunteer horseman of A'lígarh, vi. 138; joins in brave retention of factory near A'lígarh, iii. 198*n.*
- Coffin, Brig. Isaac, commands Haidarábád subsidiary force, v. 82*n.*

- Coghlan, Sir William, commands at Aden (1856), i. 281.
- Coke, Col. John, his character and former services, iv. 358; drives away mutineers from rear of Dehlí Ridge (4 July), ii. 425; bravely captures two guns at Dehlí, iv. 359n; appointed to lead Rúrkí column (Feb '58), iv. 358; organizes commissariat and transport arrangements, iv. 359; before moving he is superseded by Brig. Jones, iv. 360; notwithstanding supersession, remains practical commander of Rúrkí column, iv. 360.
- Leads the advance into Rohilkhand, iv. 360; defeats rebels at Bhogníwálá (17 Apr '58), iv. 361; captures many rebel ringleaders in Murádábád (26 Apr '58), iv. 365; almost tricked into ambuscade at Barélfí, iv. 371; forces entrance into Barélfí to join Sir Colin Campbell (7 May '58), iv. 371.
- Ordered to Pilibhít to chase Khán Bahádur Khán (12 May '58), iv. 376; ordered to Sháhjahánpúr, iv. 378; assists in driving the Maulaví into Oudh, iv. 378; appointed to command of Murádábád (25 May '58), iv. 378.
- Colbeck, Lieut., killed at attack on Bandah (19 Apr '58), v. 137.
- Colbert, M., his method of dealing with French landed proprietors, i. 123n.
- Collett, Mr. James, a volunteer, displays courage and skill during boat expedition from Itáwah, v. 216.
- Colomb, Lieut., repairs A'zamgarh bridge under fire, iv. 325.
- Colombo, Sipáhís said to have been marched to church at, i. 170.
- Colter, Major, marches from Sásarám, and relieves Major Graham from blockade at Pálámau (8 Dec), iv. 305; he is ordered back to Sásarám, iv. 305.
- Colvin, Mr. John Russell, Lieut.- Colvin, Mr. John Russell—*cont.* Governor of North-West Provinces, iii. 96; his character, iii. 96; fatal evidence of want of strength in character, iii. 116 believed to have counselled Lord Auckland's Afghan war, iii. 97 probable effect of Afghan war on his mind, iii. 97; seeks to make changes in Ságár territory (1855), v. 61; induced by Capt. Ternan to abstain from introducing changes into Ságár territory, v. 61; he degrades the Rájah of Dilhéri (1855), v. 64; Capt. Ternan mitigates the severity of the sentence, v. 64; aggravates Rání of Jhánsí by deductions from her pension, iii. 121.
- Warned of coming Danger.*—Petition of Muhammad Darwesh to (27 Mar), v. 339; disregards warning as to intrigues of King of Dehlí, ii. 28; hears of bone-dust scare (Apr), i. 418n; hears of *chapáti* mystery (Apr), i. 419n; Lord Canning consults with him on Education Grants, in early May, i. 428; he is warned by Sir H. Lawrence to look to safety of forts, i. 436.
- The Outbreak.*—Surprised by Mírath outbreak, iii. 98; telegraphs Mírath outbreak to Calcutta, i. 437; summons council of war at A'gra (11 May), iii. 98; proposes retirement within Fort of A'gra, iii. 98; addresses the troops, and is received equivocally (14 May), iii. 99; is urged by Lord Canning to bring troops down from Panjáb, i. 442; he invites aid from Gwáliár and Bharatpúr, iii. 101; sends Native Cavalry to protect Europeans at A'ligarh (23 May), iii. 195; sends several detachments to pacify A'ligarh district, iii. 196; issues his strange Proclamation of pardon (25 May), iii. 108; his Proclamation superseded by one from

- Colvin, Mr. John Russell—*cont.*
 Supreme Government, iii. 108; effect of the Mathurá mutiny upon him, iii. 109; urges Mírath force to move on Balandshahr, ii. 135; repeatedly urges Mírath commanders to do something, ii. 134; appeals to Col. Wilson to do something, as Gen. Hewitt does not, ii. 134; abandons hope of help from Mírath, ii. 135; disarms Sipáhís at A'gra (31 May), iii. 110; makes A'gra safe in May, i. 443.
- His critical position in June, iii. 111; unhappily trusts native police at A'gra, iii. 175; orders ladies not to go to A'gra until after outbreak of mutiny at Gwálliár, iii. 113; forbids Lieut. Tomkinson's detachment to enter Gwálliár, vi. 174; allows non-combatants to enter A'gra fort, iii. 176; forbids the preservation of property in A'gra fort, iii. 176.
- Sickness and Death.* — The waning condition of his mind, vi. 96; forced by sickness to resign temporarily (3 July), iii. 177; resumes direction of affairs (4 July), iii. 179; disastrous results of his over-confidence, iii. 188; urges Field Force to cling to Delhí, ii. 447; shut up in Fort at A'gra (7 July), ii. 310; dies of over-work (9 Sept), iii. 194; the Governor-General's Notification on his death, iii. 194.
- Colvin, Mr., Assistant Magistrate, one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
- Colvin, Mr., Assistant Magistrate, escapes from mutiny at Mathurá, vi. 91; rides to Chatá, vi. 92; Mr. Thornhill courageously returns to Mathurá to save him, vi. 99.
- Combe, Mr., Collector, one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
- Combermere, Lord, his siege of Bharatpúr (1818), iii. x; Duke of Wellington's letter to him, relative to the dissension between Lord Dalhousie and Sir C. Napier, ii. 345n.
- Comerford, Mr., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Compensation-money, regulations as to, i. 231n.
- Congreve, Col., protests against supersession, and retires to Simlah (17 July), ii. 442n.
- Conolly, Capt., the only officer at Erinpuram, iv. 390; mutiny breaks out (22 Aug), iv. 391; bravely endeavours to stop mutiny, iv. 391; receives the devoted protection of forty-five troopers, iv. 392; offered his life, but refuses to leave his subordinates, iv. 392; mutineers keep him, but allow the sergeants and their wives to depart, iv. 393; he is conducted towards Ajmír, iv. 393; at last he is allowed to depart (25 Aug), iv. 393; his letter to Capt. Black with respect to Erinpuram mutiny, iv. 410; three faithful troopers see him back into Erinpuram, iv. 411.
- Constable, Lieut., credits the A'zamgarh mutineers with romantic courtesy to their officers, ii. 162n.
- Control, Board of, allows removal of Royal Family from Dehlí (31 Dec 1849), ii. 16.
- Cook, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Cookes, Lieut. Henry, commands Artillery at Jhelam mutiny, ii. 469.
- Cookworthy, Capt. Colin, commands Horse Artillery in Rewári expedition, iv. 76; his extraordinary feat at Narnúl (16 Nov), iv. 81; present, with siege-train, at attack on Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Cooper, Ensign Richard, the first man to enter the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 129; attacks stronghold inside Sikandarbágh, iv. 130; he is wounded in his heroic deed, iv. 130; his splendid conduct at the Sikandarbágh officially unnoticed, iv. 131n.

- Cooper, Lieut., his remarkable gallantry at Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 370.
- Cooper, Major, killed in first relief of Lakhnao (27 Sept), iii. 367.
- Cooper, Mr., Deputy Commissioner, urged to secure Govindgarh, ii. 327.
- Cooper, Mr. B. H., Collector of Dhá-kah, vi. 28.
- Coopland, Rev. Mr., murdered at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.
- Coopland, Mrs., her keen insight into character, iii. 115; her description of the suspense at Gwáliár before outbreak, iii. 113n; her strictures on the folly of keeping officer's hampered with women and children, iii. 113n; escapes from the murders at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 116n; her practical experience of the feigning confidence policy, iii. 114n; her description of life in A'gra fort, iii. 187.
- Corbett, Brigadier Stuart, in command at Mián-Mír, his character, ii. 322; successfully disarms Sipáhís there (13 May), ii. 325; he sends troops to secure Amritsar, ii. 327.
- Corfield, Col., marches to Jagdíspúr, iv. 366; his action at Hétampúr (11 May '58), vi. 171; fights his way to Pirú, and joins Sir E. Lugard, iv. 337; defeats Amar Singh's troops at Duvim (12 May '58), iv. 337; his operation in Jagdíspúr jungles (Apr '58), vi. 171.
- Cork, Mr., one the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
- Cornwall, Capt., takes part in the action at Kajwá (1 Nov), iv. 103.
- Cornwallis, Lord, remonstrates with Nawáb of Oudh, i. 83; his unwise policy towards Rájputáná, iv. 403; his death at Gházípúr (1805), iv. xiv.
- Corporal punishment, effect of abolition of, on Native army, i. 199.
- Cortlandt, Mr. Van, *see* Van Cortlandt, Mr.
- Cosserat, Capt., killed in action Kursí (23 Mar '58), iv. 287.
- Cotgrave, Midshipman, his gallant in Jagdíspúr jungle operation (Apr '58), vi. 171; takes charge Lieut. Carew's battery (June '58 vi. 171.
- Cotter, Major, attacks Machhí Bhwan with field artillery (16 M '58), iv. 279; sent with his battery in pursuit of Kúnwar Sing (16 Apr '58), iv. 332.
- Cotton, Brig. Sydney, commands Pesháwar in May, ii. 340; his character and services, ii. 34 341; his confidence in Edwarde and Nicholson, ii. 341; meets Dos Muhammad at Pesháwar, i. 318 proposed as commander of Persia expedition, i. 307.
- Calls military council at Pesháwar (13 May), ii. 344; propose as commander of Movable Column ii. 346; orders Guide Corps to Atak (14 May), ii. 350; judiciously distributes Sipáhís at Pesháwar, ii. 357; awakened at midnight to decide on disarmament, ii. 358; accepts responsibility of disarmament, ii. 359; disarms troops at Pesháwar (22 May), ii. 360; resolves to bayonet disobedient Sipáhís, ii. 362.
- Opposes cession of Pesháwar to Dost Muhammad, ii. 459; sends strong remonstrance to Sir J. Lawrence against cession of Pesháwar, ii. 461.
- Cotton, Colonel, invested with military command at A'gra (8 Aug), iii. 191; places A'gra fort in a state of defence, iii. 191; sends expedition and relieves A'ligarh (24 Aug), iii. 192; clears obstacles for defence of A'gra fort (19 Sept), iv. 67; leads troops into Mathurá to re-establish order (Oct), vi. 102; completely defeats the mutineers at the surprise of A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 72.
- Couper, Mr., acts as aide-de-camp

- Couper, Mr.—*cont.*
 at battle of Chinhat, iii. 286 ; distinguished at that battle, iii. 377 ; labours earnestly in defence of Residency, iii. 325 ; visits each post at Lakhnao daily, iii. 312 ; his great services during defence of Lakhnao, iii. 387.
- Court, Mr. M. H., Magistrate of Al-láhábád, vi. 70 ; his character, ii. 182 ; his kindly feeling for the natives of India, vi. 75 ; powers of confiscation conferred on him, vi. 73 ; immediate execution of one of his Sowárs (17 June), ii. 202*n.*
- Courtney, Mr., Private Secretary of Lord Dalhousie, publicly convicts Mr. Halliday of falsehood, iii. 29.
- Cowan, Gen., takes offence at Gen. Nicholson's bold courses, ii. 487*n.*
- Cox, a cashiered officer, precipitates the rising at Kánhpúr, ii. 232*n.*
- Cox, Major, leads detachment against A'mórha, v. 196 ; drives rebels from A'mórha (9 June '58), v. 196 ; conveys order for retiring from Ruiyá (18 Apr '58), iv. 356.
- Cox's Bungalow, a place near Calcutta, vi. 19.
- Cracklow, Lieut., commands artillery on left, at battle of Balandshahr (28 Sept), iv. 63.
- Cradock, Sir John, goes to suppress mutiny at Vellúr (1806), i. 162 ; recommends punitive measures for Madras mutineers, i. 178.
- Craigie, Capt., handles his troops wisely at Mírath outbreak (10 May), ii. 48.
- Craigie, Mrs., saved from slaughter by her husband's troopers, ii. 52.
- Craigie, Lieut., sent with party to prevent occupation of Núriah by rebels, v. 192 ; repulses rebel attack there (29 Aug '58), v. 192.
- Craster, Mr. E. C., Magistrate of Dhákah, vi. 28.
- Crawford, Brig., commands artillery at attack on Lakhnao (13 Nov), iv. 121.
- Crawford, Lieut., commands Native
- Crawford, Lieut.—*cont.*
 Infantry at Mainpúr, iii. 103 ; flies from Mainpúr to A'gra, iii. 104.
- Crawford, Mr., and his brother, escape to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123 ; they are both murdered at Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126.
- Crawfurd Commission, the exposures of, parallel Native "misgovernment," v. 287*n.*
- Crimean War, its effect on Indian opinion, i. 251 ; its issue mistaken by Persia, i. 302.
- Crommelin, Capt., organizes mining party at Phillips's Garden, Lakhnao, iv. 113.
- Cross, Lieut., commands one party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Crowe, Lieut., pursues Garhákótá rebels (13 Feb '58), v. 100 ; attacks left of Tántiá Topí before Jhánsí (1 Apr '58), v. 113.
- Crump, Lieut., directs artillery fire on Sikhs at Bamáras (4 June), ii. 168 ; commands heavy guns at second battle of Bashiratganj (4 Aug), iii. 339 ; killed at Lakhnao (27 Sept), iii. 366.
- Cubbon, Sir Mark, his prudent counsel at Maisúr, vi. 168.
- Cumberlege, Col., commands troops at Nágpúr, v. 78 ; disarms local corps at Nágpúr (17 June), v. 78 ; commands cavalry at Jabalpúr (Nov), v. 133 ; outwitted by Kúnwar Singh (20 Apr '58), iv. 334.
- Cunliffe, Lieut., commands Kumáun levies at Pílíbhít, v. 192.
- Cunliffe, Mr., Deputy Commissioner at Bahráich, iii. 261 ; escapes from Bahráich, but murdered while crossing the Ghágrá, iii. 265.
- Cuppage, Commndt., out-maneuvres conspirators at Nandidrúg (1806), i. 173.
- Cuppage, Mr., Joint Magistrate of Jaunpúr, vi. 50 ; murdered at Jaunpúr (5 June), ii. 178.

Cureton, Col., drives rebels from Najíbábád, iv. 361; scatters the rebels at Naghíná with charge of Multánís (21 Apr '58), iv. 362; his second extraordinary charge at Naghíná, iv. 363.

Currie, Lieut., escapes from mutineers at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 189; dies of round-shot wound, at Kánpúr (20 July), ii. 298n.

Currie, Mr. Robert, caught by the mutiny at Bijnaur, vi. 103; bravely brings cash through the worst part of Saháranpúr, vi. 119.

Currie, Sir Frederick, his incompetence, i. 34n; appointed Resident at Lahor (1847), i. 11; resolves to send a force to Multán (1848), i. 23; returns to the Supreme Council of India (1849), i. 36n; dissents from annexation of Karaulí, i. 67; his opinion as to removal of Royal Family from Dehlí, ii. 19.

Curtis, Capt., commands advance-guard at ambuscade of Kakrálá (30 Apr '58), iv. 351.

Curzon, Capt., sent after Dhákah mutineers, but fails to find them, iv. 302; joins Mr. Yule, with troops from Darjílíng, vi. 34.

Cust, Mr. R. N., his description of Alláhábád during the revolt, vi. 70; his description of the reckless executions in Alláhábád, vi. 72; his description of the money scramble at Alláhábád during the mutiny, vi. 73; on some disadvantages of peasant proprietorship, vi. 71n.

Custance, Col., clears Carabineers from charge of inactivity on 10 May, ii. 49n.

Cuttack, *see* Katak.

Cuyler, Lieut., leads storming party at Tháná Bhawan (16 Sept), vi. 124.

D.

Dáblá, Gen. Roberts marches from to defeat Tántiá Topí, v. 224.

Dacca, *see* Dhákah.

Dachau Kalan, anarchical condition of (Aug), v. 325.

Dacosta, Capt., leads assault, and is killed, at Imámbárah (14 Mar '58), iv. 273.

Dacosta, Mr., one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.

Dádá Sáhib, one ruler of Dewás, v. x.

Dádri, destroyed by Col. Greathed (26 Sept), iv. 62.

Dagshai, Gen. Anson orders troops from, to Ambálah (13 May), ii. 104.

Daháin, captured by Brig. Berkeley (14 July '58), v. 195.

Dájí Krishna Pandit, his honest administration of Kolhápúr (1842), v. 24.

Dakhan, collapse of the only attempt to disorganize (Feb '58), v. 88.

Dalganjan Singh, Jámadar, made Colonel in Náná Sáhib's army, ii. 238; he is captured and hanged (Nov), v. 74.

Dalhaura, village near Dehlí, vi. 129.

Dalhousie, Lord, created Governor-General of India (1848), i. 12; his character, i. 259; his administration, i. 1; his defect as an Indian Governor, i. 261.

General Policy.—Appoints Col. Birch to Military Secretaryship, i. 377; his extension of civilizing influences a cause of disaffection, i.

Dalhousie, Lord—*cont.*

135; resolves to extend railways in India, before going there, i. 139; his interest in the Bethune Institution, i. 349; interferes with Hindú rights of succession to property, i. 137; ignorant of the general disaffection he caused in India, v. 296; not responsible for general dissatisfaction of India caused by Revenue and Judicial systems, i. 130.

His dislike of Col. Durand, iii. 134; favours patient dealing with discontent at Ráwálpindí (1849), i. 228; his contest with Sir C. Napier (1850), i. 232; injurious effects of his dissension with Sir C. Napier, ii. 345*n*; condemns Lieut. Hodson's conduct when in command of the Guides, ii. 498; his trust in the Sipáhí Army, i. 147; the European troops in India in his time, i. 250.

Annexations.—His attitude towards right of adoption, v. 16; effect of his refusal to acknowledge right of adoption, v. 289; incorporates Satárah by "right of lapse" (1849), i. 51; declares lapse of Jhánsí Ráj (1854), iii. 120; disastrous effects of his treatment of the Rání of Jhánsí, v. 155; decides to annex Jhánsí (1853), i. 66; gives reasons for Bhonslá's non-adoption of a son, i. 61*n*; decides on annexing Nágpúr (1854), i. 56; Court of Directors refuse to sanction annexation of Karaulí, i. 68; annexes Sambhalpúr (1849), i. 70; rejects Náná Sáhib's claim, i. 74; abolishes titles and pensions of rulers of Karnátik and Tanjúr, i. 80; annexes Pargannahs of Udaipúr and Jaitpúr (1853), i. 80; on the policy of annexation, i. 52, 53.

Dehlí and the Panjáb.—Urges the danger of the royal residence in Dehlí, ii. 12; willing to abolish kingly title of Dehlí pensioners,

Dalhousie, Lord—*cont.*

ii. 11; seeks to remove Royal Family from Dehlí to Kutb, ii. 13; opinions of his Council on removal of Royal Family from Dehlí, ii. 19; declines to remove Royal Family from Dehlí, although authorised to do so, ii. 18; his policy with respect to Dehlí Princes adopted by Lord Canning, ii. 22.

Resolves on the second Sikh war, i. 25; his war with the Panjáb, i. 96; annexes the Panjáb (29 Mar '49), i. 33; settles administration of that province, i. 34; appoints his best men to govern the Panjáb, i. 38; list of the able men he had placed in the Panjáb, ii. 317; abolishes the Board of Administration in that province (1853), i. 43.

Concludes engagement of amity with Afghanistan (1855), i. 314.

Annexation of Oudh and Burmah.—Selects Outram for Resident at Lakhnao (1854), i. 101; his method of dealing with Oudh, i. 105; his famous Minute on Oudh annexation (18 June '55), i. 104.

His war with Burmah, i. 96; annexes Pegu (1849), i. 48; accedes to demand of 38th Bengal Regt. not to be sent to Burmah, i. 339; failure of his attempt to force Sipáhís to Burmah (1852), v. 286; visits Pegu (1853), i. 55.

Resigns power (28 Feb '56), i. 259; desires one more month of stay in India to complete his work, i. 279; inefficiency of the Supreme Council he bequeaths to Lord Canning, ii. 125*n*.

Condemns the Government for throwing responsibility on Gen. Lloyd, vi. 8*n*.

Dalílpúr, scene of crushing defeat of Amar Singh (27 May '58), iv. 337.

Dallas, Major, escorts prisoners from Seringapatam (1784), i. 155*n*.

Dalpat Singh, made Regent of Dun-

Dalpat Singh—*cont.*

gapúr (1825), vi. 157; deprived of his Regency (1852), vi. 157; loyal to the English during Mutiny, vi. 158.

Dalrymple, Mr. Francis Anstruther Elphinstone. Collector of Dinájpúr, prepares to fight mutineers in defence of treasure (Dec), iv. 298; his previous brilliant services in China, iv. 298*n*.

Dalton, Capt., Acting Commissioner of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. 95; his character, vi. 35; his elephants stolen by mutineers at Ránchí, iv. 96; compelled to leave Ránchí, iv. 96; endeavours to preserve order in Hazáríbágh, iv. 96; asks for a European regiment for that purpose, iv. 97; military help promised, iv. 97; forced to leave Hazáríbágh (13 Aug), iv. 98; goes to Bagodá (13 Aug), iv. 98; returns with Sikhs to Hazáríbágh (14 Aug), iv. 98.

His persevering and successful services in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 35; unable to send troops to Sambalpúr, iv. 307; operates energetically in Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. 304; completely defeats rebels, near Pálímau (21 Jan. '58), iv. 308.

Dalwárá, famous Jain temple at, vi. 163*n*.

Daly, Capt., commands Guide Corps at Pesháwar in May, ii. 336, 349; brings Guide Corps to Nausháhrá (13 May), ii. 350; ordered with Guide Corps to Atak (14 May), ii. 350; ordered to march upon Dehlí (18 May), ii. 350; leads his Guide Corps into Ráwalpindí, ii. 350; details of his famous march to Dehlí, ii. 351*n*; delayed at Karnál, while marching on Dehlí, ii. 351; attacks Dehlí mutineers (9 June), ii. 352; heroically charges, and is wounded, at attack on Dehlí Ridge (18 June), ii. 415.

Daly, Capt., commands Cavalry at Sikrorá, iii. 261.

Daly, Maj.-Gen. Sir Henry, Agent for Governor-General, at Indúr, describes Saadat Khán, iii. 144*n*; his report on number murdered at Indúr, iii. 145*n*.

Dalyell, Lieut.-Col., leads force against Rájah of Bánpúr, v. 72; fails in his attempt, and is killed (15 Sept.), v. 72.

Damáula Nadí, stream on which Saháranpúr is built, iii. 198.

Damdamah, a subdivision of 24 Paraganahs, ii. xv, vi. 25; retainers of Sindh Amírs, a danger to, iii. 9; manufacture of the famous greased cartridges at, v. 292; Lieut. Wright reports greased-cartridge scare (22 Jan), i. 375; origin of the greased-cartridge story there (Jar), i. 359; troops allowed to grease their own cartridges, i. 377; Gen. Hearsey calls for assistance from (29 Mar), i. 397; Sipáhís apparently contented in early May, i. 427.

Damdamah, a spacious building at Mírathí, ii. 129.

Dames, Col., takes command of troops at A'zamgarh, iv. 320; attacks Kúnwar Singh, and is repulsed (27 Mar '58), iv. 321.

Damoh, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60; Madras troops summoned from, to Jabalpúr (21 Sept). v. 71; plundered by Sipáhís from Jabalpúr, v. 73; recovered by Gen. Whitlock (4 Mar '58), v. 134.

Dampier, Mr., reports on the Patná sedition of 1845, i. 143*n*.

Dánápúr, its garrison, iii. 26; extent of military command at, iii. 26; descriptions of positions of European and Native troops at, iii. 43; attempt to corrupt regiments at (1845), i. 143, 222.

Sipáhí regiments stationed there, iii. 26; urgency for disarming those regiments, iii. 27; Lieut.-Gen. Lloyd's blind confidence in Sipáhís at, iii. 30; only one Euro-

Dánápúr—*cont.*

pean regiment there in Mar. i. 387 ; the only European regiment between Calcutta and Lakhnao, iii. 27 ; and only one European regiment between Dánápúr and Mírath. iii. 4.

The Disarmament Muddle.—Europeans from A'rah take refuge in (June), iii. 32 ; Mr. W. Tayler presses Gen. Lloyd to disarm his Sipáhís, iii. 33 ; the disbandment of these Sipáhís urged by Calcutta inhabitants, ii. 92 and *n* ; a deputation of the merchants urge Lord Canning to order disarmament of the Sipáhís, iii. 41 ; there was no difficulty in disarming them, iii. 40 ; Lord Canning curtly refuses to order the disarmament, iii. 41 ; responsibility of disarming Sipáhís thrown on Gen. Lloyd, iii. 40 ; Gen. Lloyd hesitates and vacillates in disarming Sipáhís, iii. 42 ; Gen. Lloyd inadvertently incites Sipáhís to mutiny (24 July), iii. 43 ; percussion-caps removed from magazine, iii. 43 ; Gen. Lloyd orders percussion-caps to be taken from persons of Sipáhís, iii. 44 ; outbreak of mutiny in consequence (25 July), iii. 45 ; the Government of India, and Gen. Lloyd, solely responsible for this outbreak, iii. 46.

On outbreak of mutiny, Gen. Lloyd goes on board river-steamer, iii. 44 ; his absence on the river-steamer prevents arrest of mutiny, iii. 45 ; Gen. Lloyd's lame excuse for retiring to the steamer, iii. 46*n* ; European troops burn Sipáhi's huts, and then await orders, iii. 46 ; escape of the mutineers, iii. 46 ; they start for A'rah, iii. 46 ; Gen. Lloyd refuses to pursue mutineers until they are out of danger, iii. 49.

Attempts to retrieve initial blundering.—Gen. Lloyd's proposal to intrench (26 July), iii. 49 ; Mr.

Dánápúr—*cont.*

Tayler begs Gen. Lloyd to pursue mutineers, iii. 50 ; Mr. Tayler sends small party to intercept mutineers, iii. 48 ; Gen. Lloyd at last persuaded to send some riflemen in steamer to intercept mutineers, iii. 49 ; they return unsuccessful, iii. 49 ; another party of troops sent in steamer to relieve A'rah (27 July), iii. 51 ; this small party stranded in river and withdrawn, iii. 51 ; yet another small party sent to A'rah (29 July), iii. 51.

The Relief of A'rah.—Mutineers reach the Són on morning of the 26th, iii. 52 ; they are assisted across Són, and sent against A'rah by Kúnwar Singh, iii. 52 ; small expedition sent under command of Capt. Dunbar, iii. 51 ; the troops land and march by night, iii. 55 ; and fall into an ambuscade, iii. 56 ; disastrous retreat of the troops, iii. 58 ; return of remnants of Capt. Dunbar's expedition, to Dánápúr, iii. 58.

Major Eyre hears of Capt. Dunbar's disaster, iii. 62 ; offers his services to Gen. Lloyd, iii. 62 ; is asked for guns to protect Dánápúr, iii. 62 ; Major Eyre lands three guns for temporary defence, iii. 62 ; Major Eyre re-embarks his guns, and resolves to relieve A'rah, iii. 62 ; Gen. Lloyd invited to assist Major Eyre, but discourages him instead, iii. 63*n* ; he is informed that no help can be sent to him, iii. 69*n* ; after Major Eyre's victory at A'rah, Gen. Lloyd sends him a few troops for further operations (8 Aug), iii. 84 ; military division placed under Gen. Outram (1 Aug), iii. 88.

Effect of Sipáhi action at, on Patná, iii. 33 ; mutiny at, causes abandonment of Azamgarh, vi. 67 ; disastrous effect of not disarming Sipáhís on Káhnpúr and

Dánápúr—*cont.*

Lakhnao, iii. 338 ; the outbreak of 1857 threatened there in 1845, i. 226n.
 Gen. Lloyd ordered to be tried by court-martial, iii. 76 ; his unfair treatment by Government, iii. 345.
 Danchua, scene of a contest between Capt. Rattray and rebels (6 Nov), iv. 312.
 Daniell, Mr., Assistant Magistrate at Itawah, iii. 106 ; goes with Mr. Hume to arrest troopers in a Hindú temple, iii. 107 ; is wounded in attempting to effect the arrest (19 May), iii. 107.
 Daniel, E., Midshipman, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
 Daniel, M., Midshipman, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
 Dáolat Bágh, residence of Col. G. Lawrence, near Ajmír, iii. 170n.
 Dáolat Ráo, the famous ancestor of Sindhiá, v. 144.
 Dáolat Singh, joins in attack on Chirkhári, v. 306.
 Dárá Bakht, Prince, the last Dehlí Prince born independent, ii. 11 ; he dies (1849), ii. 10.
 Darapúr, fort of the noble-hearted Rajah Hanmant Singh, iii. 273.
 Darbanghá, town of Tírhút, iv. xix.
 Darby, Assist.-Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386 ; wounded at Lakhnao, iv. 114.
 Darby, Capt., leads stormers at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 116.
 Dárjiling, a district of Koch Bihár, vi. 3 ; description of, iv. xiv ; communication with, threatened (July), iii. 91 ; troops from, sent to Jal-páigurí (Dec), iv. 300.
 Daryábád, its situation and garrison, iii. 273 ; Capt. W. H. Hawes commands at, iii. 273 ; the disorder at, prevents ladies, &c., escaping from Faizábád (May), iii. 267 ; garrisoned only by local corps (Apr), iii. 239 ; money in treasury at, special inducement to mutiny,

Daryábád—*cont.*

iii. 274 ; Capt. Hawes attempts to move treasure, but fails, iii. 274 : he tries again, and produces mutiny, iii. 274 ; mutiny breaks out (9 June), iii. 274 ; all the officers escape to Lakhnao, iii. 274.
 Daryábád, a Pathán village near Alláhábád, cleared of insurgents by Col. Neill (18 June), ii. 201 ; plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 201.
 Daryá-ganj, European quarter of Dehlí, ii. 74.
 Daryáganj, a suburb of Alláhábád, bridge of boats near, ii. 186.
 Dashwood, Capt., loses both legs at Lakhnao (4 Nov), iv. 115.
 Dashwood, Lieut., dies of cholera at Lakhnao (9 July), iii. 300.
 Dashwood, Mr., Assistant Magistrate, escapes from mutiny at Mathurá, vi. 91 ; rides to Chata, vi. 92 ; Mr. Thornhill courageously returns to Mathurá to save him (July), vi. 99.
 Daurará, small fort which repels Gen. Franks's attack, iv. 237.
 Davidson, Capt., collects supplies at Alláhábád for advance of troops, ii. 205.
 Davidson, Lieut., killed at storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
 Davidson, Major Cuthbert, appointed Resident with the Nizám (16 Apr), v. 81 ; his skill and energy, v. 89 : Lord Canning consults with him as to successor of Nizam, i. 428 : renders Residency defensible, v. 83.
 He is attacked in Residency by insurgents (17 July), v. 82 ; he beats off the assailants, iii. 83 ; the Nizám's troops come to his assistance, iii. 83.
 On hearing of Sholápúr disaffection, hems in that place, v. 86 ; sends Capt. Campbell to persuade Rajah of Sholápúr to reason, v. 86 ; sends a brigade of Haidarábád troops to Central India, v. 85 ;

- Davidson, Major Cuthbert—*cont.*
complete success of his policy, v.
85.
- Davidson, Mr. C. T., Commissioner
of Dhákah, vi. 28; informed of
intended rising in Dhákah (23
Oct), vi. 29.
- Davidson, Major, represses incipient
rising by parades of troops (13
June), v. 81.
- Davies, Capt., aids Capt. Dalton in
restoring order in Hazáribágh, iv.
96; operates energetically in
Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 35.
- Davies, Lieut., defends Nausháhrá
from threatened attack of muti-
neers (22 May), ii. 363.
- Davies, Lieut., his gallant conduct
in the Abor hills (Feb '59), vi. 170.
- Davies, Major, Commandant of Cal-
cutta Infantry Volunteers, vi. 17.
- Davies, Mr., Magistrate of A'zam-
garh, discovers Kúnwar Singh's
camp at Atráoliá, iv. 319.
- Davis, Col., promptly stops mutiny
at Nandidrúg (1806), i. 174.
- Davis, Mr. S. F., Magistrate of Ráj-
sháhí, vi. 26.
- Davis, Private, wins the Victoria
Cross at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv.
356.
- Dawes, Major, commands Horse Ar-
tillery in Panjáb Movable Column,
ii. 476.
- Dawson, Capt., his wife and children
protected by Mán Singh, iii. 268;
protected by Mán Singh at Sháh-
ganj, iii. 270.
- Dawson, Capt., of the Military Train,
killed near Duvim (20 May '58),
iv. 337.
- Dawson, Capt., joins Mr. Kavanagh
in the capture of Sandéla (30 July
'58), v. 198; attacked in Sandéla
by Harichand (3 Oct '58), v. 199.
- Deacon, Lieut.-Col., with reserve
column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.
- Débé Singh, proposes to expel the
English from Mathurá, vi. 98;
attacked and captured by Mr.
Thornhill (July), vi. 98.
- De Burgh, Lord Hubert, accompanies
Lord Canning to India, i. 280.
- Debi Bakkas Rái, seized by Lieut.
Graham, at Palámau (8 Dec), iv.
305.
- Débidín Misr, Háwáldár, his con-
spicuous gallantry at Lakhnao, iv.
111n.
- Dehlí, a division of N. W. Prov., vi.
38; situation and description, ii.
xvi; the city and its defences, ii.
392; the British position at, ii.
386; the Ridge, ii. 388; the
suburbs, iii. 390.
- Historical Details.*—Akbar Sháh
becomes King of (Dec 1806), ii. 5;
Lord Wellesley's object in protect-
ing King of, ii. 3; the Company's
treatment of successors to former
rulers, i. 76; great deference shown
to Royal Family of, ii. 5; resolu-
tion to reduce the influence of
(1816), ii. 7; profligacy of degraded
Royalty at (1820–30), ii. 7; Lord
Ellenborough forbids tributary
offerings to Emperors of (1840),
ii. 9; revenue of titular Emperors
of, ii. 9n.
- Story of the Royal succession, ii.
10; proposal to abolish Royal
title (1844), ii. 10; military dis-
content at (1849), i. 228; danger
of Royal residence being there, ii.
12; opinions of Supreme Council
as to removal of Royal Family
from, ii. 19; sudden death of Fakir-
ud-din (1856), ii. 20; Lord Can-
ning resolves to remove Royal
Family from, on death of Bahádur
Sháh, ii. 22; Lord Canning's final
instructions as to succession, ii. 24.
- Conspiracy.*—The King corre-
sponds with Persia and Russia, ii.
30; proclamation of King of Persia
published there (Mar), ii. 30; Náná Sáhib visits, i. 422; conspi-
racy before the Mutiny, v. 292; ex-
cited condition of, during April,
ii. 31; announced intended seizure
of the Kashmír Gate (13 Apr), v.
344.

Dehlí—*cont.*

Dangerous condition of magazine, ii. 13*n*; absence of European troops (1856), ii. 13; Sipáhís of Mírath communicate with, before outbreak, v. 313.

Outbreak of Revolt.—Revolted Sipáhís seize possession of (11 May), ii. 57; mutineers seize the Palace, ii. 61; murder of Commissioner Fraser, ii. 60; and of Capt. Douglas, Hutchinson, and Mr. and Miss Jennings, ii. 60; attack and massacre at the Bank, ii. 61; murder of Mr. Beresford and his wife, ii. 61; massacre at Gazette Office, ii. 62; sack of the Church, ii. 62.

Disaffection of troops at Cantonment, ii. 63; last telegrams sent at outbreak, ii. 103*n*; troops from the Ridge fraternize with mutineers, ii. 64; Major Paterson secures the Main Guard and Kashmír Gate, ii. 65.

Defence of the Magazine.—In charge of Lieut. Willoughby and eight European assistants, ii. 66; the Imperial Palace commands the Magazine, ii. 12; preparations for its defence, ii. 67; the attack begins, iii. 67; explosion of the Magazine, iii. 68; four of the nine heroes escape, iii. 68; hundreds of the enemy blown up and destroyed, iii. 68; enthusiasm aroused by Lieut. Willoughby's noble deed, iii. 69; Capt. Forrest's evidence as to the seizure of the Magazine, v. 320.

A King proclaimed.—Bahádúr Sháh proclaimed King of (11 May), ii. 2; his influential name, ii. 1; the Royal Family openly sides with the mutineers (11 May), ii. 70.

Massacre at the Main Guard, ii. 71; escape of fugitives from Main Guard, ii. 72; defection of Sipáhís and escape of Europeans from the Cantonment, ii. 72; massacre of 50 European prisoners (16 May), ii. 75; Mrs. Aldwell's de-

Dehlí—*cont.*

scription of her imprisonment in, v. 330.

Fortifications.—Military description of its defences, iv. 5; position of the gates, ii. 393; description of wall and defences, ii. 392; situation of Palace or Fort, ii. 393; description of Selimgarh at, ii. 393; Kusia Bágħ, palace near, ii. 391; position of Ludlow Castle, ii. 391; strength of Native garrison in June, ii. 394; force and matériel at disposal of mutineers in, iv. 2*n*; effect of divided military command in, v. 327; disunion of rebels within the walls, ii. 456; its position in rebel operations, iii. 118.

The Ridge.—Description of Ridge, ii. 387; position of the Field Force, ii. 386; the Observatory on the Ridge, ii. 390; description of Hindú Ráo's House, ii. 389; description of Flag-staff Tower, ii. 389; position of Metcalfe House near Ridge, ii. 390; the Mosque on the Ridge, ii. 389.

Abundant water supply during siege, ii. 387*n*; buoyant cheerfulness of troops on Ridge, ii. 419; cheerfulness of troops on Ridge through all difficulties, ii. 450; sports in camp during the siege, ii. 451; faithfulness of Native servants on the Ridge, ii. 413; unkind treatment of Native servants on the Ridge, during siege, ii. 414.

Preliminary Operations.—The political consequences of successful seizure of Dehlí, ii. 81; Lord Canning instantly resolves to recover, ii. 90; Sir J. Lawrence's resolution to assist in recovery, ii. 349.

Gen. Anson selects Karnál as base of operations against, ii. 106; Gen. Anson thinks speedy advance against, impossible, ii. 110; Lord Canning deprecates any delay in its recapture, ii. 113; Gen. Anson moves against (23 May), ii. 118;

Dehlí—*cont.*

the force with which Gen. Anson moved on, ii. 118 ; the force starts from Ambálah (27 May), ii. 127 ; death of Gen. Anson at Karnál (27 May), ii. 123.

Sir H. Barnard takes command of force, ii. 123 ; relieving forces from Ambálah and Mírath meet at A lípúr (5 June), ii. 141 ; the siege-train joins the relieving force (6 June), ii. 141 ; Sir H. Barnard fights and wins the battle of Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143 ; British force establishes itself on the Ridge, ii. 145 ; communication with Field Force cut off from Calcutta, iii. 8.

First Attacks of Rebels.—Strength of English attacking force in June, ii. 394 ; first estimate of the ease of retaking, ii. 395 ; the Field Force on Ridge itself besieged, instead of besieging, ii. 408 ; English attack confined to the gateways and ramparts, ii. 412n ; mutineers attack Flagstaff Tower (12 June), ii. 409' ; attack on Hindú Ráo's House (12 June), ii. 410 ; desertion of Native Cavalry from the Ridge, ii. 411.

Projects of capture by coup-de-main.—Gen. Barnard's project to carry by *coup-de-main* (9 June), ii. 395 ; plan of Engineer officers to capture by *coup-de-main* (12 June), ii. 396 ; projected *coup-de-main* postponed by mistake of Brig. Graves, ii. 397 ; explanation of abandonment of attempt to surprise, ii. 398n.

Second plan for a *coup-de-main* (14 June), ii. 399 ; council of war held (14 June), ii. 399 ; second council of war (16 June), ii. 401 ; abandonment of second project for a *coup-de-main*, ii. 405.

Centenary of Plassey.—Defeat of sortie (17 June), ii. 405n ; English take the offensive on 17 June, ii. 411 ; attack on English rear (18

Dehlí—*cont.*

June), ii. 414 ; Sipáhís retire from rear of Ridge (19 June), ii. 416 ; desperate attack at the Centenary of Plassey and its defeat (23 June), ii. 417 ; offensive strength of troops on Ridge at end of June, ii. 421.

Strength of Field Force on Ridge in July, ii. 424n ; third proposed assault abandoned (3 July), ii. 424 ; attack by the enemy on A lípúr at the rear of Ridge (4 July), ii. 425 ; this attack causes better protection of rear of Ridge, ii. 426 ; death of Sir H. Barnard (7 July), ii. 427.

Gen. Reed's command.—Gen. Reed takes command of force, ii. 428 ; daring attack on the "Mound" (9 July), ii. 432 ; flight of British cavalry, ii. 434 ; the rebels penetrate the British camp, iii. 434 ; the heroism of Lieut. Hills, ii. 434 ; and of Major Tombs, ii. 436 ; Native cavalry sent on duty away from Ridge (11 July), ii. 434n ; twentieth attack on Hindú Ráo's House, delivered and repulsed (14 July), ii. 439 ; hope of speedy assault generally abandoned, ii. 441 ; Gen. Reed resigns command of Field Force (17 July), ii. 441.

Gen. Wilson takes command.—Brig. Wilson succeeds to command of Field Force, ii. 441 ; state of Field Force when Brig. Wilson took command, ii. 442 ; siege matériel with Field Force in July, ii. 430 ; the question of abandoning the siege discussed, ii. 443 ; Col. Baird Smith strongly opposed to retirement from Dehlí, ii. 444 ; Col. Baird Smith convinces Brig. Wilson of necessity for siege-train (17 July), ii. 445 ; Sipáhís make their last attack from Sabzimandi (18 July), ii. 446 ; mutineers attack Ludlow Castle (23 July), ii. 446 ; pursuit of defeated Sipáhís

Dehlí—*cont.*

forbidden, ii. 446; mutineers re-establish bridge over Najafgarh Canal, for renewed attack on Ridge (2 Aug), ii. 485; capture of Ludlow Castle battery by Brig. Showers (12 Aug), ii. 489.

Last succours from the Panjab.—Gen. Nicholson reaches Ridge (7 Aug), ii. 486; his presence looked on as the promise of deliverance, ii. 487; immediately visits the posts on the Ridge, ii. 488; arrival of the Movable Column in camp (14 Aug), ii. 490; the battle of Najafgarh (25 Aug), ii. 491.

The Siege.—Arrival of siege-train at (6 Sept), iv. 7; effective strength on Ridge (6 Sept), iv. 7; Brig. Wilson doubts success of siege, iv. 1; his desponding letter to Major Baird Smith, iv. 2n; the Major's brave and well-reasoned answer, iv. 4; Brig. Wilson defers to the Major's judgment, iv. 4; he throws on him the responsibility of pressing the siege, iv. 5; Major Baird Smith prepares his plan of attack, iv. 5.

No. 1 battery traced at Hindú Ráo's House (7 Sept), iv. 8; attack by Sipáhís on No. 1 battery (8 Sept), iv. 10; No. 1 battery crushes the Morí bastion, iv. 10; left section of No. 1 battery catches fire (10 Sept), iv. 11; No. 2 battery traced at Ludlow Castle (8 Sept), iv. 12; No. 3 battery traced (9 Sept), iv. 13; No. 4 battery traced (10 Sept), iv. 14; No. 3 battery unmasked and Water bastion destroyed, iv. 16; capture of Water bastion, iv. 24; breach made at Kashmír bastion (10 Sept), iv. 15; capture of the Kashmír bastion, iv. 24.

The Assault.—The assault delivered (14 Sept), iv. 23; officers commanding four assaulting columns, iv. 19; success of first column at assault, iv. 23;

Dehlí—*cont.*

success of second column, iv. 24; marvellous success of third column at assault, iv. 27; failure of fourth column, iv. 30; effect of the failure of fourth column on position of stormers, iv. 31; fall of Gen. Nicholson at attack on Láhor Gate, iv. 33; result of first day of assault (14 Sept), iv. 37.

After first lodgment, position inside strengthened, iv. 40; Brig. Wilson at first disposed to retire from city, iv. 38; he fears his ability to hold what has been gained, iv. 38; Gen. Chamberlain urges him to hold on and push forward, iv. 39; Major Baird Smith proves that the city must be held, iv. 40; Capt. Edwin Johnson helps the hesitating Brigadier to firmness, iv. 40n; plundering and drunkenness stopped, iv. 41; evacuation of Kishanganj by mutineers (16 Sept), iv. 41; capture of the magazine (16 Sept), iv. 41; advance by sap through houses (17, 18 Sept), iv. 43; capture of the palace (20 Sept), iv. 47; the mutineers abandon their camp at I'dgar, iv. 47.

Appearance of the city after capture, iv. 48; cleared of ruffians by Major Brind (21 Sept), iv. 57.

The Capture of the Princes.—The King and his family retire to Humáyun's tomb, iv. 52; Iláhí Bakhsh negotiates the surrender of his master, iv. 52; Captain Hodson promises to spare the King's life, iv. 53; he then surrenders, iv. 54; and is brought back a prisoner to his palace, iv. 54.

The Princes hide near Humáyun's tomb, iv. 54; Capt. Hodson sent to hunt for them, iv. 54; and finds the three, iv. 55; they implore a promise of life, iv. 55; this is refused, iv. 55; the Princes surrender and are conveyed towards Dehlí, iv. 55; the crowd press

Dehlí—*cont.*

around the troopers, and the Princes are shot to prevent rescue, iv. 56; discussion of this action, iv. 56.

Losses suffered.—The determined spirit which animated the English troops before, iv. 59; twenty-six attacks on Ridge, repulsed by Major Reid, iv. 21; the losses sustained in the siege, iv. 58, 60*n*; list of the heroes, iv. 60; reasons for mis-appreciation of nature of siege, iv. 405.

Moral results.—Its capture stimulates Havelock's force at Lakhnao, iii. 360; Sindhia's joy at the capture of, causes his troops to mutiny, iv. 105; effect of reported fall of, on Indúr, iii. 141; the effect of progress of the siege on the Panjáb, v. 211; Sikhs believe themselves destined to plunder, ii. 355.

Trial of the King of (27 Jan '58), v. 270; the King convicted and transported to Pegu, v. 271; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Dehlí, King of, the circumstances which made him a pensioner of the English, v. 323; position and allowance of, as settled by Lord Wellesley (1804), ii. 4; his name removed from coinage (1835), ii. 7; palace intrigues of (1850), ii. 18; warnings of his intrigues against English, before outbreak, ii. 28; wishes to become a Shíah (1857), ii. 29; his importance to sedition, i. 354.

His Surrender.—His depression at the storm of the city, iv. 49; his zenáná, sons, &c., leave Dehlí, for Humáyun's tomb, iv. 51; his indecision at the moment of surrender, iv. 53; surrenders on promise of sparing his life (21 Sept), iv. 53; placed in Begam's palace on surrender, iv. 54.

The Trial.—Trial lasts from 27

Dehlí, King of—*cont.*

Jan to 9 Mar '58, v. 351; evidence given at his trial, ii. 59*n*; his name used in the Patná plot of 1845, i. 224; his name used in Dánápúr plot of 1845, i. 225, his letter to the ruler of Kach, v. 333; his letter to the ruler of Jammú, v. 334; his letter to the Chief of Jaisalmír, v. 334; asks aid of the Sháh of Persia (1855), v. 338; establishes superstitious relations with the Sipáhís (1855), v. 346.

His Complicity in the Rebellion.—Conclusive testimony as to his complicity in the murders, v. 333; takes no steps to discover or punish the murderers of Europeans, v. 319; directs personally the imprisonment of Europeans in his palace, v. 330; accepts the allegiance of the mutineers (11 May), v. 322; fully joins the rebels (12 May), i. 438; his personal orders to the leader of the rebel forces, v. 323; evidence as to his proclamation, v. 327.

Sentence. — Judge Advocate-General's speech at the trial of, v. 311; the substance of his defence, v. 324; Sir J. Lawrence suggests his transportation, v. 361; sentence of the Governor-General, v. 350.

Attempt to unravel *chapáti* mystery at his trial, i. 419*n*.

Dehrá Dún, a district of Mírath division, ii. xvi, vi. 38; description of district, its extent, and garrison, vi. 116; its main road passes through Saháranpúr, iii. 199; Mr. Keene chief civil officer at, vi. 116; Major Reid commands Gurkhás at, vi. 116.

Mr. Keene hurries to, on hearing of mutiny, and raises recruits, vi. 117; Gen. Anson orders Gurkhás from, to Mírath (13 May), ii. 104; Major Reid marches to Mírath (19 May), vi. 117; Rájah Lál

Dehrá Dún—*cont.*

Singh gives help to Mr. Keene, vi. 117; Mr. Keene arranges refuge for Europeans (June), vi. 117; the station patrolled at night by Europeans, vi. 117.

Jálandhar mutineers march upon (15 June), vi. 118; treasure sent up to Masúrí, vi. 118; Mr. Keene marches against Jálandhar mutineers, who fly away (16 June), vi. 118.

Scarcity of food, and influx of fugitives, vi. 119; supplies are sent in from the Panjáb, vi. 119; Mr. Keene's difficulty in cashing orders, vi. 119; he issues paper money on his own responsibility, vi. 119; passes safely through the crisis, vi. 120.

Dehrí, Capt. Rattray intrenched at (24 Sept), iv. 99.

De Kantzow, Lieut., his heroic conduct during mutinous tumult at Mainpúrí (22 May), iii. 104; carried by rush of mutineers to gates of Mainpúrí treasury, iii. 105; appeals to, and gains the support of, the civil guard of treasury, iii. 105; checks the torrent of mutiny, iii. 105; forbids the civil guard to fire, iii. 105; for three hours keeps the mutineers at bay by his earnest entreaties, iii. 105; Ráo Bhowání Singh gives him his support, iii. 105; and leads the mutineers away, iii. 105; the mutineers then leave the station, iii. 105.

Receives autograph letter of thanks from Lord Canning, iii. 105; he is appointed to command of Police, iii. 106; scatters native Cavalry by gallant charge at A'lígarh (24 Aug), iii. 192; goes to Mathurá to support Mr. Thornhill (Oct), vi. 102; greatly distinguishes himself at attack of Kankar (7 Apr '58), iv. 351; left to protect Sháhjahánpur (2 May '58), iv. 366; wishes to charge the army of the Maulaví (3 May '58),

De Kantzow, Lieut.—*cont.*

iv. 373; relieves Powáin from threatened attack (Aug '58), v. 192.

Delafosse, Subaltern, his heroism at Kánpúr, ii. 241, 249n; lands from escaping boat to drive away pursuers, ii. 261; ultimately escapes from general massacre, ii. 262.

Delamain, Capt. J. W., killed at battle of Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 146n.

Delpeison, Mr., one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.

Demomet, Mr., risks his life to save refugees at Banáras kachahrí, ii. 174n.

Dempsey, Private Dennis, his heroic devotion during retreat from A'rah, iii. 58n.

Dennis, Mr., murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187n.

Dennis, Mrs., murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187n.

Dennys, Capt., called, with his Kotá contingent, to A'gra (July), vi. 98; goes to Mathurá with his contingent, vi. 98.

Deogarh, mutiny at (Aug), iv. 99; second mutiny at (9 Oct), iv. 312.

Déogarh Báriá, Tántiá Topí reaches, almost destitute of troops (8 Dec '58), v. 248; he retreats on, from Chotá Udaipúr, v. 309.

Déo Háns, minister of Dholpúr, vi. 155; plunders British villages, vi. 155; tries to supplant ruler of Dholpúr, vi. 155; deported to Banáras as State prisoner, vi. 155.

Déolah, Sáh Mall's attempt to attack (July), vi. 129.

Deonaráín Singh, Ráo, renders great assistance to Government, vi. 44; earnestly assists English, at Banáras, ii. 174.

Derá Ishmáil Khán, situation of, iii. xii; Malwáí Sikhs at, plan a rising, v. 212; they wish to seize the magazine and re-arm some of

- Derá Ishmáil Khán—*cont.*
 their disarmed comrades, v. 212; plot discovered and the ringleaders seized, v. 213; projected rising at, suppressed (July '58), v. 212.
- Deráját, its situation, ii. *xvi*; recommended by Edwardes as source of trustworthy recruits, ii. 842; its tranquillity essential to Multán, ii. 459.
- Derby, Lord, becomes Prime Minister (1852), i. 272; offers seals of Foreign Office to Viscount Canning, i. 272; apologises for Lord Ellenborough's despatch, and supports Lord Canning, v. 180; prepares Proclamation for transferring India to the Crown, v. 272; recasts the great Proclamation, v. 273.
- Desái of Jambotí, reduced to penury by the Inám Commission, v. 19; rendered desperate by his misfortunes, v. 20; has power to sever British communication with the sea, v. 20.
- Desái of Kittúr, the discontented chief of the whole Lingáyat population, v. 20.
- Desái of Nipání, loses large portion of his estate through the Inám Commission, v. 19; has power to cut the English communication with Bombay, v. 19.
- Desái of Wantmúrí, a discontented Maráthá, v. 20; dragged into revolt by his associates, v. 20.
- De Rothesay, Lord Stuart, father-in-law of Viscount Canning, i. 270.
- Derridon, Mr., murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187*n.*
- Desmazures, Mr., an indigo planter, defeats attempt of prisoners to escape from Gorákhpúr gaol (7 June), vi. 55.
- De Souza, Mr., one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53*n.*
- Despat, Dewán, joins in attack on Chirkhári (Mar '58), v. 306.
- De Tabley, Lord, the most intimate friend of young Canning, i. 268. *12*
- Dewás, its description, v. *x*; under care of Central Indian Agency, iii. 135; loyalty of Rájah, vi. 165.
- Dewásá, Tántiá Topí, Ráo Sáhib, and Firúzsháh, almost captured there (16 Jan '59), v. 256.
- Dhákah, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; 38th Bengal Regt. posted there, after refusing to go to Burmah, i. 339; party of sailors stationed at (Aug), vi. 28; important consequences of their victory at, vi. 170; threatened rising at, disclosed (23 Oct), vi. 29; attempt to disarm Sipáhís merely drives them from the station, vi. 29; Midshipman Mayo charges and captures a gun in the hands of the mutineers, iv. 293; Lieut. Lewis disperses mutinous Sipáhís (20 Nov), iv. 293; they march on Jal-páiguri, but have to retire, iv. 293, 297, 300; mutineers then fly to Bhútán, iv. 293; they seize Cháwá Ghát, on the Tistá, iv. 301; mutineers from, slip away from Mr. Yule (26 Dec), iv. 301; they cross the Tistá to advance on Darjiling, iv. 301.
- Some of these Sipáhís escape to Oudh, but are there destroyed, vi. 29; some of them again fly from Mr. Yule and escape into the jungle (27 Dec), iv. 302; and from thence escape westwards from Nipál (19 Jan '58), iv. 303.
- Dháná, place from which rebels crossed into the Doáb (Mar '58), iv. 315.
- Dhár, under care of Central Indian Agency, iii. 135; its description, v. *x*; governed by A'nand Ráo Púár, a mere lad, v. 46; his Minister antagonistic to the English, v. 46; mercenary troops raised in (June), v. 47; these mercenaries plunder adjoining stations (July), v. 47; the fort placed in keeping of the mercenaries (31 Aug), v. 47; the authorities at, re-

Dhár—*cont.*

ceive courteously emissaries from Mandesar rebels (Oct), v. 47.

Col. Durand marches against, v. 46; the rebels march out boldly to meet the British (22 Oct), v. 47; rebels driven into the fort with great loss, v. 48; investment of fort by the British, v. 48; the fort resists the siege for six days, v. 49; the rebels skilfully evacuate the place (31 Oct), v. 49; fort destroyed by order of Col. Durand, v. 49.

Rebels in retreat attack Mahípúr (8 Nov), v. 50; the Royal Family charged with instigating the Rebellion, v. 47; the young Rájah restored to his position, v. 50.

Dharma Sobha of Calcutta, a centre of agitation, i. 362.

Dharmpúr, Hardeo Bakhsh, shelters fugitives in, iii. 217; fugitives from Fathgarh sheltered at, iii. 225.

Dharmtalá, a quarter of Calcutta, ii. 84.

Dharnahs, apprehended outbreak from, in Orisá (Nov), vi. 5.

Dhárwár, collectorate in Maráthá country, v. 14; its situation, v. x; insurrection breaks out (26 May '58), v. 168; rebels from, join Bhím Ráo, chief of Kopuldurg (27 May '58), v. 170; they are attacked and cut to pieces by Col. Hughes, v. 170.

Mutinous state of troops at (July), v. 21; detachment of European troops secures tranquillity (Aug), v. 22.

Dhasán, a river to the west of Hamírpúr, vi. 83.

Dháulána, a Rájpút village of Mírath, vi. 132; people rebel, and seize loyal official, vi. 133; defeated by Solána people, and stripped of their land, vi. 133.

Dhauráhrá Rájah, shelters English fugitives, iii. 256.

Dholpúr, one of the Rájpút states, iii. 163n, iv. xvii, vi. 154; description of the State, iii. xi, vi. 154; on line of communication between Bombay and A'gra, iii. 137.

Hereditary enmity with House of Sindhiá, vi. 154; mutineers from Gwálíár march on (Sept), iv. 66; Sindhiá flies from Gwálíár to (1 June '58), v. 219; Sindhiá marches from, to join Sir Hugh Rose (17 June '58), v. 219.

Dholpúr Bhagwant Singh Rána of, vi. 154; generously assists fugitives from Gwálíár, vi. 154; he remains loyal, vi. 154; he is rewarded for his loyalty, vi. 155.

His minister plunders British villages, vi. 155; minister deported to Banáras as state prisoner, vi. 155.

Dhulip Singh, Mahárájáh, Panjáb at first restored to him, i. 2; the Sikh attempt to seize him frustrated (1848), i. 25; allowance granted him on annexation of Panjáb, i. 33; character of his mother, i. 2; her intrigues against the English, i. 10; she is removed from the Panjáb, i. 21; and banished to Shekhopúr, i. 10.

His just cause for discontent, i. 34n.

Dhuraira, Rájah of, shelters fugitives from Málápúr until his own troops rebel, iii. 265; also shelters fugitives from Sítápúr and Sháhjahan-púr, iii. 256.

Diamond Harbour, a subdivision of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25.

Dick, Gen. Sir Robert, his counsel as to the crisis at Firúzpúr (1844), i. 204, 205; removed from command of troops at Firúzpúr, i. 206.

Dick, Lieut., first man to gain the wall at Jhánsí, v. 117; killed on wall at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 117.

Didargarh, occupied by Sir E. Lugard (11 Apr '58), iv. 330.

- Díg, a town of Bharatpúr, vi. 160.
- Digbijáí, Singh, Rájah of Balrámpúr, offers to protect English at Sikrorá, iii. 262.
- Dihlí, *see* Dehlí.
- Diláwar, village occupied by Kúnwar Singh in advance of Jagádíspúr, iii. 35; captured by Major Eyre (12 Aug), iii. 86.
- Diláwar Khán, faithfully leads Mr. Thornhill to A'gra vi. 101; notwithstanding his proved loyalty, not allowed to enter A'gra fort with Mr. Thornhill, vi. 101.
- Dilhérí, Rájah of, injured and disgraced by British Government (1855), v. 64, 291; Capt. Ternan urges the Government to restore the Rájah's honours, v. 64; Capt. Ternan's remonstrance disregarded, but he saves the Rájah from utter ruin, v. 64; the chief serves and protects Capt. Ternan in gratitude for his kindness, v. 65.
- Dilkushá, its position at Lakhnao, iii. 246; meaning of name, iv. xiv; attack and capture of (14 Nov), iv. 122; converted into temporary dépôt (15 Nov), iv. 125; attacked by rebels during Sir Colin Campbell's advance into Lakhnao (16 Nov), iv. 140; re-organization of British force at (23 Nov), iv. 152; retirement from (24 Nov), iv. 152; its re-capture by Sir Colin Campbell (2 Mar '58), iv. 258.
- Dillí, *see* Dehlí.
- Dinájpúr, a district of Rájsháhí, iii. xii, vi. 3, 26.
- Dinájpúr, Mr. F. A. Elphinstone-Dalrymple, Collector of, iv. 298; Indian Naval Brigade, sent from Calcutta to operate near (26 Nov), iv. 294; Jalpáiguri mutineers hurry to (Dec), iv. 298; the Collector and a few civilians resolve to fight for the station, iv. 298; mutineers, on approaching, change their route to Púrniá, iv. 299.
- Dinkar Ráo, Prime Minister of Gwáliár, iii. 112; he has no love for the English, v. 145, 294; doubts fidelity of Contingent, iii. 112; unconnected with rebellious plot of 10 March, i. 388; his happy influence over Sindhiá, v. 145; pledges himself to restrain revolting Sipáhís, iii. 116; gives his interest in favour of the British, v. 294.
- Dinning, Capt., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Díplú, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Directors, Court of, their wise hospitality, i. 274; expose the true causes of mutinies of Madras Army, i. 183; assume imperial functions (1816), ii. 6; remove Emperor's name from coinage (1835), ii. 7; decline to abolish royal title at Dehlí (1844), ii. 10; refuse to raise Dehlí Emperor's stipend, without conditions (1846), ii. 9n; refuse to allow Royal Family to be removed from Dehlí (1849), ii. 14; the conflict with Board of Control about this removal, ii. 15; objections over-ridden by Board of Control, ii. 16; forbid annexation of Karaulí, i. 68; reject Náná Sáhib's claim, i. 78; their opinion of Oudh affairs, i. 89; quash Lord Auckland's proposed treaty with Oudh (1837), i. 92; order annexation of Oudh (19 Nov 1855), i. 106; contemplate changing terms of enlistment for Native troops (1856), i. 339; disown any intention of annexing Rájputáná (1856), i. 355; not more responsible for the Mutiny than the English Government, v. 271; the Court abolished (2 Aug '58), v. 272; made the scapegoat of the Ministry, v. 271.
- Disá, situation of, iii. x; nearest station of English troops to Rájputáná, iii. 165; English troops summoned from, by Col. G. Lawrence (19 May), iii. 166; troops at, ordered to move on Ajmír, v.

Dísá—*cont.*

4; column of troops at, placed at service of Gen. G. Lawrence (June), v. 13; Tántiá Topí approaches from the north (Aug '58), v. 225.
 Disbandment of troops, its policy discussed, i. 218.
 Disraeli, Mr., his aphorism on Suspense, iii. 113.
 Díwání A'm, in A'gra fort, converted into female apartments, iii. 188.
 Díwání Kháss, in A'gra fort, converted into civilian residences, iii. 188.
 Diwás, Tántiá Topí marches on (16 Jan. '89), v. 309.
 Dixon, Col., Commissioner of Ajmír, iii. 166; calls 100 men of Mairwárá battalion to Ajmír, iii. 166; secures the arsenal and fort by their means, iii. 166.
 Dobandí, ferry near Pesháwar, ii. 363.
 Dodd, Mr., leads Major Byng to discover mutineers at Látú (18 Dec), iv. 295.
 Dodgson, Capt., gives intelligence of plunder of A'zamgarh treasure, ii. 164n; two attempts to murder him (4 June), ii. 168.
 Dodgson, Mr., crosses under fire to meet Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 144; supports the exhausted Gen. Havelock while passing under fire (17 Nov), iv. 144; his great services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252.
 Dodsworth, Mr., Uncovenanted officer of A'zamgarh, vi. 63.
 Dokal Singh, his grief at the danger of Capt. Conolly, iv. 411.
 Donald, Mr., reaches Budáun (1 June), iii. 216.
 Dongarpúr, one of the Rájput states, iii. 163n, iv. xvii.
 Dorandá, Sipáhís sent from, to disarm others at Hazáribágh, iv. 95; these Sipáhís themselves mutiny (31 July), iv. 96; the place is occupied by mutineers, iv. 96; Major English sent to, with troops, iv. 99.

Dorin, Mr., Member of the Supreme Council, his character and uselessness, i. 284: recommends severity against disaffected regiments, i. 436; admits that the Council was deluded into condemning Mr. Taylor of Patná, iii. 80.
 Dorin, Mrs., shot at siege of Lakhnao (7 July), iii. 300, 379.
 Dost Muhammad, of Kábul, assists the Sikhs (1849), i. 31; seeks to strengthen Afghanistan on the west (1855), i. 303; annexes Kandahar (1855), i. 303; invited to protect Herat (1856), i. 304; his cautious answer to appeal for aid against the English, ii. 373n; seeks an English alliance, i. 313; suspected to be of doubtful fidelity, i. 314; magnifies difficulties of march on Herat, i. 315; his distrust of English good faith, i. 316.
 Attends conference at Pesháwar (1 Jan. 1857), i. 318; his humble presents at the conference, i. 325n; his plans for the recovery of Herat (1857), i. 319; charges Russia with instigating the seizure of Herat, i. 328n; his suggestion as to subsidy, i. 321; agrees to receive British officers at Kábul, but urges their personal danger, i. 322; Articles of Agreement with (26 Jan '57), i. 324; returns from the conference (28 Jan '57), i. 325.
 Effect of the conference with, on Persia, i. 327; the Shah of Persia's proposed expedition against (Jan '57), v. 341; charged with trickery by Persia, i. 354.
 Extravagant rumours as to his treachery, ii. 27; his fidelity to the English alliance, i. 325.
 His desire to possess the Pesháwar valley, ii. 337; proposal to cede Pesháwar to him, ii. 458.
 Douglas, Brig., his operations in Gházípúr district (Mar '58), vi. 62; sent to assist in pursuit of Kúnwar Singh (16 Apr '58), iv. 332; attacks Kúnwar Singh, but

Douglas, Brig.—*cont.*

is beaten off, iv. 332; again catches Kúnwar Singh at Manohar, and defeats him (28 April '58), iv. 333; ultimately loses Kúnwar Singh across the Ganges, iv. 334; crosses the Ganges to attack Kúnwar Singh (25 Apr '58), iv. 336.

Pursues defeated rebels to Bak-sar (June '58), iv. 338; appointed to succeed Sir E. Lugard (15 June '58), iv. 339.

His force greatly augmented (Aug '58), iv. 339; his plan for crushing scattered rebels in Bihár, iv. 339; directs seven columns to converge on Jagdíspúr (13 Oct '58), iv. 340; defeats Amar Singh at Kárisát (14 Oct '58), iv. 341; encircles Amar Singh, iv. 341; but Amar Singh escapes from him (18 Oct '58), iv. 341; part of rebel force driven into Nonádí, iv. 343; three hundred of them destroyed there (20 Oct '58), iv. 343; allows the main body of Amar Singh's force to escape, by a mistake (21 Oct '58), iv. 343; surprises and utterly routs the main body at Salia Dahár (24 Nov '58), iv. 345; drives Amar Singh from Bihár, iv. 345.

Douglas, Capt., Commandant of the Emperor of Dehlí's Palace Guard, ii. 58; leaves Palace to persuade Sipáhí guard to be loyal (11 May ii. 59; driven back to Royal Palace, ii. 59; endeavours to induce revolted Sipáhís to depart from Dehlí Palace, ii. 58; murdered in Dehlí Palace (11 May), ii. 60; evidence given as to the circumstances of his murder, ii. 496; evidence of Ahsan Ulla Khán as to his murder, v. 318; Mondoh, the King's bearer, gives him the final blow, v. 319.

Douglas, Lieut., killed at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 356.

Douglas, Private, wins the Victoria

Douglas, Private—*cont.*

Cross at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 356.

Dowell, Lieut., takes part in attack on mutinous Sipáhís at Dhákah (20 Nov), iv. 293.

Dowling, Private William, bravely saves a wounded sergeant at Lakhnao (27 Sept), iv. 110; receives Victoria Cross, iv. 110*n.*

Down, Capt., defeats rebel right-centre attack on A'lambágh (12 Jan '58), iv. 243.

Doyle, Capt., killed in attempt to stop Firúzsháh at Harchandpúr (8 Dec '58), v. 251.

D'Oyley, Capt., assists at disarmament of Sipáhís at A'gra (31 May), iii. 110.

D'Oyly, Capt., commands Artillery at battle of Sassiah, iii. 181; his heroic conduct and death (5 July), iii. 183.

D'Oyly, Capt. Charles, second in command of Mírath Volunteers, vi. 127.

Doyne, Mr., a barrister, serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.

Drummond, Capt. H., joins in attack against Bijnaur raiders (2 Jan. '58), vi. 112.

Drummond, Mr., magistrate, protests against retirement to A'gra Fort (11 May), iii. 98; his opinion changed by outbreak at Mathurá, iii. 109; escapes from Mathurá mutiny, and urges Mr. Colvin to retire to A'gra Fort (31 May), iii. 109; unhappily trusts native police at A'gra (June), iii. 175; re-asserts British authority in A'gra (7 July), iii. 186.

Drummond, Mr., Magistrate of Dinájpúr, resolves to fight for the station (Dec), iv. 299.

Drury, Capt., his account of the retreat at Kánhpur (27 Nov), iv. 170*n.*

Dúáb, between Ganges and Jumnah, general revolt there (June), ii. 195, vi. 71; cleared by Gen.

Dúáh—*cont.*

Outram from mutineer raids, iii. 351; Lieut.-Col. Greathed sent with column to scour, iv. 62; patrolled by Col. Christie's column (Mar '58), iv. 315; plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 201.

Dúdhná, river in Mysor, iii. x.

Duff, Dr., his Free Church Mission supported by Lord Canning, i. 348.

Dufiy, Private, his daring and ingenuity in recovering a gun (27 Sept), iii. 366; wins the Victoria Cross, iii. 366n.

Duslá, a tribe to the north of Lower Provinces, vi. 2.

Dujána, to the east of Rohtak, vi. 140.

Dulá, attempt to murder Capt. Conolly at (Aug), iv. 411.

Dumdu, *see* Damdamah.

Dumráo Rájah, lends elephants for Major Eyre's expedition to A'rah, iii. 64; falsely reported to have joined the rebels, iii. 70.

Dumráun, indigo factory destroyed near (30 May '58), iv. 338.

Dunbar, Capt., takes command of small party, to relieve A'rah (29 July), iii. 51; lands with 415 men on the bank of the Son river, iii. 55; refuses to bivouac and attack by daylight, iii. 55; led into ambuscade in the night, iii. 56; shot dead in night attack by Sipáhís (29 July), iii. 56; effect of his defeat on Gorákhpúr, vi. 58.

Dundas, Mr., President of Board of Control (1807). i. 183.

Dúndiá Khéra, defeat of Béni Mádhú at, by Brig. Evelegh (10 Nov. '58), v. 203; Béni Mádhú completely defeated at, by Lord Clyde (24 Nov '58), v. 203.

Dúndú Pant, *see* Náná Sáhib.

Dungapúr, a State of Rájputáná, vi. 156; description of the State, vi. 156; history of the succession to, vi. 157; Udái Singh becomes ruler in 1852, vi. 157; remains undisturbed and loyal, vi. 157.

Dunley, Sergt., heroically enters the Sikandarbágh by a hole in the wall (16 Nov), iv. 139.

Dunlop, Capt., commands Sipáhís at Jhánsí, iii. 121; deceived by Ráni, iii. 122; murdered at Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123.

Dunlop, Capt., effect of his despatch on men at Náogáon, iii. 127.

Dunlop, Mr. R. H. Wallace, Magistrate and Collector of Mírath, vi. 125; hears of mutiny while in Himalaya mountains, at Nagar (31 May), vi. 125; hurries to Karnál (10 June), vi. 126; called to Dehlí camp, vi. 126; sent to resume work at Mírath (12 June), vi. 126; rides alone from Dehlí to Bhágpat, vi. 126; reaches Mírath in safety, vi. 126.

Organizes volunteers at Mírath (15 June), vi. 127; receives the help of nine Sikh troopers, vi. 127; his description of the men of the Khákí Risála, vi. 133.

Drives Gújars from Mírath, and begins to collect revenue, vi. 128; attacks and destroys Síkrí, a criminal Gújar village (9 July), vi. 129; advances against Sáh Mall, vi. 129; reaches Dalhaura, near Dehlí, with his small force, vi. 129; burns Basáud, vi. 130; his bold attempt to collect revenue, vi. 130; his curious combat with the rebel Bagdá, at Barká, vi. 131; defeats Sáh Mall at Barot, and kills that leader, vi. 131; storms and captures Akal-púra, vi. 132; defeats rebels at Galáutí (21 July), vi. 133; gives Dháulána land to Solána people, vi. 133; moves, with his force, to Hápur, vi. 133; his approach to Marwána scares rebels from (18 Sept), vi. 133; drives rebels from Tháná Bhawan (20 Sept), vi. 133.

Important services rendered by Mr. Dunlop's little force, vi. 133.

Dunn, Mr., indigo-planter of A'zamgarh, vi. 63; Driven from A'zam-

- Dunn, Mr.—*cont.*
garh by mutiny (3 June), vi. 64; returns to A'zamgarh to rescue hidden Europeans, vi. 64; his excellent service, vi. 68.
- Dunsford, Lient.-Col., with reserve column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.
- Dupleix, M., his treatment compared with that of Mr W. Tayler, iii. 81.
- Dupuis, Gen., ordered to fall back on intrenchment at Kánhpúr (27 Nov), iv. 170; placed in command of left brigade at Kánhpúr after its repulse by Tántiá Topí, iv. 170; commands artillery at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.
- Durand, Col. Henry Marion, Official Agent to the Governor-General at Indúr, iii. 132; his great capacity, iii. 132, v. 57.
- Former Services.*—Appointed to Board of Revenue (1838), iii. 133; volunteers for service in Afghanistan, iii. 134; blows in gates of Ghazní, iii. 134; comes to England, but returns with Lord Ellenborough (1841), iii. 134; becomes Private Secretary to Lord Ellenborough, iii. 134; becomes Commissioner of Tenasserim Provinces, iii. 134; disliked by Lord Dalhousie, iii. 134; rejoins the Engineers (1849), iii. 134; becomes political Agent at Bhopál (1849), iii. 134.
- Precautionary measures.*—Receives temporary political charge of Central India, iii. 135; Lord Canning discusses with him financial arrangements of Indúr, i. 428; his plan of action, on outbreak of Mírath mutiny, iii. 138; summons Bhíl troops to Indúr (14 May), iii. 138; calls part of Bhopál contingent to (20 May), iii. 138; receives troops from Holkar to guard Residency, iii. 139; uncertainty of his position in June, iii. 139; not deceived by loyal protestations, iii. 140; said to have ordered treasure to Máu, but denied, iii. 144 and *n*; his chance of safety lies in approach of Bombay column of troops, iii. 140; that column diverted to Aurangábád, iii. 141; and there halted, iii. 141.
- The Mutiny.*—The anticipated outbreak occurs at Indúr (1 July), iii. 142; he is assailed by Holkar's troops, iii. 144; attack headed by Saadat Khán, iii. 144; the Residency guard join in the attack, iii. 145; position of troops defending, iii. 143; Col. Travers charges and temporarily captures rebel guns, iii. 146; Capt. Hungerford summoned to Indúr, iii. 146; cowardice of Bhopál contingent, iii. 147; imbecility of the Bhíls, iii. 148; effective garrison reduced to thirty-one people, iii. 148; desperate position at Residency, iii. 149; Col. Durand driven to retreat from Indúr, iii. 150.
- His Opinion of Holkar.*—Until outbreak, he believed in Holkar's loyalty (July), iii. 151; replenishes Holkar's magazine a few days before outbreak, iii. 151*n*; his opinion of Holkar's loyalty, v. 42; justified in suspecting Holkár, iii. 155; Holkar sends to him for advice (31 July), v. 42; offers to ride into Indúr in Holkar's interests, v. 42; applies to Lord Canning for orders with respect to Holkar, v. 43.
- His Retreat.*—Line of retreat from Residency forced on him, iii. 157; endeavours to reach Gen. Woodburn's troops at Aurangábád, iii. 158; sends messengers to stop Capt. Hungerford's advance on Indúr, iii. 159; desires to retreat by the Simrol pass, iii. 159; his Cavalry refuse to go anywhere else than to Sihor, iii. 159; compelled to retire on Sihor, iii. 159; he is

Durand, Col. Henry Marion—*cont.*
received with honour in Bhopál territory (3 July), iii. 159*n*; conducts his party safely to Sihor (4 July), iii. 160; his retreat from Indúr justified, and commended, iii. 160.

His triumphant Return.—Hurries from Sihor to Hoshangábád (5 July), iii. 161; causes Bombay column to advance from Aurangábád (12 July), iii. 161, v. 12*n*; his actions with respect to Gen. Woodburn's column, v. 41; Lord Elphinstone's letter to him (27 July), v. 12*n*; joins Bombay column at A'sírgarh, iii. 161; brings Bombay column to Máu, and saves the line of the Narbadá (2 Aug), iii. 162; his reasons for occupying Máu, v. 42.

His Campaign.—Occupies Gújrí (12 Oct), v. 46; protects Mandé-sar, v. 46.

Dismisses Dhár agent, and marches against the place, v. 47; the rebels of Dhár march out to meet him, v. 47; drives rebels back into fort with great loss (22 Oct), v. 48; invests fort of Dhár, v. 48; bombards Dhár fort for six days, v. 49; the rebels skilfully evacuate fort at Dhár (31 Oct), v. 49; demolishes the fort of Dhár, v. 49.

Marches against Mandesar, v. 50; allowed to cross the Chambal unopposed (19 Nov), v. 52; encamps before Mandesar (20 Nov), v. 53; the Mandesar rebels march out to meet him, v. 53; drives rebels into Mandesar, and interposes between that place and Ní-mach (24 Nov), v. 54; captures Gorariá and scatters Ní-mach rebels (25 Nov), v. 54; crushes rebellion in Málwá, and isolates Indúr mutineers (25 Nov), v. 55.

Marches against Indúr, v. 56; reaches Indúr (14 Dec), v. 56; disarms Indúr cavalry, v. 56; visits

Durand, Col. Henry Marion—*cont.*
Holkar (14 Dec), v. 56; relieved by Sir Robert Hamilton (15 Dec), v. 57; the immense importance of his brilliant campaign, v. 58.

Durang, a district of A'sám, vi. 3, 31.

Durnford, Col., defeats Amar Singh at Kámpságár (16 Oct '58), iv. 341.

Duval, Lieut., his good service at Dánápúr, vi. 172.

Duvim, scene of Amar Singh's third defeat (12 May '58), iv. 337.

Dwyer, Capt., leads Jammú troops at assault of Dehlí, and is defeated, iv. 30.

Dyce, Colonel, boldly dissipates danger at Páliamkottá (1806), i. 175.

E.

Earle, Lieut., brings Sikhs to Bagoda to support Capt. Dalton (13 Aug), iv. 98; his excellent service in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 35.

East India Company, made the scape-goat of the Ministry, v. 271; abolished (2 Aug '58), v. 272.

Eastwick, Mr. Edward, his description of the house at A'rah, defended by Mr. Bogle, iii. 67*n*.

Eckford, Lieut., one of five who charged successfully hundreds of armed villagers, iii. 203*n*.

Eden, Capt., discovers the position of Tántiá Topí (27 June '58), v. 222.

Eden, Major William, Political Agent at Jaipúr, vi. 159; his cha-

Eden, Major William—*cont.*

racter, iii. 171; marches Jaipúr troops, and does useful work with them, vi. 159.

Edgell, Capt., distinguished at battle of Chinhat (29 June), iii. 377; distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.

Edmonstone, Lieut., wounded at Lakhnao, iv. 114; holds the iron bridge over the Gúmtí (29 June), iii. 286, 385.

Edmonstone, Mr., assists in settling position of King of Dehlí (1804), ii. 4; urges punishment of Madras mutineers (1806), i. 178.

Edmonstone, Mr. George, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 38; his method of dealing with Tálukdárs, i. 117; opposed to Tálukdárs, i. 118.

Edmonstone, Mr. G. F., Foreign Secretary, arrests the King of Oudh (15 June), iii. 18; his explanation of Lord Canning's Oudh proclamation, v. 174; his second explanation of Lord Canning's Oudh proclamation, v. 176; despatch sent to him about sentence on King of Dehlí, v. 350; created Lieut.-Gov. of N.W. Provinces, v. 298.

Education, a cause of disaffection to English rule, i. 134.

Edwardes, Sir Herbert, his early training and character, i. 19; disapproves of resumption policy in Panjáb, i. 130*n*; settles the Banú district, i. 19; marches to Jamú with recently conquered Sikh soldiery (1845), i. 19; marches upon Multán (1848), i. 19; directs the chief of Baháwalpúr to march against Multán, i. 20; crushes insurrection at Multán (1849), ii. 375.

Becomes Commissioner of Pesháwar, i. 316, ii. 338; suggests conference with Dost Muhammad, i. 317; confers with Dost Muhammad at Pesháwar (1 Jan), i. 318;

Edwardes, Sir Herbert—*cont.*

signs Articles of Agreement with Dost Muhammad (26 Jan), i. 324; Lord Canning's letter of thanks to, i. 326*n*; good results of his treaty with Dost Muhammad, ii. 316; recommended as political adviser in Persian expedition, i. 308.

His confidence in the safety of Pesháwar (12 May), ii. 341; recommends instant formation of Movable Column, ii. 342; offers to raise recruits out of the Deráját, ii. 342; calls Neville Chamberlain to military conference, ii. 343; he is summoned to Ráwalpindí (16 May), ii. 346; his cheerfulness and pleasant manner on outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 347; suggests witty telegram to Sir J. Lawrence, ii. 347*n*; his view of the nature of the Mutiny, ii. 348; informs commander of the Guide Corps of outbreak of mutiny, ii. 349; returns to Pesháwar (21 May), ii. 357; resolves to disarm Sipáhís there, ii. 358; silences opposition of Sipáhí commandants to disarmament, ii. 360; assists at the disarmament (22 May), ii. 360; present at execution of Sipáhís for desertion (28 May), ii. 362; despatches small force to suppress mutiny at Mardán, ii. 363; asks help in holding Pesháwar (27 May), ii. 457; his proposals with respect to certain doubtful regiments (June), ii. 374; his description of enlistment at Pesháwar, ii. 504.

Opposes cession of Pesháwar to Dost Muhammad, ii. 459; gives unanswerable reasons for retaining Pesháwar, ii. 462.

Publishes a violent letter, affecting his promotion, v. 298; subsequently tries, and sends to the Andamans, one of the Patná conspirators, iii. 79*n*; his great Mutiny Report, ii. 504.

Edwards, Brig., in command at Máu (Nov '58), v. 242; sends troops

Erinpuram—*cont.*

397 ; they are defeated and cut up at Nárnúl (16 Nov), iv. 397.

Ernsthausen Von, a German gentleman, serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.

Erskine, Ensign, mortally wounded in retreat from A'rah, iii. 58n.

Erskine, Major, appointed Commissioner of Jabalpúr (1855), v. 61 ; receives report of mysterious *chapátis* at Narsinhpúr, v. 63 ; reports *chapáti* transmission to Government in January, i. 420n ; ridicules Capt. Ternan's opinion of the importance of the *chapátis*, v. 63.

The dangerous character of his advice in some respects, v. 58 ; he represses disturbances round Jabalpúr (Aug), v. 70 ; receives offer from mutineers to exchange their prisoner Lieut. MacGregor, v. 71 ; offers 8,000 rupees for Lieut. MacGregor instead of exchange, v. 71n ; tries ineffectually to get Gen. Whitlock to drive rebels from fort in Jabalpúr district (Feb '58), v. 134.

Eteson, Assistant-Surgeon, accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n.

European troops, their paucity in Bengal (1856-7), i. 387 ; only two regiments between Calcutta and Mírath, iii. 4, 27 ; their number and constitution in India at the time of the Mutiny, i. 250 ; their paucity in India considered by natives as provocative of disaster, i. 252 ; their paucity in Oudh provokes disturbance, i. 253 ; massed in Panjáb at time of Mutiny, i. 253.

Evans, Capt., maintains his position at Púrwá, till Gen. Wheeler's surrender at Kánhpúr, iii. 274 ; distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.

Evelegh, Col., C.B., hurries from Nawábganj to secure Mohan, on

Evelegh, Col.—*cont.*

the Sái (7 Aug '58), v. 197 ; marches on Húsénganj, and compels rebels to retreat from Mohan, v. 197 ; defeats rebels at Miánganj (5 Oct '58), v. 200 ; advances against Shankarpúr, v. 202 ; defeats rebels at Moramáu (8 Nov '58), v. 202 ; captures fort of Simrí (9 Nov '58), v. 203 ; fails to reach Shankarpúr, but defeats escaping rebels (10 Nov '58), v. 203 ; joins Col. Troup in Western Oudh (Dec '58), v. 204.

Evereth, Lieut., captures Nawáb Alí Nakí Khán's house (19 Mar '58), iv. 283.

Everett, Mr., Mujúd's warning to him, at Dehlí, v. 345.

Ewart, Col., implores his Sipáhís at Kánhpúr not to mutiny (4 June), ii. 232 ; murdered at massacre after the capitulation (27 June), ii. 247, 255.

Ewart, Mrs., murdered at Kánhpúr (27 June), ii. 255.

Ewart, Lieut., dies of sunstroke while escaping from Náogáo (20 June), iii. 130.

Ewart, Lieut.-Col., commands rear-guard at Lakhnao (15 Nov), iv. 125 ; defends right of British advance into Lakhnao, iv. 148 ; leads Highlanders to attack of Sikandarbágħ (16 Nov), iv. 128 ; the second man to enter the Sikandarbágħ, iv. 129 ; desperate fight with rebels there, iv. 131 ; captures a standard at the Sikandarbágħ, iv. 132n ; his spendid conduct on that occasion officially unnoticed, iv. 131n ; occupies Barracks at Lakhnao with his Highlanders, iv. 138.

Loses his left arm at Kánhpúr (1 Dec), iv. 185.

Eyre, Major Vincent, his character, and antecedents, iii. 61 ; his heroic devotion in Afghanistan, iii. 61n.

Ordered, with his battery, to Alláhábád (10 July), iii. 62 ;

Eyre, Major Vincent—*cont.*

reaches Baksar (21 July), iii. 62 ; assumes responsibility of diverting troops to relieve A'rah, iii. 63 ; lands two guns to protect Gházípúr, iii. 62 ; returns to Baksar with 25 Highlanders, iii. 62 ; sends his few Highlanders back to protect Gházípúr, iii. 64 ; lands three guns for temporary defence of Dánápúr (25 July), iii. 62.

His Relief of A'rah.—Strength of his impoverished expeditionary force, iii. 63 ; asks assistance from Gen. Lloyd, but receives discouragement, iii. 63n ; he is informed that he will receive no help from Dánápúr, iii. 69n.

Starts on his bold expedition to A'rah (30 July), iii. 63 ; hurries there by forced marches, iii. 64 ; hears of defeat of Capt. Dunbar, but perseveres in his own attempt, iii. 64 ; first attempt of Sipáhís to check his advance on A'rah (2 Aug), iii. 64 ; drives Sipáhís from wood on road to A'rah, iii. 65 ; the mutineers destroy the bridge at Bíbíganj, iii. 65 ; the Major's ingenious attempt to turn position of Sipáhís, iii. 66 ; critical position of his force, iii. 66 ; his famous bayonet-charge opens the way to A'rah, iii. 66 ; enters A'rah in triumph (3 Aug), iii. 67.

He saves Bihár from Sipáhí marauders by relief of A'rah, iii. 67 ; important consequences of his relief of A'rah, vi. 33.

His Operations against Kúnwar Singh.—Wins the confidence of his troops, iii. 84 ; disarms the townspeople, iii. 84 ; punishes the traitorous, iii. 84 ; organises Volunteer Cavalry at A'rah, iii. 84 ; resolves to crush Kúnwar Singh, iii. 83 ; asks reinforcements to be sent to A'rah, iii. 84 ; force with which he attacked Jagadíspúr, iii. 84 ; starts against Jagadispúr (11 Aug), iii. 84 ; drives Kúnwar Singh from

Eyre, Major Vincent—*cont.*

Tolá Nárainpúr and Diláwar (12 Aug), iii. 85.

Effect of his brilliant achievements on officialdom at Calcutta, iii. 76 ; Mr. Tayler falsely charged with restraining his actions, iii. 77n.

His subsequent Achievements.—He is ordered to Alláhábád (14 Aug), iii. 86 ; sends force to Jatáurá (14 Aug), iii. 86 ; leaves A'rah for Alláhábád (20 Aug), iii. 87 ; sent with his battery to Kánhpúr (5 Sept), iii. 350 ; attacks and annihilates mutineers at Kúndapati (11 Sept), iii. 351 ; crosses with heavy guns into 'Oudh (20 Sept), iii. 356 ; commands Artillery issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145 ; his great services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252 ; drives rebels from front of that position (16 Mar '58), iv. 281.

F.

Faddy, Capt., attacks and disperses party of Mírath mutineers on bank of Gorgan rivulet (18 May), iii. 218 ; saves native treasurer from Murádábád mutineers (2 June), iii. 222.

Fagan, Capt., murdered at Máu (1 July), iii. 156.

Fagan, Capt., his gallantry at Dehlí Ridge, ii. 438n ; killed in No. 3 battery Dehlí (12 Sept), iv. 16.

Faizábád, its situation, ii. xvi, iii. xi ; garrison of, iii. 265 ; Col. Goldney, Commissioner at, iii. 265 ; wholesale confiscation in, after annexation of Oudh, iii. 235 ; Tálukdárs hardly dealt with, i. 424 ; they are hostile to British rule, iii.

Faizábád—*cont.*

266 ; the Maulaví, a resident of, the prime mover in conspiracy before Mutiny, v. 292.

Garrisoned only by local corps, iii. 239 ; reliance placed on pensioned Sipáhís, iii. 266 ; and on help from the Tálukdárs, iii. 266 ; Capt. Thurburn's house fortified at (May), iii. 266 ; the project of defending Capt. Thurburn's house abandoned, iii. 267 ; A'zamgarh mutineers march towards (3 June), ii. 162 ; the district is too disturbed to send away the ladies and children iii. 267 ; Col. Goldney warned of coming mutiny by Tálukdárs, iii. 267 ; Mán Singh offers to protect Capt. Orr's wife and children in return for personal kindness, iii. 267 ; Mán Singh ultimately induced to shelter all the ladies and children, iii. 267.

The mutiny breaks out (7 June), iii. 268 ; mutineers give their officers money, place them in boats, and send them away, iii. 268 ; but invite other mutineers to slay them, iii. 268 ; fugitive officers pass down the Ghághrá, iii. 208 ; two boats intercepted at Begamganj, iii. 268 ; Col. Goldney and his party massacred, iii. 269 ; some few land and run for their lives, but only three escape, iii. 269 ; the officers in three boats out of four destroyed, iii. 269 ; the fourth boat reaches Dánápúr safely by the help of faithful boatmen, iii. 269 ; the civil officers, ladies, &c., succeed in reaching Gopálpúr, iii. 271.

The town becomes the stronghold of the Begam of Oudh (July '58), v. 189 ; plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 200.

Fakirábád, derisive name for Alláhábád, ii. 181.

Fakir-ud-dín, Prince, born a pensioner, ii. 11 ; becomes Heir Apparent to the Dehlí Emperorship

Fakir-ud-dín, Prince—*cont.*

(1849), ii. 11 ; his succession objected to by Bahádur Sháh, ii. 18 ; resolution of Indian Government to acknowledge his succession, ii. 19 ; agrees to demands of Indian Government (1850). ii. 20 ; his sudden and suspicious death (10 July '56), ii. 20 ; terms offered to him not to be renewed to his successor, ii. 24.

Fancourt, Col., shot in mutiny at Vellúr (1806), i. 166.

Fane, Mr., Chief Civil Officer at Jaunpúr, ii. 178 ; compelled to fly for his life, ii. 179.

Fane, Mr. H., Magistrate of Jaunpúr, vi. 50 ; escapes from Jaunpúr with other fugitives (5 June), ii. 179.

Fanning, Lieut., takes part in action at Kajwá (1 Nov), iv. 103.

Farah, Afghans fear that Persia will occupy (1857), i. 321.

Farhat Bakhsh Palace, its position at Lakhnau, iii. 247 ; description and history of, iv. xiv ; occupied by Gen. Outram (26 Sept), iv. 108.

Farídpúr, occupied by Sir Colin Campbell (4 May '58), iv. 366 ; Sir Colin Campbell advances from, on Sháhjahánpúr (15 May '58), iv. 376.

Farídpúr, Rájah of, directed to protect Fírúzpúr, ii. 121*n.*

Farídpúr, a district of Dhákáh, vi. 3, 28 ; remains tranquil during Mutiny, vi. 31.

Farquhar, Col., operates in Bulandshahr district with Bálích troops, vi. 187 ; holds Alígarh with a small force (6 Dec), iv. 201.

Farquhar, Dr., organizes hospital accommodation at A'gra, iii. 190.

Farquhar, Lieut.-Col., with reserve column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.

Farquharson, Mr., Judge of Patná, hurries to, but afterwards leaves, shelter of an opium go-down (21 June), iii. 35.

Farrukhábád, situation, and description, ii. xvi ; its meaning, and

Farrukhábád—*cont.*

situation, ii. 266; residence of a Pathán Nawáb, iii. 224; application of resumption policy to, i. 126; effect of the mutiny at, on Patná, iii. 36; Hakím of, killed by Capt. Hodson at Patálí (17 Dec), iv. 205.

Farrukhábád, Tafúzal Husén Khán, Nawáb of, invited to head the Fathgarh mutineers, iii. 226; throws himself heartily into the revolt, iii. 227; supplies the mutineers with arms and advice, iii. 227; drives the officers from his district, iii. 230; slaughters some forty Europeans, iii. 232; murders the prisoners from Major Robertson's boat, iii. 232; he collects 30,000 men against the English (17 Aug), iii. 347; he appears in Rohilkhand with a small following (Aug '58), v. 191; he is captured, but his life improperly spared by unauthorized action of an official, iii. 232.

Farrukhnagar, a town of Gurgáoñ, v. 139.

Fast, Gen., brings the 64th Regiment to allegiance (1844), i. 206.

Fathábád, occupied by Gwáliár rebels (11 Sept), iv. 67.

Fathábád, in Afghanistan, Wigram Battye killed there, ii. 353*n.*

Fathganj, last Rohilla chief slain there (1774), iii. 206*n.*

Fathgarh, its situation, ii. *xvi*; garrison of, iii. 224; its great strategical importance, iv. 217; Col. Smith commands troops at, iii. 224

Preparatory Measures. — Sipáhís refuse to allow treasure to be moved (4 June), iii. 225; non-combatants sent to Kánhpúr, iii. 225; fugitives from Budáun reach, but again compelled to fly (8 June), iii. 217; attempted escape of English from the town, ii. 266; fugitives divide, some go to Dharmpúr and are saved, iii. 225; some go on to Kánhpúr, and are mur-

Fathgarh—*cont.*

dered, iii. 225; three fugitives from, murdered at Kánhpúr (15 July), ii. 280*n.*; some fugitives return, iii. 225; Sipáhís give up treasonable letter to Col. Smith, and protest loyalty (16 June), iii. 225; Sipáhís obediently destroy boat bridge (17 June), iii. 225.

The Outbreak. — Mutiny breaks out (18 June), iii. 226; Col. Smith retires to, and makes fort defensible, iii. 226; Sipáhís place themselves under Pathán Nawáb, iii. 227; Sítápúr mutineers join Sipáhís in (19 June), iii. 226; mutineers fall out over plunder, and fight among themselves, iii. 227; greater part of garrison secure the plunder, and disperse to their homes, iii. 227.

By delay of mutineers Col. Smith provisions fort (19-24 June), iii. 227; mutineers begin attack on fort (25 June), iii. 227; determined, but ineffectual, attacks of mutineers, iii. 228; defenders of fort attempt to escape by boats (3 July), iii. 229; terrible adventures of escaping boats, iii. 230; boats reach Singhirámpúr, but there attacked by villagers, iii. 230; prisoners from one of the boats carried back to Pathán Nawáb, iii. 231; the Nawáb at, murders prisoners from Major Robertson's boat, iii. 232; Col. Smith and his party destroyed near Kánhpúr, iii. 232; only two from fort ultimately saved, iii. 231.

Defeat of Rebels. — Rebels try to secure themselves in (31 Dec), iv. 210; rebels from, fly into Rohilkhand (2 Jan '58), iv. 213; Sir Colin Campbell occupies unopposed (3 Jan '88), iv. 214; the town left under command of Brig. Seaton, iv. 218; Sir Colin Campbell leaves, with the bulk of his troops (1 Feb '58), iv. 220; junction of Brig. Seaton's and Col:

Fathgarh—*cont.*

Walpole's forces near (3 Feb '58), iv. 201; Brig. Seaton left alone to defend (23 Feb '58), iv. 220; column from, defeats rebels at Kankar (7 Apr '58), iv. 351; Col. McCausland takes command of (25 May '58), iv. 378.

Fath Khán, chief to whom Akhúnd writes about intended outbreak in India (1856), ii. 373n.

Fathpúr, a district of Alláhábád, ii. xvi, vi. 38; description of the district, vi. 75; meaning of the word, vi. 73n.

Mr. R. T. Tucker, Chief Civil officer at, ii. 274; his active efforts to make converts, ii. 274; rebellion breaks out (9 June), ii. 275; European refugees flee to Bandah and are saved, ii. 275; Nawáb of Bandah saves other fugitives from, iii. 131.

Mr. Tucker, the Judge, remains alone when other Europeans depart, ii. 275; the rioters attack him, ii. 276; after a desperate fight, he is killed on the top of his house, ii. 276; rioters slay two Hindús who exclaim against his slaughter, ii. 276; effect of mutiny at, on Patná, iii. 36.

Directed to be attacked (30 June), ii. 207; site of Havelock's first victory over mutineers, ii. 271; the town sacked and burnt (13 July), ii. 278.

Col. Powell arrives there with detachment (31 Oct), iv. 102; village near, destroyed by Col. Barker (11 Dec), iv. 313; Brig. Carthew sent to command (Jan '58), iv. 313; the Brigadier's onerous task at, iv. 313; Brig. Carthew marches from, to patrol district, iv. 314.

Fathpúr, in Oudh, Náná Sáhíb and his followers go to Cháodrá Bhopál Singh in, v. 306.

Fathpúr-Síkrí, situation of, iii. xi; mutineers advancing against A'gra

Fathpúr-Síkrí—*cont.*

reach (2 July), iii. 177; battle with mutineers advancing from (5 July, iii. 181; occupied by Gwáliár rebels (11 Sept) iv. 67.

Fawcett, Lieut., killed at Bijápúr (3 Sept. '58), v. 234.

Fayrer, Assist.-Surg., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.

Fayrer's House, a battery at the Residency, Lakhnao, iii. 297.

Fazal Azím, rebel commander, holds ground close to Alláhábád (Dec), iv. 229; advances to Nasratpúr, against Gen. Franks, iv. 230; driven from Nasratpúr (23 Jan '58), iv. 230.

Feigning Confidence, made a principle of policy, iii. 14; its grave impolicy, iii. 15; its disastrous consequences, iii. 15; "Panic Sunday," one result at Calcutta, iii. 16; provokes a conspiracy at Barrackpúr, iii. 17; it causes the massacre at Kánhpúr, iii. 5.

Female education, a cause of disaffection, i. 136.

Fenwick, Lieut.-Col., stands ready to attack Dánápúr mutineers, but receives no orders, iii. 45; too high in rank to command small A'rah relieving force, iii. 51.

Ferguson, Mr. Hamilton, Magistrate of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25.

Ffrench, L·cut., wins the Victoria Cross for gallantry at the Sikan-darbág (16 Nov), iv. 139.

Field, Mr., opium agent, one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.

Financial Garrison, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 297; mutineers make a sudden rush on (10 Aug), iii. 307. Finnes, Col., leaves Alláhábád, end of March, ii. 182.

Finnis, Col., murdered at Mírath (10 May), ii. 44.

Firúzábád, Brig. Hope Grant overtakes, and assumes command of Col. Greathed's column at, iv. 74.

Firúzpúr, situation and description,

Firúzpúr—*cont.*

ii. *xvi*; mutiny at (1844), i. 203; the mutiny increases, i. 205; Lord Ellenborough counsels immediate disbandment of mutinous troops, i. 218; army assembles there for second Sikh war, i. 25; Lord Dalhousie there (1849), i. 29.

Garrison, and temper of, on outbreak of mutiny, ii. 329; gunners sent from to man Dehlí siege-train, ii. 142; Sipáhís at, accused of joining in general conspiracy, ii. 323*n*; council of emergency called at (12 May), ii. 330; inefficient attempt at disarmament of Sipáhís leads to outbreak (13 May), ii. 330; regimental magazines at, blown up, as precautionary measure, ii. 331; the Magazine saved, but the Cantonment sacrificed (13 May), ii. 331; Native Cavalry pursue mutineers, and scatter them, ii. 332; Gen. Anson secures protection of, ii. 104.

Firúzsháh, leader of Mandesar insurrection (Aug), v. 45; leads party of mutineers from Déhlí to join Gwálíár rebels (14 Sept), iv. 67; advances his troops from Amjhéra to threaten Bombay road (Oct), v. 46; driven from Mandesar, enters Rohilkhand (Nov), v. 250; driven from Rohilkhand, enters Oudh (Apr '58), v. 250; fails in attempt to force money from people of Murádábád, iv. 364; he escapes from Murádábád (26 Apr '58), iv. 365; joins the Maulaví attack on Sháhjahán-púr (13 May '58), iv. 375; he attempts to capture Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 197.

Becomes leader of Oudh rebels north of Lakhnau (Sept '58), v. 199; evacuates Mandesar, and retreats to Nángarh (25 Nov), v. 55; crosses the Ganges to join Tántiá Topí (7 Dec '58), v. 251; marches to Itáwah, v. 251; succeeds in crossing the Jumnah (9 Dec '58),

Firúzsháh—*cont.*

v. 251; tries to join Tántiá Topí at Bhilwárá, v. 248; reaches Ránód (17 Dec '58), v. 251; attempts to plunder Ránód, v. 253; his army scattered by Gen. Napier there (17 Dec '58), v. 253; flies from Ránód to Chándérí, v. 253; hurries to the jungles of A'roní, v. 254; he captures a convoy near Rámpúr (20 Dec '58), v. 254; but is driven from Sarpúr by Capt. Rice (22 Dec '58), v. 254; flies from Sarpúr to Rájgarh, v. 254; joins Tántiá Topí at Indragarh (15 Jan '59), v. 254; almost captured at Dewásá, v. 256; separates from Tántiá Topí (21 Jan '59), v. 256; hides in Sironj jungle (Apr. '59), v. 263, 310; escapes to Kurbelila and may still be living there, v. 258.

Fischer, Col., commands Madras Sipáhís marching from Katak, iv. 98; ordered to march on Házáríbagh (13 Sept), iv. 99; leads his troops on Jalpá (24 Sept), iv. 99; tries to find Rámgarh mutineers at Chatrá, iv. 99; his plans disarranged by contradictory telegrams, iv. 99; ordered to protect trunk road only (26 Sept), iv. 99; enters Bihár with his brigade (Oct), iv. 312.

Fisher, Capt. John, second in command of Sirmúr Battalion at Dehlí, iv. 12*n*.

Fisher, Col. S., commands Cavalry at Sultánpúr, iii. 271; is informed of intended rising at Sultánpúr, and sends ladies, &c., to Allahábád, iii. 272; murdered at Sultánpúr (9 June), iii. 272.

Fisher, Mr., Chaplain, defeats an attempt to storm Fathgarh fort (1 July), iii. 228; attacked in one boat escaping from Fathgarh, is picked up by another, iii. 231.

Fitchett, John, drummer, his account of massacre of women at Káhnpúr, ii. 280*n*.

- Fitzgerald, Brig.-Gen., takes command of troops along Goa frontier, v. 172; drives Sáwant rebels to surrender to the Portuguese (20 Nov '58), v. 172.
- FitzGerald, Lieut. M. M., leads his guns into Dehlí after stormers, iv. 36; killed at storming of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 24n, 38.
- Fitzgerald, Mr., a clerk, protected by Mán Singh at Sháhganj, iii. 270.
- Flagstaff Tower, on Ridge outside Dehlí, ii. 70; description of, ii. 389.
- Flanagan, Dr., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Fleming, Mr., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; he is murdered there (8 June). iii. 126.
- Fleming, Mrs., her evidence as to premeditation of outbreak, ii. 25n.
- Fletcher, Col., assists Clive to suppress mutiny (1766), i. 152.
- Florida Gardens, Kensington, Viscount Canning's birthplace, i. 265.
- Follett, Major, succeeds Gen. Woodburn in command of Bombay column (29 June), v. 11; thinks it unsafe for Bombay column to advance, v. 11; afterwards changes his opinion (7 July), v. 12.
- Forbes, Capt., conveys ladies from Sikrorá to Lakhnao (9 June), iii. 262.
- Forbes, Lieut. Lachlan, leads force to eject Rúp Singh from Barhí, v. 215; captures Barhí (Aug '58), v. 215; captures Chakarnagar (Aug '58), v. 215; his personal gallantry during expedition from Itáwah, v. 216; marches with Gen. Napier's force to Ránód, v. 251n; tries to stop Firúzsháh at Harchandpúr (8 Dec '58), v. 251.
- Ford, Lieut., his daring in attack of the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140.
- Ford, Mr., Collector of Gúrgaon, first reports *chapáti* mystery, i. 419n; captures runaway mutineers at Gúrgaon (11 May), v. 357.
- Forjett, Mr. C., Superintendent of Bombay Police, v. 29; his character, v. 30, 31; discovers for himself the character of the Bombay Police (1855), v. 30.
- Lord Elphinstone's great confidence in him, v. 300; obtains permission to enlist European police (May), v. 29; his distrust of the Sipáhís, v. 32; disobeys orders for distribution of Police at Muhamarram (Sept), v. 32; on Sipáhí outbreak rides alone to the lines, v. 33; alone he defies the raging Sipáhís, v. 33; on arrival of his Police cows the mutineers, v. 33; discovers and defeats conspiracy in Gangá Parshád's house (Oct), v. 36; receives the thanks of Government, and substantial rewards from private people, v. 35n.
- Forrest, Lieut., heroically aids in the defence of Dehlí Magazine, ii. 66; escapes from explosion of the Magazine, ii. 68; his evidence as to the seizure of the Magazine at Dehlí, v. 320.
- Forrest, Mr. R., accompanies expedition in chase of Jálándhar mutineers (17 June), vi. 118.
- Forster, Col., marches to the relief of Páláman (27 Nov), iv. 305; operates energetically in Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. 304; his excellent service with Shekawátí battalion, vi. 35; restores order in Singhbhúm (Jan '58), iv. 308.
- Forsyth, Mr. Douglas, Deputy Commissioner of Cis-Satlaj States, hastily gathers supplies for Dehlí Army, ii. 120; secures the active assistance of Patiálá, ii. 121; his account of the participation of the Akhúnd of Sawád in the Mutiny, iii. 372n.
- Fort William, its protection at Calcutta, ii. 91; native guards handle greased cartridges without complaint (1853), i. 380.
- Foster, Lieut., distinguishes himself in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.

- Foulis, Col., promptly stops disaffection at Arkát, i. 192.
- Fowle, Mr. F. C., Collector of Jessor, vi. 26.
- Fox, Lieut., wounded in escalade at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 117.
- Foy, Gen., his opinion of the British soldier, iii. 308.
- France, King of, supposed to be prepared to help Indians against English, ii. 27.
- Francis, Capt., abandons and blows up Machchí Bhawan by order (29 June), iii. 288; wounded at siege of Lakhnao (7 July), iii. 300; killed at Lakhnao (Aug), iii. 326, 384.
- Francis, Major, commands two batteries at attack on Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Franklyn, Brig., repulses rebel attack on A'lambágh (16 Mar '58), iv. 280.
- Franks, Brig.-Gen., C.B., sent to command at Jaunpúr (Nov), iv. 225; appointed to command at A'zamgarh and Jaunpúr (29 Nov), iv. 228; his force at Jaunpúr, iv. 228; instructions under which he acted, iv. 228.
His disposition of his forces (Dec), iv. 229; creates Cavalry out of Police and Infantry, iv. 229; marches to Sikandrá (21 Jan '58), iv. 230; joined by Cavalry at Sikandrá, iv. 230; drives rebels from Nasratpúr (23 Jan '58), iv. 230; occupies Saráun, iv. 231; proceeds from Saráun to Badlapúr, iv. 231; moves from Badlapúr to Singramáu, iv. 231; advances into Oudh from Singramáu, iv. 231; defeats rebels at Chandá (19 Feb '58), iv. 231; occupies Rámpúrá, iv. 231; defeats Mehndi Husen at Hamírpur (19 Feb '58), iv. 232; secures possession of Budháyan (21 Feb '58), iv. 232; wins the battle of Bádsháhganj (23 Feb '58), iv. 234; occupies Améthi (4 Mar '58), iv.
- Franks, Brig.-Gen., C.B.—*cont.*
236; defied and repulsed by rebels at Daurárá, iv. 237; effect of repulse at Daurárá on his future career.
Reaches Lakhnao with his troops (5 Mar '58), iv. 259; secures the Chíní Bazaar daringly captured by Capt. Havelock, iv. 274; pushes advantage gained by Capt. Havelock, iv. 275.
- Fraser, Col. Hugh, Chief Engineer at A'gra, warns Mr. Colvin of the gravity of the crisis, iii. 99; created Chief Commissioner for A'gra and its dependencies (30 Sept), iv. 67; his energy and devotion at A'gra, v. 217; his office of Chief Commissioner abolished (9 Feb. '58), iv. 291.
- Fraser, Mr. Simon, Commissioner, tries to secure loyalty of Sipáhí guard at Dehlí, ii. 59; shoots a mutineer from Constabulary guard-room, Dehlí, ii. 497; compelled to escape to Royal Palace, ii. 59; murdered in Dehlí Palace (11 May), ii. 60; evidence given as to circumstances of his murder, ii. 496; evidence of Ahsan Ulla Khán as to his murder, v. 318; superstition as to cause of his death, ii. 409n.
- Fraser, Lieut., accompanies Capt. Mackenzie to recover guns at Baréli (31 May), iii. 210n.
- Fraser, Lieut., driven from parade-ground at Bandah by Sipáhís (14 June), vi. 81.
- Fraser, Major, starts from Rúrkí with 500 Sappers for Mírath, ii. 131; murdered at Mírath (15 May), ii. 134.
- Fraser, Mr., C.B., Agent in Ságár and Narbadá territories (1843), v. 60.
- Fraser-Tytler, Lt.-Col., communicates to Lakhnao garrison the advance of Havelock, iii. 305; see also Tytler, Lieut.-Col. Fraser.
- Frederick the Great, his respect for Marshal Loudon, iv. 154n.

- French, Capt., defeats part of Amar Singh's men (20 Sept. '58), iv. 340; killed at surprise of Agra (10 Oct), iv. 71.
- Frere, Mr. Bartle, Commissioner of Sindh, vi. 142; his active rule in Sindh, vi. 143; Lord Elphinstone's great confidence in him, v. 300; mutiny breaks out just as he lands at Karáchí, vi. 145; ordered to send troops from Sindh to Panjáb, v. 3; sends a regiment to Multán (12 May), vi. 146; sends further troops into the Panjáb, vi. 147; suppresses all local disturbances during Mutiny, vi. 147.
- "Friend of India." newspaper, describes excited state of Calcutta in May, ii. 85n.
- Fulton, Capt., his character and services at Lakhnao, iii. 324; demolishes under fire houses outside Residency defences, iii. 316; killed at Lakhnao (14 Sept), iii. 324, 384.
- Futtehgurh, *see* Fathgarh.
- Futtehpore, *see* Fathpúr.
- G. •
- Gabbett, Col., killed at Najafgarh (25 Aug), ii. 492n.
- Gadhairí, river near Ságar, v. 73.
- Gaffúr Beg, Mirzá, *see* Mirzá Gaffúr Beg.
- Gagging Act, the, passed by Legislative Council (13 June), iii. 13; the Act passed the day before "Panic Sunday," iii. 15; the Act a mistake, iii. 14; unpopularity of Lord Canning on account of it, iii. 14.
- Gagha, Mr. Wynyard and Gurkhás attacked at (20 Aug), vi. 59.
- Gaikwár, his financial condition discussed in early May, i. 428.
- Gailí, village near A'lambágh occupied by rebels, iv. 241; rebels driven from, with great loss (22 Dec), iv. 241.
- Gaiskill, Major, commands heavy guns before Dehlí, ii. 448n.
- Gaj Singh, Maháráwal, assists the English in first Afghan war, vi. 151.
- Gajrájganj, Major Eyre bivouacs there (1 Aug), iii. 65.
- Galáutí, Mr. Sapte's brush with the rebels at (28 May), vi. 136; Mr. Dunlop defeats rebels at (21 July), vi. 133.
- Galiakót, a town of Dungapúr, vi. 156.
- Gall, Major, his conspicuous bravery and prudence in Central India, v. 59; attacks the left of rebel position at Dhár (22 Oct), v. 48; leads false attack at storm of Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115; sent to watch rebels at Kótá (22 Apr '58), v. 120; joins Sir Hugh Rose at Pích, near Kúnch (1 May '58), v. 120; captures Lohári fort (5 May '58), v. 121.
- Gall, Mrs., superintends nursing at Lakhnao, iii. 327.
- Galloway, Col., assists at disarming troops at Pesháwar (22 May), ii. 360; presides at court-martial on disarmed Sipáhí deserters, ii. 362.
- Galloway, Sir Archibald, Chairman of East India Company (1849), ii. 14n.
- Galway, Capt., bravely assists in saving a wounded sergeant at Lakhnao (27 Sept), iv. 110.
- Galway, Col., gallantly leads attack on Sultánpúr (27 Aug '58), v. 190.
- Gambhír Singh, Lieut., a gallant Gurkhá, his conspicuous bravery at Chándá (30 Oct), iv. 224.
- Gambier, Lieut., last to leave Dehlí Cantonment (11 May), ii. 73.

- Gandak, the three rivers so called, iv. *xiv*; description of the three, iv. 225*n.*
- Gandak, the Great, from the Nipál hills to Patná, iv. *xiv.*
- Gandak, the Less, from Sárun to the Bághmatí river, iv. *xiv.*
- Gandak, the Lesser, from the Nipál hills to the Ghághrá river, iv. *xiv.*
- Gangadarh Banerji & Co., supply grease and tallow for the fatal cartridges, i. 381*n.*
- Gangádhár Ráo, chosen to rule in Jhánsí, i. 65.
- Gangadhar Ráo, Bají Ráo's youngest son, i. 73*n.*
- Gangá Dín, Subahdar, made Colonel in Náná Sáhib's army, ii. 238.
- Gangá Parshád, his house the meeting-place of Bombay conspirators, v. 36.
- Ganga Parshád, Munshí, witnesses Tántiá Topí's legal deposition, v. 311.
- Gangá Rám, intrigues against the English at Lahor (1848), i. 21.
- Gangá Singh, Thákur, joins Tántiá Topí (28 Jan '59), v. 310.
- Gangarí, encamping ground of Col. Farquhar, near Alígarh, iv. 202; battle near (Dec), iv. 202.
- Ganges, river-steamers employed to protect banks of (July '58), v. 198; rebel boats constantly destroyed on, v. 199; many raids committed along banks of (July—Sept '58), v. 198.
- Gangpúr, a Tributary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.
- Ganjan Singh, killed by Capt. Ternan, and his followers dispersed (Nov), v. 73.
- Ganpat Ráo, sent to Máu by Holkar to call for support, iii. 154.
- Garáulí, district to west of U'rcháh, v. *xii*; accidental turning towards, saves fugitives from Náogáon, iii. 128.
- Garbett, Col., commands heavy guns on Dehlí Ridge, ii. 448*n.*; dies of Garbett, Col.—*cont.*
a slight graze degenerating into virulent sore, ii. 448*n.*
- Garden Reach, Calcutta, its situation and occupants, iii. 18; danger from King of Oudh's followers at, iii. 9.
- Gardiner, Capt., leads Sipális from Murádábád, who bring back released convicts (19 May), iii. 219.
- Gardiner, Major, arrests conspirator, and suppresses projected rising at Derá Ishmáíl Khán (20 July '58), v. 213.
- Gardner, Colour-Sergeant, saves the life of Brig. Cameron at Barélí (5 May '58), iv. 369.
- Garhákótá, description of, v. 99; its great strength, v. 99; its garrison, v. 99; Jabalpúr mutineers establish themselves there (Oct), v. 73; Sir Hugh Rose invests (11 Feb '58), v. 99; rebels abandon, after one day's bombardment, v. 100; fugitive rebels from, pursued and cut up on the Biás river (13 Feb '58), v. 100; Sir Hugh Rose destroys western face of (14 Feb '58), v. 100.
- Garhá Kúdúr, Rúp Singh attacks expeditionary boats at, but is defeated (Aug '58), v. 215.
- Gárlá, Mán Singh secretly visits (Mar '59), v. 260.
- Gáro Hills, a district of A'sám, iv. *xiv*, vi. 3, 32.
- Garrett, Mr., opium agent at Patná, leaves opium go-down (21 June), iii. 35.
- Garvey, Mr., Midshipman, one of Peel's brigade, iv. 90*n.*
- Gauhatti, a district of A'sám, vi. 3; chief station of Kámruúp, vi. 31.
- Gaurá, its seizure and pacification by Mr. St. G. Tucker, vi. 47.
- Gauríhar, a State to the west of Bandah, vi. 78.
- Gaussén, Major, leads detachment from Ságár to Málthon (13 June), v. 67; sends to Ságár for reinforcements (16 June), v. 67; receives

Gaussen, Major—*cont.*

the desired reinforcement (23 June), v. 67; storms and captures Bálábet fort (23 June), v. 67; his Sipáhís demand the release of his prisoners (25 June), v. 67; his detachment openly transfers itself to the Rájah of Bánpúr's service (25 June), v. 67.

Gayá, a district of Patná Division, iii. xi, 26, vi. 3; small garrison of, at end of July, iii. 70; Mr. A. Money, Magistrate and Chief Civil Officer at, iii. 72; Sipáhís bribed at (1846), i. 225; plot discovered and disclosed by a Brahman, Moti Misr, i. 224*n.*

Mr. Tayler directs officials at, to retire on Patná (31 July), iii. 70; Mr. A. Money's view of the danger at, iii. 72; he calls a council of emergency, iii. 72; and leaves the station in a panic, iii. 72; Mr. Money is directed to bring money to Patná, iii. 72; he resolves to abandon the Government treasure, iii. 72; he hurries away unthreatened, leading 145 soldiers, iii. 72; abandonment of treasure indefensible, iii. 73.

Mr. Hollings, ashamed of the cowardly proceeding, induces Mr. Money to return for the treasure, iii. 73; Mr. Money returns with Mr. Hollings, and irritates the populace by openly burning Government paper, iii. 74; a company of European troops called from a neighbouring town (2 Aug), iii. 74; treasure packed on carts, and sent away with detachment, iii. 74; Mr. Money returns again to his own house, iii. 74; the prisoners are released from gaol, and a riot breaks out, iii. 74; Mr. Money escapes, and leads the troops and treasure to Calcutta, not Patná, iii. 75; his reprehensible vacillation, iii. 75; he is made a hero by the unthinking and the designing at Ca'cutta, iii.

Gayá—*cont.*

76; created C.B. for disobedience, iii. 76*n.*

Mutineers from Cavalry advance against, after Mr. Money's return, iv. 312; Mr. Money persuades Capt. Rattray to march his Sikhs out to meet them, iv. 312; the Cavalry sweep round, and partly sack the town, through injudicious advice of Mr. Money (8 Sept), iv. 312; Cavalry at last repulsed through the bravery of Mr. Skipwith Tayler, iv. 312; prisoners released from gaol by Amar Singh (17 June '58), iv. 339; they join the Police, and drive English into their intrenchment, iv. 339; Brig. Douglas repairs the outrage, iv. 339.

General Enlistment Act contemplated (1856), i. 342; its effect on the Sipáhís' minds, i. 344.

Gentus, early name for southern Indians, i. 146.

Geoffroi, Monsieur, heroically joins in saving Mr. Capper's life, iii. 288.

Germon, Capt., commands at the Judicial post, Lakhnao, iii. 298.

Gerrard, Col., confidently tells his Sipáhís at Jhelam that they are to be disarmed, ii. 469; leads unsuccessful attack on Jhelam mutineers (7 July), ii. 470.

Gerrard, Col., commands expedition to Rewári district (10 Nov), iv. 76; occupies Rewári (13 Nov), iv. 76; occupies Kanáund (15 Nov), iv. 77; delays in advancing on Nárnúl give him an easy victory, iv. 78; destroys the Erinpuram mutineers at Nárnúl (16 Nov), iv. 897; he is killed in pursuit of mutineers from Nárnúl, iv. 82; Capt. Caulfield assumes command of the column, iv. 82; Col. Seaton appointed to command his column, iv. 83.

Ghaggar, a river of Hisár, vi. 139. Ghághrá, river south of Bahráich, iii. xi, 261; description of course-

- Ghághrá—*cont.*
of river, iv. *xiv*, 227*n*; Bahráich officials murdered on banks of (12 June), iii. 164; Kúnwar Singh crosses successfully (18 Apr '58), iv. 333.
- Ghandák River, situation of, iii. *xvi*.
- Ghasíta, Shékh, agent of the traitorous Lútf A'li Khán, hanged at Patná (5 July), iii. 37.
- Ghátampúr, village plundered and burnt by rebels (26 Mar '58), iv. 315.
- Gháus Muhammad, of Jáurá, his steady loyalty, vi. 166.
- Ghází, Málik Saiyid Masúd, founder of Gházípúr, iv. *xiv*.
- Gházíábád, a town of Mírath district, vi. 125.
- Gházís, their fanaticism useless at A'Tígarh (24 Aug), iii. 192; desperate conflict with, at Kak-rálá (30 Apr '58), iv. 352; they make a tremendous onslaught on Highlanders at Barélí (5 May '58), iv. 368.
- Ghází u'd Dín, builds part of Motí Mahall, Lakhnao, iv. *xvii*.
- Ghází-ud-Dín Haidar, Nawáb, encouraged to assume title of king, i. 86*n*; King of Oudh, dies in 1827, i. 94*n*; builds the Sháh Nájaf, Lakhnao, iv. *xviii*.
- Ghází-ud-dín Nagar, its description, ii. 137*n*; a town on Hindan, where first battle with mutineers was fought (30 May), ii. 137; victory gained by Mírath garrison at (31 May), iii. 7; Col. Greathead's force marches through (24 Sept), iv. 62.
- Gházípúr, a district of Banáras division, vi. 38; its situation and garrison, iii. 62, iv. *xiv*; frank declaration of Sipáhís as to loyalty (June), vi. 61; Europeans from A'zamgarh, escape to (3 June), ii. 162; uprising of the entire district (6 June), vi. 60; Mr. Bax marches from, and punishes a vil-
- lage (7 July), vi. 61; effect of Gen. Neill's actions on, vi. 61; effect of passing troops in river steamers on, vi. 61; Mr. Ross ships treasure to Banáras (10 June), vi. 61; martial law proclaimed in, vi. 61; effect of Dáná-púr mutiny on (14 July), vi. 61; effect of Maj. V. Eyre's victory at A'rah on, vi. 62; Sipáhís quietly disarmed at (Aug), vi. 62; its tranquillity secured by Mr. Ross (Aug '57-Mar '58), vi. 62.
- Eastern part demoralized by incursion of Kúnwar Singh (Mar '58), vi. 62; Brig. Douglas's operations in, vi. 62; Kúnwar Singh's incursion into, vi. 62; completely tranquillized (Oct '58), vi. 62.
- Ghilzis, discountenance disloyalty of Sipáhís on frontier, ii. 373.
- Ghulám Abbás, testifies to the King of Dehlí accepting the allegiance of the mutineers, v. 322; hears the King of Dehlí informed of the murders in his palace, v. 318.
- Ghulám Husén, rebel leader, defeated at Tigra (10 Apr '58), v. 329.
- Ghúnglé, jungle where Gújádar Singh was defeated by Col. Walker (Apr '59), v. 206.
- Gibbings, Capt., murdered at Sultánpúr (9 June), iii. 272.
- Gibbins, Lieut., dies fighting bravely at Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 177.
- Gibbon, Lieut., escapes wounded from mutiny at Mathurá, vi. 91.
- Gibson, Mr., reaches Budáun (1 June), iii. 216.
- Gidári, stream near Garhákótá fort, v. 99.
- Gilbert, Sir Walter, pursues the Sikhs from Gujrát (1849), i. 32.
- Gilgit, a valley of Kashmír, v. 2.
- Gilgit, Hoti-Mardán mutineers try to reach (June), ii. 371*n*.
- Gillespie, Col., crushes the mutiny at Vellúr by promptitude (1806), i. 167:

- Gillespie, Capt., commands heavy artillery in Rewári expedition (Oct), iv. 76.
- Glanville, Lieut., his brave defence of No. 2 barrack at Kánpúr, ii. 248.
- Glone, Mr., a clerk, bravely remains in Mainpúr during mutiny, iii. 104.
- Gloucester, Duchess of, i. 265.
- Glover, Mr. F. A. B., Collector of Dhákáh, vi. 28.
- Goa, the Sáwant rebels surrender to Portuguese in (20 Nov '58), v. 172; the Portuguese Viceroy places the whole of his troops under the command of Gen. Jacob, v. 172.
- Goalpárá, a district of A'sám, vi. 3, 31.
- Gobind, a groom who accompanied Tántíá Topí in his flight from the army (Feb '59), v. 310.
- Godby, Lieut., wounded by an assassin at Mardán (1853), ii. 498.
- Godby, Capt., commands infantry in Rewári expedition (Oct), iv. 76; leads Sikh Cavalry against Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 197; pursues and cuts up rebels retreating from Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 197.
- Godfrey, Mr., one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
- Gogra, *see* Ghághrá, iv. xiv.
- Gogranwála, fugitive officers from Siálkot, reach (10 July), ii. 473.
- Gogúndah, a town of Udaipúr, scene of Mán Singh's victory in 1576, vi. 155.
- Gohad, false report that Firúzsháh would pass (12 Dec '58), v. 252.
- Gohána, a town of Rohtak, vi. 141.
- Gokal Chand, Pandit, his valuable help at Banáras, ii. 173, vi. 45.
- Gokal Singh, Subahdár, the brave Sikh leader, at attack on Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 129.
- Gokul, a town of Mathurá, iv. 85.
- Goldney, Col. Philip, attacks a mutinous Sipáhí at Firúzpúr (1844), i. 205; appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39.
- Goldney, Col. Philip—*cont.*
Becomes Commissioner of Faizábád, iii. 265; he realizes from the first the gravity of the crisis, iii. 266; attempts to improvise a stronghold, iii. 266; he is prevented from sending ladies, &c., to Lakhnao, iii. 267; at last he is forced to leave Faizábád by boat, iii. 269; murdered at Begamganj (8 June), iii. 269.
- Goldie, Col., commands one boat escaping from Fathgarh, iii. 230; his boat abandoned and occupants transferred to other boats (3 July), iii. 230.
- Gond, disloyal Rájah of, and his sons, blown from guns at Jabalpúr (18 Sept.), v. 70.
- Gondah, station of Bahráich, iii. 261; Mr. Wingfield escapes from Sikrorá mutiny to (9 June). iii. 263; mutiny at (10 June), iii. 264; Europeans at, escape to Balrampúr, and ultimately reach Gorákhpúr, iii. 264; the Rájah of, joins the rebel camp at Belwá (4 Mar '58), iv. 316; Oudh insurgents collect at (July '58), v. 189; defeat and pursuit of Rájah of, by Gen. Hope Grant (27 Nov '58), v. 203; fort captured (9 Dec '58), v. 203.
- Gonds, a tribe of people near Narsinhpúr, v. 63; the Rájah of Dilhéri, the lord of all the clans, v. 63; he is injured and disgraced by the British Government, v. 64; but he nobly protects Capt. Tornan during Mutiny, v. 65.
- Gonne, Mr., Deputy Commissioner at Málápúr, forced to leave by outbreak, iii. 265.
- Goodall, Provost, admits young Canning to Eton, i. 266.
- Goodenough, Mr. Fred., serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Gopálpúr, meeting place of Rání of Jhánsí, Ráo Sáhib, and Tántíá Topí, after defeat at Galáulí (May '58), v. 143, 307; desperate con-

Gopálpúr—*cont.*

dition of rebel cause at, v. 143; the Rání of Jhánsí conceives scheme for seizure of Gwálíár, v. 144; success of her daring plan, v. 147; Sir Hugh Rose sends a column in pursuit before enterprise is accomplished, v. 148.

Gopálpúr, Rájah of, hospitably entertains fugitives from Faizábád, iii. 271; enters Gorákhpúr and releases prisoners from gaol (13 Aug), vi. 59.

Gorai, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.

Gorariá, its situation, v. x; Nímach rebels encamped there, v. 54; after two days' fighting the place is captured by Col. Durand (25 Nov), v. 54; decisive character of blow struck by this victory, v. 55.

Gorákhnáth, Jain temple in Gorákhpúr, iv. xv.

Goráknáth Nipálese regiment, assist English at Sobanpúr (26 Dec), iv. 225.

Gorákhpúr, a district of Banáras division, iii. xi, vi. 38; description of district, iv. xv, vi. 52; garrison of, vi. 53; Capt. Steel commands Sipáhís at, vi. 54.

Rájput of, object to enlist for general service (1856), i. 345*n.*

Mr. Wynyard receives civil charge of, with full authority, vi. 54; local guards raised at (June), vi. 54; treasure from, causing rising at A'zamgarh (3 June), ii. 160; Capt. Steel discovers the mutinous disposition of the troops (5 June), vi. 54; the Sipáhís refuse to obey orders (6 June), vi. 54; prisoners try to escape from gaol (7 June), vi. 54; Sipáhís advance to plunder treasury, but are dissuaded (8 June), vi. 55; fugitives from Sikrorá and Gondah reach, iii. 264; arrival of fugitives from Oudh at (17, 19 June), vi. 56; ladies sent from, to Banáras (20 June), vi. 56.

Gorákhpúr—*cont.*

Mr. Wynyard's energetic policy supported by Lord Canning (28 June), vi. 56; authority to abandon, if deemed necessary, vi. 57; Gurkhás arrive from Pálpa (28 June), vi. 56; turmoil in surrounding districts, vi. 57; effect of the mutiny at Sigáulí on (28 July), vi. 57; arrival of second batch of Gurkhás (28 July), vi. 57; Gurkhá commander refuses to garrison the place, vi. 57.

Sipáhís disarmed (1 Aug), iv. 222, vi. 58; Cavalry resent disarmament, and mutiny, vi. 58; the town occupied by rebels (10 Aug), iv. 222; Rájah of Gopálpúr releases prisoners from gaol (13 Aug), vi. 59; abandoned by British officials (13 Aug), iv. 311; Mr. Wynyard's forced retreat from, vi. 58; Mr. Bird remains alone, but finally abandons, vi. 58.

Contest for its possession among zamínídárs, vi. 58; passes into the possession of Muhammad Husén (13 Aug), vi. 59; the turbulent condition of (Sept), vi. 59; troops from Banáras and Tirhút sent to reoccupy (Nov), iv. 225; rebels driven from, by Jang Bahádur (6 Jan '58), iv. 226; rebels defeated at, by Col. Rowcroft (20 Feb '58), iv. 316; Yeomanry Corps does good service at, vi. 23.

Gordon, Brig., clears country south of the Ghághrá (Nov '58), v. 204.

Gordon, Capt., escapes from mutineers at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 189.

Gordon, Capt., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; killed there (8 June), iii. 125.

Gordon, Capt. John, ascends Ganges in steamer and seizes Náná Sáhib's boats (31 July), iii. 336; recovers Nárain Ráo's two daughters (6 Aug), iii. 341; destroys sixteen boats of Náná Sáhib (6 Aug), iii.

- Gordon, Capt. John—*cont.*
 342; fixed on sand-bank all night, but gets back to Kánpúr (8 Aug), iii. 342; takes steamer a third time up the Ganges, iii. 342; proceeds down Ganges to destroy boats at Rájghát (20 Aug), iii. 348.
- Gordon, Col., commands at Banáras early in May, ii. 151; persuaded to listen to retreat from Banáras, but rejects the suggestion (May), ii. 152; arranges, with Mr. Tucker, disarmament of Banáras Sipáhís, ii. 163; fired at, by one of his Sikhs at Banáras (4 June), ii. 168; his views on the unprotected state of Banáras in early July, ii. 296n.
- Gordon, Lieut., Deputy Commissioner of Chandéri, driven from Lálitpúr by mutineers, v. 66n; captures a brass 9-pr. gun, at Lakhnao (18 Mar '58), iv. 282; lands from boats and drives Rúp Singh from Garhá Kúdúr (Aug '58), v. 215; accompanies Lieut. Forbes to eject Rúp Singh from Barhí, v. 215; he captures Barhí, and sends on party which destroys Chakarnagar, v. 215.
- Gordon, Lieut. D., killed at the A'lambágh (Jan '58), iv. 242.
- Gordon, Lieut. John, Fort Adjutant at A'sírgarh, v. 39; enlists native volunteers to check Sipáhís (June), v. 40; induces native officer to keep mutinous Sipáhís out of A'sírgarh (July), v. 40; sends some of his Sipáhís away to Burhánpúr, v. 40; that detachment mutinies and advances against A'sírgarh, v. 40; but is prevented from entering the town by a faithful Hawáldar-Major, v. 40; disarms Sipáhís of A'sírgarh (15 July), v. 40.
- Gordon, Major, drives off attack on A'lambágh at night (16 Jan '58), iv. 246; his minute description of the Bíbígarh, at Kánpúr, ii.
- Gordon, Major—*cont.*
 266n; his accounts of deaths in Bíbígarh, ii. 267n.
- Gordon, Major, murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 71.
- Gorgan rivulet, near Muradábád, scene of defeat of small party of Mírath mutineers, iii. 218.
- Gortschakoff, Prince, assures Lord Granville that Russia did not instigate the seizure of Herat, i. 328n.
- Gostling, Lieut., breaks the rebel force at Bhogníwálá (17 Apr '58), iv. 361; killed at Naghíná (21 Apr '58), iv. 363.
- Gough, Lieut., removes treasure from Bijnaur (3 June), vi. 107.
- Gough, Lieut., captures two guns at Lakhnao (12 Nov), iv. 119; first draws the fire of mutineers at relief of Lakhnao (12 Nov), iv. 119.
- Gough, Lord, Commander-in-Chief in India, i. 18; postpones the advance on Multán, i. 18; joins the army on the Satlaj (21 Nov '48), i. 26; his victory at Rámnanagar, i. 26; his disastrous victory at Chilíánwála (13 Jan '49), i. 30; wins the victory of Gujrát (21 Feb '49), i. 32.
- Gouldsbury, Mr. F., Commissioner of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.
- Govardhan, a town of Mathurá, vi. 85.
- Governor-General of India, process of appointment, i. 273.
See Canning, Lord.
- Government of India, the separation of Civil and Military authorities, i. 373; slow to believe in disaffection (1806), i. 163; reproves officers who prevent mutiny, i. 175; injures and disgraces Rájah of Dilhéri, v. 64.
 Optimism of its members, iii. 3; its short-sightedness, iii. 5; its inability to realize the truth, iii. 6; its mental range, iii. 8; its utter ignorance of the India outside Calcutta, v. 296; judges the

Government of India—*cont.*

conduct of its servants by results, iii. 67 ; success the sole standard of its servants' worth, iii. 345 ; its unjust treatment of Gen. Havelock, iii. 345 ; its conduct contrasted with Rome's treatment of Varro, iii. 345 ; its series of unjust supersessions, iii. 345–347 ; the public have no confidence in, iii. 90.

Fails to provide for troops expected from China, iv. 86 ; forced into action by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 87 ; allows Sipáhís to remain armed near Calcutta, iii. 6 ; disapproves of Mr. Colvin's proclamation of pardon, and substitutes one of its own (25 May), iii. 108 ; improper reason assigned for gagging the Press, iii. 14 ; its official blindness and obstinacy, iii. 8, vi. 10 ; loses opportunity of securing Kánpúr, iii. 4 ; demonstration of its unwise optimism, iii. 5 ; opinion of European community of, iii. 13 ; proof of its failure to appreciate the extent of the crisis, iii. 20 ; its feebleness shown by its whole course of proceedings, iii. 345.

Refuses the offer of Volunteer aid from the people of Calcutta, iii. 2 ; neglects present resources for immediate suppression of Mutiny, iii. 3 ; risks everything in order to appear strong, iii. 4 ; aroused to a sense of its insecurity by Mr. J. P. Grant, iii. 9 ; reluctantly sanctions formation of Volunteer Corps (12 June), iii. 10.

Knowledge of the progress of Mutiny possessed by, up to 7 July, iii. 22 ; throws on Gen. Lloyd the responsibility of disarming Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 40 ; alarmed at Dánápúr mutiny, orders court-martial on Gen. Lloyd, iii. 76 ; its grossly ungrateful conduct towards Mr. W. Tayler, iii. 77 ; the subordinates who redeemed its incompetence, iii. 94.

Govindgarh, its situation, ii. *xvi* ; its situation and importance, ii. 327 ; mutiny at (1850), i. 230 ; mutinous troops then disbanded, i. 231 : Gen. Anson secures protection of (13 May), ii. 104 ; fully secured by arrival of Láhor troops (14 May), ii. 328.

Graham, Lieut., sent with Sipáhís to Hazáribágh, iv. 95 ; his Sipáhís mutiny (31 July), iv. 95 ; his excellent service in Chutiá Nág-púr, iv. 304, vi. 35 ; blockaded in a house in Pálámau (Nov), iv. 305 ; relieved by Major Colter, iv. 305 ; seizes Debi Bakkas Rái, and the rebellion at Pálámau collapses (8 Dec), iv. 305 ; assists Capt. Dalton in complete defeat of rebels near Pálámau (21 Jan '58), iv. 308.

Graham, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.

Graham, Miss, saved by faithful troopers, at Siálkot mutiny (9 July), ii. 473*n*.

Graham, Superintending Surgeon, murdered at Siálkot mutiny (9 July), ii. 473.

Grant, Brig. Hope, attacks the rear of rebel position at Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143 ; skilfully executes his difficult manœuvre, ii. 144 ; moves along Jamnah Canal to Dehlí, ii. 143 ; repulses attack on rear of Dehlí Ridge (18 June), ii. 415 ; leads Lancer charge at Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 437*n* ; commands Cavalry to protect flanks of stormers at Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 34 ; heroically draws a fire on his Cavalry for two hours to aid storming party inside Dehlí, iv. 34 ; urges Gen. Wilson to hold on to Dehlí after first assault, iv. 40*n*.

Called to A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 74 ; overtakes Col. Greathed's column at Firúzábád, and assumes com-

Grant, Brig. Hope—*cont.*

mand (18 Oct), iv. 74; occupies Mainpúri (19 Oct), iv. 74.

Operations in Oudh.—Enters Kánpúr with his column (26 Oct), iv. 74; his column secures the position at Banní Bridge, near Lakhnao, iv. 74; skirmish with rebels at Banthra (30 Oct), iv. 74; advances towards the A'lambágh, iv. 74; his column at Banní Bridge augmented to 5,000 men, iv. 106.

Second in command at attack on Tántiá Topí at Kánpúr (6 Dec), iv. 188.

Sent to overtake Tántiá Topí (8 Dec), iv. 194; catches Tántiá Topí at Sivarájpúr, and captures fifteen guns (9 Dec), iv. 195; destroys Bithúr (11 Dec), iv. 197.

Scatters rebels at Kálí Nadí bridge (2 Jan '58), iv. 213; patrols north side of Gúmtí (10 Mar '58), iv. 265; sent in wrong direction by Sir Colin Campbell to pursue Lakhnao rebels (14 Mar '58), iv. 278; stops fugitives from Músábágh, on north side of Gúmtí (19 Mar '58), iv. 283; drives a rebel detachment from Kursí (23 Mar '58), iv. 286.

Placed in command of Lakhnao (24 Mar '58), iv. 328.

Detached with column from Lakhnao to operate against the Maulaví (9 Apr '58), iv. 346; the composition of his force, iv. 346; his description of Nipálese troops on the march, iv. 348; he occupies Bárí (13 Apr '58), iv. 348; occupies Muhammádábád (15 Apr '58), iv. 348; occupies Rámnanagar (19 Apr '58), iv. 348; the Maulaví's skilful combinations to overthrow him, iv. 347; he clears the neighbourhood of Unáo (10 May '58), iv. 349; marches to pacify Oudh (16 May '58), v. 186; occupies Jalálábád fort, near Lakhnao

Grant, Brig. Hope—*cont.*

(16 May '58), v. 186; encamps at Jalálábád (19 May '58), iv. 349.

Moves against Béni Mádhú (25 May '58), v. 186; joined by Rájah of Kapúrthalá and his Contingent (4 June '58), v. 186; marches on Nawábganj, v. 186; reaches Chinhat (12 June '58), v. 187; drives rebels from Nawábganj after desperate fight (13 June '58), v. 188.

Sent to relieve Mán Singh (20 July '58), v. 188; he raises the siege of Sháhganj and releases Mán Singh, v. 189; meets Rájah Mán Singh, v. 189; enters Faizábád, v. 189; destroys rebel boats at Ajúdhíá, v. 189; hurries to join Brig. Horsford before Sultánpúr, v. 190; ultimately drives rebels from Sultánpúr (28 Aug '58), v. 190.

His part in the movement for finally crushing rebels, v. 201; sends Brig. Wetherall to attack Rámpúr Kasiá, v. 201; reaches that place himself just after its capture (3 Nov '58), v. 202; receives submission of Rájah of A'methí (8 Nov '58), v. 202; proceeds to invest north of Shankarpúr, v. 202; he occupies the fort of Shankarpúr (9 Nov '58), v. 203; defeats Rájah of Gondah and Mehndí Húsén (27 Nov '58), v. 203; clears rebels from Rái Bárclí, v. 203; again defeats rebels at Kachhlígáon (4 Dec '58), v. 203; captures fort of Banhasiá (5 Dec '58), v. 203; captures fort of Gondah (9 Dec '58), v. 203; captures fort of Balrámpúr (16 Dec '58), v. 203; sends Col. Rowcroft to attack Bálá Ráo, v. 204; joins Brig. Horsford on the Ráptí (Jan '59), v. 205.

Left in military charge of Oudh (Jan '59), v. 205; catches Bálá Ráo at Kandakót, and drives him into Nipál (4 Jan '59), v. 204;

- Grant, Brig. Hope—*cont.*
 scatters the remnant of the rebels at Serwá Pass, and takes their last guns (May '59), v. 206.
 Created K.C.B. (16 May '58), v. 186.
- Grant, Brig. Charles, commands station at Barrackpúr, i. 364.
- Grant, Capt., draws the enemy's fire at Laklnao (14 Nov), iv. 124.
- Grant, Colonel, reprobred for preventing mutiny (1806), i. 175*n.*
- Grant, Dr., attempt to assassinate him, at Rohní (12 June), iii. 24.
- Grant, Lieut., murdered at Lakhnao (30 May), iii. 251.
- Grant, Mr., holds Shámlí from revolt with a few horsemen (June), vi. 123.
- Grant, Mr., Deputy-Chairman of Court of Directors (1807), i. 183.
- Grant, Mr., Judge of Dinájpúr, resolves to fight for the station (Dec), iv. 298.
- Grant, Mr. Donald, Joint Magistrate of Hamírpúr, vi. 83; murdered there (14 June), vi. 84.
- Grant, Mr. John Peter, Member of the Supreme Council, his character as an official, i. 285; his great ability, and the soundness of his advice, vi. 9; counsels a General Enlistment Act (1856), i. 343; assists the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Bill (1856), i. 349.
- Inclined to pause before punishing disaffected Oudh regiments (11 May), i. 437; he describes the dangerous condition of the Lower Provinces in June, iii. 9; his description of the dangerous state of Calcutta in June, iii. 15; induces Lord Canning to accept services of Volunteers at Calcutta (10 June), iii. 9.
- Given supreme civil command from Banáras to Kánhpúr, iii. 88; selects Major Strachey as his secretary in Central Provinces, vi. 17; informs Gen. Franks of all positions occupied by rebels (Nov), iv. 228.
- Becomes President of the Council at Calcutta (Feb '58), iv. 291.
- Grant, Private, heroically enters the Sikandarbág by a hole in the wall (16 Nov), iv. 139.
- Grant, Sir Patrick, formerly Adjutant-General in Bengal, vi. 9; summoned to Calcutta (6 June), ii. 212; reaches Calcutta (17 June), ii. 212; on reaching Calcutta fails to appreciate the nature of the crisis, iii. 20; assumes command of the army (17 June), iii. 19; resolves to remain in Calcutta, iii. 21; his extraordinary reasons for doing so, iii. 21; but their conclusive character, iii. 21.
- Sends Havelock to suppress Mutiny (17 June), iii. 21; points out to Havelock the dangers of the relief of Lakhnao, ii. 312; commends and adopts Col. Neill's measures for relief of Kánhpúr, ii. 214*n.*; directs protection of Alláhbád, in preference to advancing, ii. 216*n.*
- Urges Lord Canning to intercept China expedition, i. 452; fails to prepare for troops expected from China, iv. 86; makes no provision for the movements of Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 87.
- Throws responsibility of disarming Dánápúr Sipáhís on Gen. Lloyd, iii. 40*n.*, vi. 9; the responsibility for the non-disarmament of those Sipáhís rests on him, vi. 10.
- Grant, Sir Robert, his method of dealing with Satárah (1839), i. 52*n.*
- Granville, Lord, assured by Prince Gortschakoff that Russia did not instigate seizure of Herat, i. 328*n.*; supports Lord Canning's Oudh policy (June '58), v. 180.
- Grásiás, a people of Sirohí, vi. 162.
- Graves, Brig., commands at Dehlí, ii. 69; prepares on Dehlí Ridge to

Graves, Brig.—*cont.*

co-operate with expected help from Mírath (11 May), ii. 69; appeals to Gen. Hewitt for help, ii. 69; after outbreak represents military power at Karnál, ii. 122n; leads left attack at Badlí-ki-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143; fails to bring his party to the projected storming of Dehlí (12 June), ii. 397.

Graves, Lieut., murdered at Sítá-púr (3 June), iii. 254.

Gray, Capt., Royal Marines, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.

Graydon, Lieut., commands at the Post Office, Lakhnao, iii. 297; killed at Lakhnao, iv. 114.

Greased cartridges, the famous story of the, i. 359; reasons which influenced Muhammadans in their excitement about, iii. 237; story transmitted by letters to all parts, i. 366; only one of many similar allegations, i. 417; Sir J. Lawrence believes them to have been the sole cause of the Mutiny, v. 280; the cartridges a pretext for, not the cause of revolt, v. 280.

Their danger pointed out in 1853, i. 379; change in manufacture (Aug 1856), i. 381; on complaint, instant inquiry into construction of, by Military Secretary, i. 377; mutton fat and wax allowed to be used (29 Jan), i. 379; grease and tallow for, supplied by a native firm, i. 381n; obtrusive amount of grease at first used, i. 409n; Government orders chemical examination of the paper, i. 384; the grease used was undoubtedly objectionable, i. 382; the solid basis of fact which gave support to the panic, iii. 236; tearing substituted for biting, i. 383; none of the cartridges ever actually served out, i. 379.

Greathed, Lieut.-Col. Edward, captures Ludlow Castle, Dehlí (12 Aug), ii. 490; with second column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.

Greathed, Lt.-Col. Edw.—*cont.*

Leads column from Dehlí in pursuit of mutineers (24 Sept), iv. 61; strength of his column, iv. 61; destroys Dádrí (26 Sept), iv. 62; advances against Balandshahr and defeats Sipáhís there (28 Sept), iv. 62; captures Malagarh (28 Sept), iv. 64; leads his column to Khurja (3 Oct), iv. 64; takes possession of A'ligarh (7 Oct), iv. 65; occupies Akbarábád (9 Oct), iv. 65; executes the rebels Mangal Singh and Maitáb Singh there, iv. 65; and then occupies Bijái-garh, iv. 65.

Reaches A'gra with his troops (10 Oct), iv. 65; deceived by A'gra authorities as to position of mutineers, iv. 69n; insists on proper camping-ground for his troops, iv. 70; mutineers surprise his force before settled in encampment, iv. 70; complete victory over mutineers at A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 72.

Marches from A'gra towards Kánhpúr (16 Oct), iv. 74; superseded by Brig. Hope Grant (18 Oct), iv. 74; news of his movements cheers Lakhnao garrison, iv. 114.

Commands third Infantry brigade at Lakhnao (13 Nov), iv. 122; commands third brigade at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; attacks Tántiá Topí's centre, iv. 188.

Greathed, Lieut. Wilberforce, urges capture of Dehlí by *coup de main* (12 June), ii. 397; his third proposal for assault of Dehlí (23 June), ii. 406; again urges a rush on Dehlí, ii. 398; unmasks No. 3 battery, Dehlí, iv. 16; examines breach at Water bastion, iv. 17, 18; with second column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; leads attack on Láhor gate and fails (18 Sept), iv. 44.

Greathed, Mr., Commissioner of Kánhpúr, is warned by natives of

- Greathead, Mr.—*cont.*
 the dangerous rumours in circulation, i. 355*n.*
- Greathead, Mr. Hervey, Commissioner at Mírath, escapes from slaughter by devotion of Native servant (10 May), ii. 52; accompanies Wilson's force from Mírath as civil officer (27 May), ii. 137; attends Council of War at Dehlí (14 June), ii. 399; his reasons for advising rush on Dehlí, ii. 400; afterwards recommends postponement of assault on Dehlí (14 July), ii. 439*n.*; advises abandoning siege of Dehlí, in favour of field operations (17 July), ii. 443; his good opinion of Sir H. Barnard, ii. 428.
- Green, Capt., with first column, at assault of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 19; commands Sikh gunners at Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173; sent to support attack on Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 354; his courage and desperate wounds at Panú (7 Oct '58), v. 200.
- Greenaway family, two members of, murdered at Kánpúr (15 July), ii. 280*n.*
- Greenaway, Mrs., supposed bearer of terms to Kánpúr defenders, ii. 251*n.*
- Greenhow, Assist.-Surg., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Greensill, Capt., shot by mistake at Dehlí, on failing to give parole promptly, ii. 449.
- Greville, Capt., spikes gun in daring attack on Láhor Gate, Dehlí, iv. 32; struck down in the course of this attack, iv. 33.
- Grey, Mr. J. J., Magistrate in Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Grey, Sir George, sends many regiments from the Cape to India, v. 4; boldly diverts the China expedition to India, v. 5.
- “Griffins,” murder of the, at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 190.
- Griffith, Lieut., toils energetically at preparing the siege-train in Philiúr, ii. 110; receives charge of siege-train from Philiúr to Dehlí Force, ii. 141*n.*; his bold and prudent conduct at Philiúr (12 May), ii. 384; becomes Commissary of Ordnance, attacked by cholera before Dehlí, ii. 448*n.*
- Grove, Capt. Ross, sent to attack the strong fort of Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 354; withdraws his men from Ruiyá with dignity, iv. 356.
- Gubbins, Mr. Frederick, Judge of Banáras, ii. 151, vi. 39; his bravery and firmness, vi. 40; his noble character and great ability, vi. 40; his statesmanlike conduct at Banáras, iii. 8; testimony as to his great ability, ii. 156; his was the real guiding mind at Banáras, ii. 158.
- Overawes the people of Banáras by his firmness of will, vi. 40; his extraordinary influence for good, over the population, ii. 175; his passionate entreaties to urge retention of Banáras, vi. 41*n.*; prevents the abandonment of that town, vi. 41; provides place of refuge in Banáras, vi. 42; recommends speedy disarmament of Banáras mutineers, ii. 164*n.*; risks his life to save refugees at Banáras kachahrí (4 June), ii. 174; an attempt to murder him, ii. 174*n.*; he strikes terror by discriminative severity after mutiny, ii. 178; receives commendatory letter from Lord Canning, ii. 159.
- His commendation of Mr. Ross at Gházípúr, vi. 60.
- Gubbins, Mr. Martin, Financial Commissioner of Oudh, i. 293; his irritability of temper, i. 293; his character, iii. 278; he quarrels with Mr. Jackson (1886), i. 293; dislike felt for his system of government by Indians, v. 287.
- Detects early indications of mutiny in Oudh, iii. 240*n.*; reports

Gubbins, Mr.—*cont.*

the bone-dust scare (Apr), i. 418*n* ; his description of the visit of Náná Sáhib to Lakhnao, i. 454 ; cautions Sir Hugh Wheeler not to trust Náná Sáhib, ii. 226*n*.

Distinguishes himself in chase of mutineers from Múdkipúr (31 May), iii. 252 ; made President of Provisional Council at Lakhnao (9 June), iii. 278 ; and in that capacity dismisses Sipáhís to their homes (11 June), iii. 278 ; this act shocks Sir H. Lawrence into re-assuming command, iii. 278.

His description of Oudh during June, ii. 307 ; on death of Major Banks seeks to become Chief Commissioner, iii. 304 ; but no Chief Commissioner appointed (20 July), iii. 304.

Supplies semaphore signalling instructions (Nov), iv. 115.

Gubbins's House, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 297 ; fourth attack on Residency delivered against (5 Sept), iii. 318.

Gudalúr, Sipáhís meet the French at (1760), i. 148.

Gughaira, in Panjáb, tribal rising in (14 Sept), v. 211 ; rising in, speedily suppressed, v. 212.

Guide Corps, marched to Nau-sháhrá, to cut off disaffected from mutinous troops (13 May), ii. 349 ; Col. Daly leads them to secure Atak (14 May), ii. 350 ; they are hastily marched to Ráwalpindí (18 May), ii. 350 ; the famous march to Dehlí (1 June), ii. 351 and *n* ; punishes villages near Karnál, at urgent request of civilian officers (4 June), ii. 351 ; arrives at Dehlí, and attacks rebels the same day (9 June), ii. 352 ; great confidence felt in this corps, ii. 352.

Guise, Capt., murdered at Banáras (4 June), ii. 168.

Guise, Capt., takes part in capture

Guise, Capt.—*cont.*

of Mess-House, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 142.

Gújádar Singh, makes raid on Sikrorá (Apr '59), v. 206 ; carries his Sikrorá plunder to Bangáon, v. 206 ; pursued to Bangáon and completely defeated by Col. Walker, v. 206

Gújars, a disreputable caste of Rájpúts, residing around Dehlí, ii. 129 ; these hereditary marauders break out near Mírath, vi. 104 ; they drive officers from Balandshahr (21 May), vi. 134 ; and sack Sikandarábád (25 May), iv. 62, vi. 135 ; they assist in the plunder of Lodiáná (9 June), ii. 380.

Gujrát, great victory (21 Feb '49), i. 32 ; Nicholson present at battle of, ii. 339 ; Sir H. Lawrence's tour through, i. 331.

Gujrát, Gen. Roberts given military and political charge of division (Apr '58), v. 229 ; Tántiá Topí cut off from (Nov '58), v. 241. Gújrí, occupied by Col. Durand (12 Oct), v. 46.

Guláb, a messenger testifies to the proclamation of the King of Dehlí, v. 327 ; his evidence as to the murder of the Europeans in Dehlí, v. 332.

Guláb Singh, rebel leader in Oudh (July '58), v. 189.

Guláb Singh, Jámadar, his faithfulness at Mírath (11 May), ii. 496.

Guláb Singh, Maharájah, i. 392 ; transference of Kashmír to (1846), i. 4, v. 2 ; his Infantry drilled by John Nicholson, ii. 339 ; the King of Dehlí's letter to, v. 334 ; said to have joined Náná Sáhib's plot after annexation of Oudh, i. 426*n* ; critical state of his health in May, i. 451 ; he endeavours to intercept mutineers escaping into Kashmír (June), ii. 371*n*.

Gulaulí, becomes head-quarters of Sir Hugh Rose (15 May '58), v. 125.

Gúmtí, river flowing by Lakhnao, iii. *xii*, 241; description of course of river, iv. *xv*; Sir Colin Campbell keeps along bank of, in advancing through Lakhnao, iv. 119*n*.

Gúnah, a station for Gwáliár troops, iii. 136; point of junction of Central India forces (Mar '58), v. 104; occupied by Mayne's Irregular Cavalry (July '58), v. 222; Major Robertson garrisons (Sept '58), v. 235; Firúzsháh captures convoy near (20 Dec '58), v. 254; Capt. Rice sent from, to intercept Firúzsháh (20 Dec '58), v. 254; communication with, kept open by Capt. Meade (27 Feb '59), v. 259.

Gurdáspúr, its situation, ii. *xvi*; Siálkot mutineers march to (25 June), ii. 480; Nicholson occupies in advance of mutineers (11 July), ii. 481.

Gurgáon, a district of Dehlí division, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 139; the Collector of, the first to report *chapáti* mystery (Apr), i. 419*n*; runaway mutineers captured at, by Mr. Ford (11 May), v. 357; the Assistant Magistrate of, rides into Mathurá, with news of Dehlí outbreak, vi. 88; Jaipúr troops march to maintain order there, iii. 172; many fugitives from, reach Mathurá, vi. 88.

Gurgáon, Hákím Abdu-l-Haqq, Chief of, hanged at Dehlí (Oct), iv. 76.

Gurkhás, a people of Nipál, iv. *xvii*; their grievances at Jatogh, ii. 109 and *n*; they revolt at Jatogh (16 May), ii. 107; they are ordered to Mírath and Philúr on outbreak of mutiny, ii. 104, 105; their appearance as British soldiers stops mutiny, for a time, i. 231; efforts made at Ambálah, to induce them to join mutineers, ii. 142; their splendid fighting at Dehlí, ii.

Gurkhás—*cont.*

145*n*; confidence felt in them, ii. 352.

Enter British territory at Gorákhpúr, to assist the English (28 July), iv. 221, vi. 57; their commander refuses to garrison Gorákhpúr, or to divide his force, vi. 57; they occupy A'zamgarh (13 Aug), iv. 222; and then secure Jaunpúr (15 Aug), iv. 222; they fight and win the action at Mán-duri (19 Sept), iv. 223; and capture Mubáarakpúr (27 Sept), iv. 223; they defeat the rebels at Kudya (19 Oct), iv. 224; and those at Chandá (30 Oct), iv. 224.

They reoccupy Gorákhpúr in force (6 Jan '58), iv. 226; under Jang Bahádur, hem in Oudh rebels, iv. 216; they cross into Oudh (14 Feb '58), iv. 227; and materially assist in the capture of Lakhnao, iv. 281.

Gursuháganj, Sir Colin Campbell occupies (31 Dec), iv. 210; Capt. Hodson visits in his daring ride to Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 208.

Gírrúsíkar, highest point of Mount Abú, vi. 163*n*.

Guthrie, Mr., Magistrate at Baréli, accompanies troops to recover guns (31 May), iii. 210.

Gwáliár, situation of, iii. *xi*; description of city and district, iv. *xv*; Major C. Macpherson, Political Agent at, iii. 111; Dinkar Ráo, Prime Minister at, iii. 112.

Lord Ellenborough's war with, i. 94; his generous policy towards, iii. 100; excellent results of that policy, iii. 101; the ruler of, supports the English cause from the first, i. 443, iii. 101.

Mr. Colvin invites aid from Máráthás of (May), iii. 101; support sent to Mr. Colvin from, iii. 101; the Body-Guard sent to A'gra, iii. 112.

Description of Contingent, iii.

Gwáliár—*cont.*

112; reasons for untrustworthiness of Contingent, iii. 111; the Contingent restores order after mutiny at Itáwah (25 May), iii. 107.

Mahárájáh advises removal of ladies and children from cantonment, iii. 112; ladies leave cantonment on 28 May, but are recalled, iii. 112; ladies ordered not to proceed to A'gra until after actual outbreak of mutiny (12 June), iii. 113; Mrs. Coopland's description of the terrible suspense of waiting for the mutiny, iii. 113n.

Incendiary fires announce the outbreak, iii. 114; mutiny breaks out (14 June), ii. 460, iii. 115; murder of officers, women, and children, iii. 116; the survivors escape to A'gra, iii. 116; this massacre one result of the feigning confidence policy, iii. 116; effect of this mutiny on Indúr, iii. 140; this revolt decides Gen. Havelock to stop second advance on Lakhnao, iii. 340.

Garrison of, in July '58, v. 221; mutinous troops gathered at, during July and August, iv. 66; the revolted Contingent threatens Kálpí (17 Aug). iii. 347; Sindhiá's joy at the capture of Dehlí causes his troops to mutiny (Sept), iv. 105; mutineers from, march to Dholpúr, iv. 66; they are linked in Mandesar insurrection, v. 45.

Seizure of the town suggested by Rání of Jhánsí (30 May '58), v. 144; Tántiá Topí and the Rání appear before (30 May '58), v. 146; Sindhiá marches out, to drive Tántiá Topí away (1 June '58), v. 146; the mass of his troops go over to the rebels, v. 147; the place is occupied by Tántiá Topí, v. 147; Ráo Sáhib is appointed Governor of, v. 147; the Rání of Jhánsí takes command of troops outside the town, v. 147; grave political

Gwáliár—*cont.*

and military dangers of its seizure, v. 149.

Sir Hugh Rose arrives there (16 June '58), v. 151; rebels driven from Morár into the town, v. 152; the fight at Kotah-ki-Sarai (17 June), v. 154; death of the heroic Rání of Jhánsí, v. 155; Sir Hugh Rose captures the city, v. 158; the fort captured by Lieut. Rose (20 June '58), v. 160.

Sindhiá and Sir R. Hamilton resume political functions in (July '58), v. 231.

Quarrel of Sindhiá and Mán Singh (2 Aug '58), v. 231.

H.

Hab, a river of Sindh, vi. 144.

Hadow, Lieut., marches to Sambal-púr to preserve order (Oct), iv. 307; joins in storm of pass of Shergáti (5 Nov), iv. 307.

Háfiž Ráhmat Khán, last of the Rohilla chiefs, his heir stirs up sedition at Barélí, iii. 206.

Hagart, Col. James, drives rebels from mud fort near Lakhnao and opens the way to the Músá-Bágh (19 Mar '58), iv. 284; recommended for the Victoria Cross, iv. 284; Sir Colin Campbell's curious reason for not forwarding the recommendation, iv. 284n.

Commands Cavalry at attack on Barélí (5 May '58), iv. 367; commands Cavalry in Sir Hope Grant's column (June '58), v. 187n; re-

- Hagart, Col. James—*cont.*
 moves the dead from Ruiyá, iv. 356.
- Haidarábád, description of, v. 80; its garrison, v. 82*n*; the home of unquiet adventurers, v. 84; disaffection in (1806), i. 170; fabulous stories told of the English there (1805), i. 181; plan of conspiracy at, in 1806, i. 171*n*; mutiny then prevented, i. 172; the Nizám gives only negative support in 1806, i. 171.
- Sálar Jang, Prime Minister of, v. 80; Mr. Bushby, Resident there, v. 81; Maj. C. Davidson succeeds Mr. Bushby as Resident (16 Apr), v. 81; question of Nizám's succession discussed in early May, i. 428; dangerous condition of Nizám's troops in, ii. 311; their reasons for joining in the revolt, v. 82; the murder of Europeans incited (12 June), v. 81; parades of troops repress incipient rising (13 June), v. 81; Sálar Jang represses incipient rising (15 July), v. 82; Residency rendered defensible, v. 83.
- Insurrection breaks out (17 July), v. 82; insurgents attack the Residency, v. 83; Major Davidson repulses them with a shower of grape-shot, v. 83; the ringleaders are captured and transported, v. 83.
- The people are linked with Mandesar insurrection (Sept), v. 45; many mutinous Sipáhís flock there, v. 84; European troops arrive, and assure tranquillity (Sept), v. 85.
- Major Davidson forms a column of troops for operation in Central India, v. 85; these troops are sent to their work (Jan '58), v. 85; complete suppression of the only serious rising (Feb '58), v. 88.
- Firm loyalty of the ruler, vi. 168; complete success of the Nizám's policy, v. 85.
- Haidarábád, ancient capital of Sindh, vi. 144.
- Haidar Khán, concludes engagement of amity between English and Afghans (1855), i. 314.
- Haidar Sheko, Prince, executed for murder of his wife (1830), ii. 7.
- Hájípúr, town of Tirhút, ix. xix.
- Hakdád Khán, Risáldár, fights bravely with his Cavalry at Núriah (29 Aug '58), v. 192.
- Hakím, the, hereditary Commander-in-Chief of Farrukhábád, killed by Capt. Hodson at Patiálí (17 Dec), iv. 205.
- Hákím Abdúl Hak, chief of Gur-gáoñ, hanged at Dehlí (Oct), iv. 76.
- Haldaur, Chaudhárí of, gives help to Bijnaur (23 May), vi. 104; other Chaudháríes of, assist in driving Mahmúd Khán from Bijnaur (6 Aug), vi. 110; attacked by Muhammadans, and defeat of Hindus (23 Aug), vi. 111.
- Hale, Capt., attacked by infuriated Kols, in Singhbhúm, iv. 306; wounded in four places, iv. 306; attacks and disperses insurrectionary tribes of Singhbhúm, with Rattray's Sikhs, iv. 306.
- Hale, Lieut., escapes from Sikrorá to Balrámpúr, iii. 263.
- Hale, Lieut.-Col., assumes command of British left in Lakhnao (18 Nov), iv. 149; captures Hospital, Lakhnao (18 Nov), iv. 149; covers retirement of Sir Colin Campbell from Lakhnao, iv. 152; withdraws from Banks's House and rejoins army at Dilkushá (22 Nov), iv. 152.
- Left in charge of Sháhjahánpúr (2 May '58), iv. 366; renders Sháhjahánpúr defensible, iv. 372; the Maulaví advances against the place, iv. 372; he is bombarded in Sháhjahánpúr gaol (7-11 May '58), iv. 373; joined by Brig. Jones, but

- Hale, Lieut.-Col.—*cont.*
compelled to remain on defensive (11-14 May '58), iv. 375.
- Half-Batta Order, its result on military discipline (1830), i. 198.
- Halgalli, the gallant capture of, by Col. G. Malcolm (29 Nov), v. 166.
- Haliburton, Capt., leads Highlanders to bring Gen. Havelock's rear-guard into Residency, Lakhnao (25 Sept), iii. 366; killed at Lakhnao (4 Oct), iv. 112.
- Haliburton, Mr., killed by Madras Sipáhí, i. 239.
- Halkett, Mr. H. C., Collector of Nadiá, vi. 25.
- Hall, Capt., commands at Mount A'bu, iv. 388; sends troops to check rebels at Jodhpúr, iv. 389; attacked while sleeping on Mount A'bu, but drives off assailants (21 Aug), iv. 390.
- Hall, Lieut., sent to do duty with Nipalese (Aug), iv. 222.
- Halliday, Capt., killed at siege of Kánhpúr, ii. 247.
- Halliday, Mr. Frederick, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, his character and antecedents, iii. 29; his want of judgment and incapacity, iii. 29; charged with favouritism, iii. 29; publicly convicted of falsehood (1853), iii. 29; is distrusted by his subordinates, iii. 29; his personal dislike of Mr. W. Tayler, iii. 76; he resides at A'lípúr, in Calcutta, vi. 25; hears from Commissioner Tayler that Muslims were expecting forcible conversion (1856), i. 847; issues Proclamation disclaiming intention of converting Natives, i. 347.
- Revenge himself on Mr. Tayler, iii. 76; seizes on the prudent order for concentration on Patná as a pretext for so doing, iii. 76; he condemns Mr. Tayler's suppression of Wahábí conspiracy, iii. 79; charges him with panic, iii. 77; suppresses the truth and fabricates charges in order to dis-
- Halliday, Mr. Frederick—*cont.*
miss Mr. Tayler, iii. 77; his mendacious account of Mr. Tayler's proceedings, iii. 77*n*; events subsequently condemn his conduct towards Mr. Tayler, iii. 79; his policy compared with that of Mr. Tayler, iii. 39; the Members of Council regret their decision, and admit that Mr. Tayler was right and Mr. Halliday wrong, iii. 80; Sir J. Kaye's summary of these events, iii. 78*n*.
- His fears for the safety of Dhákah (Aug), vi. 28; procures permission to enlist sailors for land service, vi. 29; his reasons for enlisting sailors (Oct), vi. 29.
- Halls, Dr., Surgeon, one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53*n*.
- Hamídpur, defeat of Mehndí Husén at, by Gen. Franks (19 Feb '58), iv. 232.
- Hamilton, Lieut., wounded and dies, near the Tons (15 Apr '58), iv. 331.
- Hamilton, Col., leads the charge of Highlanders on Náná Sáhib's guns (16 July), ii. 284; leads infantry at capture of Martinière (14 Nov), iv. 123.
- Hamilton, Sir Robert, Agent for the Governor-General at Indúr, iii. 135; his defence of the Rájah of Mainpúrí (1844), i. 118; on furlough in England on outbreak of Mutiny, iii. 135; his special knowledge of Central India, v. 90; returns to Calcutta as soon as he hears of Mírath outbreak (Aug), v. 90; asked by Indian Government to advise on Central Indian affairs, v. 90; sketches plan of campaign for tranquillizing Central India, v. 91.
- His perfect knowledge of, and confidence in Holkar, v. 91; Holkar's opinion of his friendship, v. 43; arrives at Indúr (16 Dec), v. 57, 92; assumes jurisdiction over Ságár and Narbadá territories, v.

- Hamilton, Sir Robert—*cont.*
 92; accompanies Central India Field Force (Jan '58), v. 95; orders force at Mandesar to march up A'gra road (Feb '58), v. 103; boldly overrides orders of Governor-General (Mar '58), v. 108; places himself at Gwāliár to resume political duties (July '58), v. 231; endeavours to intercept Tántiá Topí (Nov '58), v. 242.
- Hamípúr, a district of Alláhábád division, vi. 38.
- Hamírpúr, a district to the west of Bandah, iii. xi, vi. 78; description of district, vi. 83; mutiny at (14 June), vi. 83; the Sipáhís murder all the Europeans and Eurasians, vi. 84; Sipáhís from, go to Kánhpúr, vi. 84; mutiny at, causes fugitives from Náogáon to turn to Kalinjar (16 June), iii. 129; Nawáb of Bandah saves fugitives from, iii. 131; General Franks defeats Mehndí Husén at (Feb), iv. 232; occupied by rebels (Mar '58), iv. 315; rebels again cross into (26 Mar '58), iv. 315; tranquillized after the victory at Kálpí, vi. 84.
- Hammond, Capt., present with battery at attack on Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Hampton, Major, commands at Nagód, v. 74.
- Hanbury, Lieut., killed at Bijápúr (3 Sept '58), v. 284.
- Hancock, Col., named as suitable commander of Persian expedition, i. 309.
- Handscomb, Brig., murdered at Lakhnao (30 May), iii. 251.
- Hanmant Singh, Rájah of Kálá, despoiled of his inheritance by revenue system, iii. 273n; his noble conduct towards English fugitives, iii. 273; becomes leader of Oudh rebels south of Lakhnao (Sept '58), v. 199; after suppression of Mutiny his lands restored to him, iii. 273n.
- Hanna, Mr., his desperate gallantry
- Hanna, Mr.—*cont.*
 at battle of Naghíná (21 Apr '58), iv. 364.
- Hánsí, a town of Hisár, vi. 140; massacre at, ii. 309; the miraculous births at, presaging the Mutiny (15 Sept '56), v. 343.
- Hanson, Apothecary, narrowly escapes murder by revolters of Sambalpúr (Dec), iv. 307.
- Hapur, visited by Mr. Dunlop's force, vi. 133.
- Haran-kháná, Lakhnao, Sir H. Havelock's plan for capture of (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Harchandpúr, Lieut. Forbes attempts to stop Firúzsháh at (8 Dec '58), v. 251.
- Hardéo, temple near the Ghaut where Kánhpúr garrison were massacred, ii. 257.
- Hardec Bakhsh, shelters fugitives at Dharmpúr, iii. 217; and those from Fathgarh, and elsewhere, iii. 225.
- Hardinge, Lieut., patrols Cantonment to stop plunder at Lakhnao mutiny (30 May), iii. 251; distinguished at battle of Chinhat (29 June), iii. 377; tries to lead Native Cavalry out of Lakhnao intrenchment (26 Sept), iv. 109; leads sortie from Sikh square, Lakhnao (29 Sept), iv. 110; leads sortie from Lakhnao intrenchment on Kánhpúr road (2 Nov), iv. 110; his great services during defence of Lakhnao, iii. 387.
- Hardinge, Lord, his policy towards the Sikhs, i. 11; his first Sikh war, i. 94; his second attempt to preserve Sikh independence, i. 5; his conquest of the Sikhs, i. 2; selects John Lawrence for special service, i. 37; appoints Nicholson to Kashmír service, ii. 339.
- His policy towards Jalandhar, iii. 100.
- Allows King of Oudh only two years of grace, i. 95; raises money from Nawáb of Oudh, i. 85.
- Increases compensation money

- Hardinge, Lord—*cont.*
of Sipáhís (1845), i. 231*n*; returns to England, i. 11.
- Hardú District, mutiny of troops in (5 June), iii. 256.
- Hardwár, coming mutiny discussed there in April, ii. 32; point whence Rúrkí column advanced against Rohilkhand, iv. 360.
- Hardy, Capt., wounded at Nasírábád mutiny (28 May), iii. 168; killed in attack on Lakhnao (16 Nov), iv. 140.
- Hare, Capt., pursues and cuts up Garhákótá rebels (13 Feb '58), v. 100.
- Hare, Mr., murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187*n*.
- Hargoold, Capt., his services at the A'Tambágh, iv. 252.
- Harhá, crushing defeat inflicted on Muhammad Husén at (18 June '58), v. 196.
- Hariáná Field Force, under Capt. Stafford, joins Col. Gerrard at Kanáund (15 Nov), iv. 77.
- Harichand, leader of Oudh rebels south of Lakhnao (Sept '58), v. 199; advances to recapture Sandélá (3 Oct '58), v. 199; driven from Sandélá by Major Maynard (6 Oct '58), v. 199; completely defeated by Brig. Barker at Panú (7 Oct '58), v. 200.
- Haringhátá, a branch of the Ganges in the Sundarban, vi. 6.
- Harington, Lieut., killed at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 356.
- Harington, Mr., joins in brave retention of factory near A'Tigarh (June), iii. 198*n*.
- Harmar, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385; wounded during the siege (19 July), iii. 300.
- Harness, Col., commands Engineers at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; commands sappers at attack on Barélf (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Harrington, Lieut., wins Victoria Cross at Lakhnao (18 Nov), iv. 150*n*.
- Harrington, Mr. H. B., brave volunteer horseman of A'lígarh, vi. 138
- Harrington, Mr., Member of Legislative Council, protests against retirement to A'gra fort (11 May), iii. 98.
- Harriott, Major J. F., conducts prosecution of King of Dehlí, v. 361.
- Harris, Lord, Governor of Madras, his prudent conduct, i. 157, 281, v. 88; his grandson, a friend of young Canning, i. 267; sends immediate succours to Calcutta (May), i. 449; his alarm at the presence of Tántiá Topí in Nág-púr (Oct '58), v. 240; the substantial aid he gave to the suppression of the Mutiny, v. 301.
- Harris, Major, commands Cavalry at Máu, iii. 137; murdered at Máu (1 July), iii. 156.
- Harris, Rev. Mr., his untiring care during defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Harrison, Lieut., killed at battle of Badlí-ki-Sarai (8 June), ii. 146*n*.
- Harrison, Lieut., murdered at Kánhpúr (27 June), ii. 260*n*.
- Hartigan, Sergeant, V.C., labours devotedly to create horse soldiers in A'gra (Feb '58), v. 218.
- Hartley, Col., in temporary command of Jálándhar on outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 333; his imperfect measures to secure that town, ii. 334; sends detachment to secure Philúr (12 May), ii. 333.
- Harvey, Mr., Commissioner of A'gra, places Bharatpúr troops at Hódal, iii. 109; goes with Capt. Nixon towards Dehlí (31 May), vi. 93.
- Harward, Lieut., refused possession of guns at Alláhábád by Sipáhís (6 June), ii. 188.
- Hasan Ali Khán, Khojah, principal actor in the Patná conspiracy of 1845, i. 225*n*.

- Hasan Askarí, his dream and its interpretation, v. 339; his interpretation of the prophetic vision, v. 321; predicts revival of Muhammadan power, ii. 28; his propitiatory ceremonies to favour Persian domination in India (Mar), v. 339.
- Hashman, Messrs., two assistant clerks, escape from mutiny at Mathurá (30 May), vi. 91; afterwards return safely to Mathurá (June), vi. 96.
- Hashmat Alí, Chaudhári of Sandíla, defeated with loss of his camp (11 Mar '58), iv. 266.
- Hásim Khán, his account of the last moments of Sir Hugh Wheeler, ii. 254n.
- Hastings, Marquis of, supports Indian Bible Society, i. 348; opposed to annexation policy, i. 57n; his wise policy towards Rájpútáná, iv. 403; favours antagonism between Oudh and Dehlí rulers, i. 86n; establishes the paramount power of England in India, ii. 6, vi. 148; his campaigns in Central India (1818), vi. 148; his great wars, i. 191.
- Hastings, Capt. the Hon. G. P., accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n; gallantly leads charge to clear the road to A'rah, iii. 66.
- Hatampúr, Amar Singh defeated at (11 May '58), iv. 337.
- Hatgáon, point of junction of Major Eyre and Capt. Johnson (10 Sept), iii. 350.
- Háth ká Pípliá, proper name of Pípliá, *q.v.*
- Háthrás, fugitives from A'ligarh safely escorted to (26 May), iii. 196; Gwálíár detachment mutinies at (26 May), iii. 196; Lieut. Cockburn outmanœuvres and destroys his mutinous detachment, iii. 196; mutiny of 1st Cavalry at (1 July), iii. 196; all the officers from, reach A'gra in safety, iii. 197
- Hatrí, Mán Singh secretly visits (Mar '59), v. 260.
- Haurah, a district of Western Bengal, vi. 3; Col. Neill arrests station-master and train at, ii. 99, vi. 6.
- Havelock, Capt. Henry, marches straight at the guns of Kánpúr (16 July), ii. 286.
- His bravery at the battle of Mangalwári (21 Sept), iii. 356; deceives Gen. Neill, but secures the capture of Chárbágh bridge, iii. 362; his conspicuous heroism on Chárbágh bridge (25 Sept), iii. 362; wins the Victoria Cross (25 Sept), iii. 362n; crosses under fire to meet Sir Colin Campbell (17 Nov), iv. 144; and is wounded, iv. 144.
- Assistant Adj.-General to Gen. Franks (Nov), iv. 228; his great services during Gen. Franks's short campaign (Feb '58), iv. 237.
- Turns second line of defence at Lakhnao (14 Mar '58), iv. 273; turns third line of defence in Lakhnao, iv. 274.
- Proposes mounted Infantry (18 Oct '58), iv. 341; complete success of his mounted Infantry, iv. 345; leads mounted Infantry to stop retreat of Amar Singh (18 Oct '58), iv. 342; drives the remnant of Amar Singh's force to the Kaimúr hills (23 Oct '58), iv. 344; cuts off, and destroys 400 of Amar Singh's men (29 Oct '58), iv. 343.
- Havelock, Col. William, Secretary to Lord Elphinstone, v. 2.
- Havelock, Lieut. Charles, killed at Tigra (10 Apr '58), iv. 330.
- Havelock, Gen. Sir Henry, his character and attainments, ii. 209, iii. 23; selected by Sir J. Outram for service in Persia, ii. 211; returns from Persia before opportunity of distinguishing himself, ii. 211; leaves Mohamrah (15 May), ii. 211; arrives at Bombay, and im-

Havelock, Gen. Sir H.—*cont.*

mediately sails to join Head-Quarters, ii. 211; nearly wrecked off Kultura in Ceylon, ii. 211; reaches Madras, and sails again with Sir Patrick Grant for Calcutta, ii. 212; arrives at Calcutta (17 June), ii. 212.

Appointed by Lord Canning to command movable column at Alláhábád, ii. 213; his instructions for operating in N. W. Provinces, ii. 213; takes command of troops (24 June), iii. 23; starts for the North-West (25 June), ii. 214; reaches Alláhábád (30 June), ii. 214; approves of all Gen. Neill's dispositions there, ii. 214; differs from Gen. Neill as to prudent course after the fall of Kánhpúr, ii. 216; stops advance immediately on hearing of fall of Kánhpúr, ii. 216; halts Renaud's column, and concentrates troops, ii. 269.

Capture of Kánhpúr.—Resolves to capture Kánhpúr, as base of operations in Oudh, ii. 269; the force with which he advanced to retake that important town (7 July), ii. 269; overtakes Renaud and joins forces (11 July), ii. 271; his reported defeat of Mán Singh, ii. 453; gains his first victory at Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 268, 271; disbands his cowardly Irregular Cavalry, ii. 278; fights and wins battle of Aong (15 July), ii. 278; carries the bridge at Pándú Nádi, and secures his road to Kánhpúr, ii. 279; he is opposed by Náná Sáhib with military skill, ii. 282; successfully outmanœuvres Náná Sáhib's last stand, ii. 283; enters Kánhpúr victorious (17 July), ii. 287; his "Order of the Day" on the capture of the town, ii. 287; saves his force from demoralization by drunkenness, ii. 289, 291; becomes conscious of his dangerous position at Kánhpúr, ii. 292;

Havelock, Gen. Sir H.—*cont.*

occupies new position near Nawáb-ganj (18 July), ii. 293; he is joined by Gen. Neill as his second in command (20 July), ii. 298; his discouraging reception of Gen. Neill in that capacity, ii. 298; defends Kánhpúr before starting towards Lakhnao, ii. 303.

First Attempt to relieve Lakhnao.—His project for the relief of Lakhnao, ii. 308; force with which he first attempted to relieve Lakhnao, ii. 311, iii. 330; state of Oudh, through which he had to advance to Lakhnao, ii. 306; crosses into Oudh (21 July), ii. 311, iii. 329; reaches Mangalwár with his force (28 July), iii. 305; receives plan of Lakhnao from the garrison, ii. 312; resolves at all hazards to relieve Lakhnao, ii. 313; advances from Mangalwár (29 July), iii. 330; fights and wins the battle of Unáo (29 July), iii. 331; fights and wins the battle of Bashíratganj, iii. 333; finds his communications threatened by Náná Sáhib (30 July), iii. 330; his heavy losses in one day's advance, iii. 333; perceives the inadequacy of his means to the task before it, iii. 334; resolves to gather more strength, iii. 334; falls back on Mangalwár, iii. 334; asks for reinforcements, iii. 334; he is severely criticized by Gen. Neill for doing so, iii. 337 and n; he is strengthened by Olphert's half-battery (3 Aug), iii. 338; his reply to Gen. Neill's extraordinary letter, iii. 337n.

Second Attempt to relieve Lakhnao.—He advances a second time to relieve Lakhnao (4 Aug), iii. 338; again attacks and defeats enemy at Bashíratganj (5 Aug), iii. 339; cholera breaks out in his camp, iii. 339; falls back a second time from Lakhnao (7 Aug), iii. 340; advances again towards

Havelock, Gen. Sir H.—*cont.*

Lakhnao (11 Aug), iii. 340; fights third battle at Bashíratganj (12 Aug), iii. 341; mutiny of the Gwáliár Contingent compels him to secure his base, iii. 340; returns with his force to Kánpúr (13 Aug), iii. 341; reassumes command there, iii. 343; by advice of Gen. Neill, marches against Bithúr (16 Aug), iii. 343; the force opposed to him at Bithúr, iii. 343; defeats Náná Sáhib there (16 Aug), iii. 344; his heavy losses at this encounter, iii. 344; holds to his dangerous position at Kánpúr for moral reasons, iii. 347.

Final Advance on Lakhnao— He is courteously superseded by announcement in *Gazette* (17 Aug), iii. 344; Gen. Outram's famous act of generosity towards him, iii. 352; his general order, on reassuming command of the army of relief (16 Sept), iii. 353; his force collected for the final advance on Lakhnao, iii. 354; constructs bridge and crosses the Ganges (19 Sept), iii. 355; fights another battle at Mangalwár (21 Sept), iii. 356; chases the enemy through Unáo, iii. 356; seizes possession of Bashíratganj, iii. 357; captures Banní and approaches Lakhnao, iii. 357; fires salute near Lakhnao to inform garrison of his presence (22 Sept), iii. 358.

Fights a battle at the A'lambágħ (23 Sept), iii. 358; captures that place, iii. 359; halts and refits his army (24 Sept), iii. 359; resolves to enter Lakhnao by circuitous route, iii. 360; hears news of the capture of Dehlí, iii. 360; enters Lakhnao by the Chárbágh canal, iii. 360; forces the strong defence of the Chárbágh bridge, iii. 361; daring deception by which the bridge was carried, iii.

Havelock, Gen. Sir H.—*cont.*

362; forces a passage at the Kai-sarbágh (25 Sept), iii. 363; reforms his troops at Chatr Manzil for final rush on Residency, iii. 364; enters the Residency by the Baillie Guard, iii. 365; brings in safely the whole of his rear-guard (27 Sept); iii. 366; losses with which the relief was effected, iii. 367.

The Final Relief of Lakhnao.— He is shut up in the Residency, iv. 107; Sir J. Outram assumes military command, iv. 107; the palaces along the Gúmtí seized, iv. 108; Sir Henry receives command of troops in Farhat Bakhsh palace, iv. 108; his plan for advancing from Farhat Bakhsh palace to join Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 145; the force at his disposal for effecting the junction, iv. 145; leads operations from Residency to assist Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), ii. 145; crosses under fire to meet Sir Colin Campbell (17 Nov), iv. 144; blows up outer wall of Farhat Bakhsh palace, iv. 146; captures the Haran-kháná, iv. 146; effects a junction with relieving forces, iv. 146.

His death at Dilkushá (24 Nov), iv. 153; summary of his brilliant campaign, iv. 154; buried at the A'lambágħ (26 Nov), iv. 155.

Hawes, Capt. W. H., commands troops at Daryábád, iii. 273; endeavours to move money at Daryábád, to Lakhnao, iii. 274; gets the money outside Daryábád, then the troops mutiny, iii. 274; escapes by a miracle to Lakhnao, iii. 274.

Hawes, Quartermaster, murdered at Alláhábad (6 June), ii. 190.

Hawkins, Major, murdered at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.

Hawthorne, Bugler, one of explosion party at Kashmír Gate, Dehlí, iv.

- Hawthorne, Bugler—*cont.*
 22; receives the Victoria Cross, iv. 26*n*.
- Hay, Dr., murdered at Baréli (31 May), iii. 212.
- Hay, Capt. Drummond, left in charge of Allahábád by Col. Neill (15 July), ii. 296.
- Hay, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnáo, iii. 385.
- Hay, Lieut., R.N., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n*; commands Naval Brigade left at Kánhpúr (9 Nov), iv. 160; wounded at battle of Kánhpúr (27 Nov), iv. 169.
- Hayes, Mr., accompanies Col. Outram to announce deposition to King of Oudh, i. 108.
- Hayes, Capt. Fletcher, his character and great ability, ii. 224; leads relief to Kánhpúr from Lakhnáo, ii. 224; his description of the exhausted condition of the Kánhpúr garrison, ii. 230*n*.
- Hayes, Dr., attacked by infuriated Kols in Singhbhúm (Dec), iv. 306; wounded in the encounter, iv. 306.
- Hazárah, situation and description, i. 22, ii. *xvi*; people of, join in hunting down mutineers (*Juno*), ii. 372*n*; the people of, conspire to revolt on 10 Sept. (Aug), v. 211.
- Hazáribágh, district of Chutia Nág-púr, iv. *xiii*, vi. 4; a military station, iv. 95; Sipáhi garrison of, iv. 95; mutiny at (30 July), iv. 95; Capt. Dalton forced to leave (13 Aug), iv. 98; he returns with party of Sikhs (14 Aug), iv. 98; the Captain asks for a European regiment, iv. 97; Col. Fischer marches with Madras troops to secure the district, iv. 99; the Rájáh of Rámgarh's loyalty and services in, vi. 35.
- Hazlewood, Major, reports disaffection at Walajahábád (1806), i. 176.
- Head, Lieut., wounded in action, near Gamgarí (Dec), iv. 203.
- Hearsey, Capt. John, the burning of his Military Police lines, at Sítápúr (27 May), iii. 253; reaches Nípál and survives, iii. 265.
- Hearsey, Gen. John, General of Division at Barrackpúr, i. 364; overcomes mutiny at Wázirábád (1849), i. 229.
- First reports to Government the disaffection of troops at Barrackpúr, i. 364; reports greased-cartridge scare, and urges prompt action (23 Jan), i. 376; announces that troops may grease their own cartridges (28 Jan), i. 376; reports secret instigation of Sipáhis (Feb '57), i. 384; his views of the greased-cartridge scare, i. 385; disabuses Sipáhis' minds by a telling argument, i. 386; addresses Barrackpúr Sipáhis a second time, i. 392; in second speech implies intention to disband 19th Regt., i. 393.
- At outbreak writes for reinforcements, and hurries to Lines (29 Mar), i. 397; seeing the frantic Mangal Pándí, rides straight at him, i. 397.
- Hears of the bone-dust story in March, i. 417*n*.
- Disbands 19th Regt. at Barrackpúr, i. 400; cheered by the 19th Regt. after its disbandment, i. 401.
- Urges Lord Canning to get troops from Madras, Bombay, and the Persian and China expeditions, i. 452; urges disbandment of 34th Regt. at Barrackpúr (Apr), i. 429; reports to Calcutta that Barrackpúr troops will mutiny (13 June), vi. 19; believes in implication of the King of Oudh, i. 421*n*.
- Heathcote, Lieut., sent to advise Jodhpúr troops (28 Aug), iv. 394; escapes from the defeat of Anár Singh (8 Sept), iv. 396.
- Heberden, Mr., Railway Engineer, his

- Heberden, Mr.—*cont.*
 fortitude and death at Kánpúr, ii. 242.
- Hémbají, the Chief of, killed at Kopuldrug (May '58), v. 170.
- Hemu, his defeat at Pánípat (1556), vi. 140.
- Henceage, Capt., his gallant Cavalry charge at Kotah-kí-Sarai (17 June '58), v. 154.
- Henderson, Lieut., acts as Agent with Native Contingents at A'gra, iii. 177; succeeds in bringing in guns from Native Contingents at Sháhganj (4 July), iii. 178; one of five who charged successfully hundreds of armed villagers, iii. 230n.
- Hennessy, Major, warns authorities at A'gra of approach of mutineers before the surprise (10 Oct), iv. 69n.
- Henri, Mr., Engineer, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Herat, its independence desired, i. 301; a Persian army marches on (1852), i. 301; Sai'ud Muhammad becomes ruler of, i. 301; rebellion at (1855), i. 303; Yúsuf Khán becomes ruler of (1855), i. 303; revolution in 1856, i. 304; I'sa Khán becomes ruler of, i. 304; Lord Canning directed to send Mission to, but declines to do so, i. 305; the town is captured by Persia (1856), i. 313; its seizure by Persia charged to Russian instigation, i. 328n; Dost Muhammad's proposals for the recovery of (1857), i. 319; Dost Muhammad agrees to abandon attack on, i. 322; no definite arrangement as to, made with Dost Muhammad, i. 327; Lord Canning's opinion as to impossibility of independence of, i. 328.
- Herbert, Lieut.-Col., leads charge at Badlí-ki-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143; with first column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; out-marched by Herbert, Lieut.-Col.—*cont.*
 Firúzsháh near Kánpúr (8 Dec '58), v. 251.
- Herbert, Mr. Sidney, supports Lord Canning's Oudh policy (June '58), v. 180.
- Hernia, point where Col. Durand crossed the Chambal (19 Nov), v. 52.
- Herron, Rev. D., American Missionary, accompanies expedition in chase of Jálardhar mutineers (17 June), vi. 118.
- Hétampúr, Col. Corfield's action at (11 May '58), vi. 171.
- Hewitt, Gen., commands Mírath Division of the Army, ii. 33; his character, ii. 33; his view of his duty at Mírath, ii. 348; his failure as a commander, ii. 77.
 Holds General Court-Martial on disobedient Cavalry troopers, ii. 35; confirms sentence of court-martial on 85 troopers (6 May), ii. 36; his slow action at Mírath outbreak (10 May), ii. 49; tries to throw blame of inaction on Col. Wilson, ii. 76; does nothing the day after the outbreak at Mírath, ii. 54; he is directed to effect junction with Gen. Anson's force at Bághpat, ii. 119; repeatedly urged by Mr. Colvin to do something, ii. 134; resents Mr. Colvin's appeals to Col. Wilson, ii. 134.
- Hicks, Lieut., escape from mutineers at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 189.
- Hicks, Lieut.-Col., called from Jhánsí to assist in recapture of Gwáliár (6 June '58), v. 150; his gallant Cavalry charge at Kotah-kí-Sarai (17 June '58), v. 154.
- Higginson, Sir James, sends troops and money from Mauritius to Calcutta (June), v. 4.
- Hijlí, a salt station at Midnapúr, vi. 6.
- Hikmat Ullah Khán, Deputy Magistrate of Fathpúr, vi. 76; charged with, and defended from, Mr. Tucker's death at Fathpúr, ii. 276.

- Hill, Brig. William, commands Haidarábád Contingent, v. 241; compels Tántiá Topí to turn back from Nágpúr (Nov '58), v. 241.
- Hildersdon, Mr., Collector of Kánpúr, receives assurance of support from Náná Sáhib, ii. 226.
- Hillersdon, Collector, killed in defence of Kánpúr, ii. 246.
- Hillersdon, Mrs., killed by fall of masonry at Kánpúr, ii. 246.
- Hills, Lieut., his heroic fight with Sawárs on Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 434; receives Victoria Cross, ii. 437n.
- Hill Tiparah, a district of Chitragáon, iv. xix, vi. 3.
- Hind, Mr., a Planter, brave volunteer horseman of Alígarh, vi. 138.
- Hindan, a river near Ghází-ud-Dín Nagar, ii. 137; first battles with mutineers on the river, ii. 137; description of the battle-ground, ii. 137n; the victory at, increases the optimism of Government, iii. 7; after the battle, Hindús charge Muhammadans with deception, v. 349; heroic act of mutinous Sipáhí at the battle of, ii. 138; defeated mutineers fly to Dehlí, ii. 138; Sipáhís stimulated by large rewards return for another fight, ii. 139; second battle on the (31 May), ii. 139; mutineers effect an orderly retreat on Dehlí, ii. 140.
- Col. Greathed's force marches across (24 Sept), iv. 62.
- Hinde, Mr., joins in brave retention of factory near Alígarh, iii. 198n.
- Hingan Lál, a brave Hindú who shelters Europeans at Jaunpúr, vi. 51.
- Hindu Ráo's House, at Dehlí, description of, ii. 389; the most exposed position on Ridge outside Dehlí, ii. 145n; twentieth attack on, delivered on 14 July, ii. 439; No. 1 battery traced at (7 Sept), iv. 8.
- Hinduism, effect of Western science
- Hinduism.—*cont.*
on, i. 131; interference with law of inheritance of, i. 137.
- Hindus, prophecy downfall of English rāj, i. 357; persecuted by Muhammadans, vi. 110; supposed to have originated the Mutiny, i. 414.
- Hindú Widows' Re-marriage Bill (1856), to remove legal obstacles to the re-marriage of, i. 349.
- Hír, in Gorákhpúr, occupied by Col. Rowcroft (June '58), v. 197.
- Hírá Lál Misr, his conspicuous gallantry at Lakhnao, iv. 111n.
- Hiran, stream near Jabalpúr, v. 71.
- Hírá Singh, a Sikh, his gallantry at Lakhnao, iv. 111n.
- Híra Singh, a rebel leader, commands mutineers at Mathurá (Sept), iv. 67.
- Hísár, a district of Dehlí division, vi. 38; description of district, ii. xvi, vi. 139; massacre at, ii. 309.
- Hislop, Sir J., his defeat of Holkar (1817), v. xi.
- Hitchens, Lieut., takes part in attack on mutinous Sipáhís at Dhákah (20 Nov), iv. 293.
- Hobhouse, Sir John, President of Board of Control, ii. 14.
- Hódal, occupied by Bharatpúr troops, iii. 108; mutiny of Bharatpúr Contingent at (31 May), iii. 109.
- Hodson, Capt. William, his character and services, ii. 136, iv. 52; Brig. Seaton's opinion of him, iv. 207; surveys the Ráví, i. 17; conveys the Mahárání of Lahor from the Panjáb (1848), i. 21; cause of his removal from command of Guide Corps, ii. 498.
- Receives charge of Intelligence Department (May), ii. 136; rides 76 miles to Mírath, and re-establishes communication with Headquarters, ii. 136; by mistake, allows rebel Cavalry to escape (9 July), ii. 438n; urges capture of Dehlí by *coup de main* (12 June), ii. 397; abandons hope of

- Hodson, Capt. William—*cont.*
 speedy assault on Dehlí (16 July), ii. 441.
 Goes to capture King of Dehlí (20 Sept), iv. 53; promises to spare the King's life, iv. 53; his anxiety to deny leniency to the King of Dehlí, iv. 53*n*; receives the King's weapons at surrender, iv. 54; brings the King and Queen to Gen. Wilson, iv. 54.
 Receives permission to hunt down the secreted princes, iv. 54; refuses to promise life to the three princes at Humáyun's tomb, iv. 55; kills the three Dehlí princes (21 Sept), iv. 55; his conduct justified by his comrades at Dehlí, iv. 56; spares reluctantly the life of the Rájah of Ballabgarh (2 Oct), iv. 75.
 Warns Brig. Seaton of approach of rebels at Gangarí (Dec), iv. 202; impetuously breaks through enemy's line there, iv. 203; kills the Hakím of Farrukhábád (17 Dec), iv. 205; blows Jowáhir Singh from a gun, at Kásganj, iv. 205.
 Risks his life to open communication with Sir Colin Campbell (30 Dec), iv. 207; finds Sir Colin Campbell at Míran-kí-Sarai, iv. 208; his life saved by the gratitude of a Hindú beggar, iv. 208; returns to Brig. Seaton in safety (31 Dec), iv. 209.
 Receives two wounds at Shamsábád (27 Jan '58), iv. 219; arrives with his troopers at the A'lambágh (20 Feb), iv. 248; killed at the Begam Kothí (11 Mar '58), iv. 271.
 Hofer, analogy between his case and that of Tántiá Topí, v. 266.
 Hogg, Lieut., tries to save Col. Gerard's life, iv. 82.
 Holas Singh, Kotwál of Kánhpúr, Náná Sáhib's order to him to deliver up Europeans and their property, ii. 500.
- Holkar, Lord Hastings' campaign against (1818), vi. 148; under care of Central Indian Agency, iii. 135; his character, vi. 149; his warm regard for Sir Robert Hamilton, v. 91; his policy with respect to Col. Durand, v. 43; Colonel Durand's opinion of his loyalty, v. 42.
 Supplies pickets to guard road to Indúr (20 May), iii. 139; sends his Cavalry, by request, on distant duty (1 June), iii. 139*n*; sends Artillery to guard Residency at Indúr, iii. 139; his magazine replenished by Col. Durand, a few days before outbreak, iii. 151*n*; rebellion of his troops at Indúr (1 July), ii. 309, iii. 144; none of his friends or kinsmen join in attack on Residency, iii. 154; writes to Col. Durand urging him to hasten march of Gen. Woodburn's force, iii. 154; informs Lord Elphinstone of outbreak at Indúr, iii. 154; sends to Máu intelligence of Indúr mutiny, iii. 154; shelters fugitives and refuses to give them up, iii. 154; imprisons Saadat Khán, the leader of the outbreak, iii. 153; his doubtful conduct during attack on Residency, iii. 152; remains with mutineers three days after attack on Residency, iii. 153; his explanation of the affairs of 1 July, iii. 151.
 His loyalty undoubted until outbreak, iii. 151; the question of his loyalty, iii. 150; his conduct reconciled with loyalty, iii. 153.
 Asks advice of Col. Durand (31 July), v. 42; disarms his troops on return of Col. Durand (14 Dec), v. 56; promises Commission of Inquiry into affair of 1 July (15 Dec), v. 57.
 His territory penetrated by Tántiá Topí (Nov '58), v. 241.
 Holland, Capt. T. W., last to leave Dehlí Cantonment (11 May), ii.

- Holland, Capt. T. W.—*cont.*
 73; assisted to escape death by Paltú, a sweeper, and Jamnadáss, a Brahman, ii. 74*n.*
- Hollings, Mr., Opium Agent, induces Mr. Money to return to Gayá for abandoned treasure, iii. 73; accompanies Mr. Money back, and assists him to secure the treasure, iii. 74.
- Holm, Harold, a brave Dane, resolves to fight with the English to protect Dinájpúr (Dec), iv. 299.
- Holmes, Major James, commands Cavalry at Sigaulí, iii. 26; he has faith in the loyalty of his Sipáhís, iii. 38; long preserves tranquillity at Sigaulí, iii. 38; proclaims martial law in Sigaulí, on his own responsibility, iii. 47; patrols his district with his Sipáhís, iii. 47; his prompt executions of the guilty, iii. 47; he is supported by Mr. W. Tayler in his active measures, iii. 47; his murder at Sigaulí (25 July), iii. 47.
- Holmes, Mrs., daughter of Gen. Sale, murdered at Sigaulí (25 July), iii. 47.
- Holmes, Col., attacks and captures A'wah (19 Jan '58), iv. 400; pursues Tántiá Topí into Tonk (July '58), v. 222; completely defeats the remnants of Tántiá Topí's army at Sikar (21 Jan '59), v. 256.
- Home, Lieut., examines breach at Water bastion, Dehlí (12 Sept), iv. 17, 18; with third column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; chosen to blow in the Kashmír Gate, iv. 22; his heroic advance on the Kashmír Gate, iv. 25; lights the fuse to blow in the Palace gates, (20 Sept) iv. 47; killed by accident at Malagarh (2 Oct), iv. 26*n.*, 64.
- Home, Major, drowned in the Ráptí, while pursuing rebels (Jan '59), v. 205.
- Honner, Brig., marches to Indragarh, to intercept Firúzsháh (Jan '59), v. 255; defeats Ráo Sáhib at Kushání (10 Feb '59), v. 257.
- Hope, Col., joins Col. Lockhart at Nálkéráh (Aug '58), v. 229.
- Hope, Col. Adrian, his noble character, iv. 269; sent to provision the A'lambágh (9 Nov), iv. 107; blows up Jalálábád fort, near A'lambágh (13 Nov), iv. 120.
- Commands fourth Infantry brigade at attack on Lakhnao, iv. 122; defeats second attack of rebels on Martinière (14 Nov), iv. 124; leads his Highlanders at assault of Sháh Najaf, iv. 137; clammers into Sháh Najaf through a crevice, and secures its capture, iv. 137; covers withdrawal from Lakhnao (22 Nov), iv. 152.
- Commands fourth brigade at attack on Tántiá Topí, at Kánpúr (6 Dec), iv. 118; turns Tántiá Topí's left, iv. 190.
- Saves bridge over Kálí Nadí from destruction (1 Jan '58), iv. 211; seours Rohilkhand in vicinity of Fathgarh, iv. 218; sent to drive rebels from Shamsábád (26 Jan '58), iv. 219.
- Marches with his brigade to Kánpúr (Feb '58), iv. 220; captures the Martinière, at Lakhnao (9 Mar '58), iv. 264; occupies first line of rebel defence, iv. 263; leads the assault on Begam Kothi (11 Mar '58), iv. 270.
- Accompanies Gen. Walpole's column from Lakhnao, iv. 353; present at attack on Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 355; expostulates with Brig. Walpole, iv. 356; he is killed at this disastrous assault (15 Apr '58), iv. 356; the mourning for his death, iv. 357.
- Hope Grant, Brig., *see* Grant, Brig. Hope.
- Hopkins, Capt., captures Mess-House, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 142; placed in command of the Mess-House, Lakhnao, iv. 143.

- Horne, Mr., Magistrate and Collector of A'zamgarh, vi. 68 ; tries to check rising of Sipáhís (24 May), ii. 160.
- Horsford, Brig., sent to attack Sultánpur (7 Aug '58), v. 190 ; joined by Sir Hope Grant before Sultánpur (24 Aug '58), v. 190 ; clears country south of the Ghághrá (Nov '58), v. 204 ; defeats rebels and captures their guns in Sonár valley (Jan '59), v. 206 ; drives rebels across the Ráptí, v. 205.
- Hoshangábád, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60 ; Col. Durand hurries there, from Sihor (9 July), iii. 161 ; point at which Tántiá Topí entered Nágpur territory (27 Oct '58), v. 239 ; Gen. Michel leaves Brig. Parke in charge of (7 Nov '58), v. 242.
- Hoshiárpúr, outbreak expected at (12 May), ii. 334 ; connection of Sipáhís at, with Jálándhar mutineers (8 June), ii. 376n.
- Hoti-Mardán, station of Guide Corps, on outbreak of mutiny, ii. 349 ; its situation, ii. xvi ; Pesháwar troops sent to occupy, ii. 358 ; mutiny at (23 May), ii. 363 ; Sipáhís fly from, on advance of Chute's column, ii. 364 ; the officers keep a small number of Sipáhís to their duty, ii. 365 ; flying mutineers from, overtaken and scattered by Nicholson (26 May), ii. 365 ; miserable ending of the mutineers who escape across the frontier, ii. 370 ; mutineers at, condemned to death, but most spared (10 June), ii. 368.
- Hoveden, Lieut., with second column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Hovenden, Lieut., assists at disarming Sipáhís at Fort Mackeson (24 June), i. 479n.
- Hoyle, Mr., one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
- Hubbard, Professor, murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187n.
- Hudson, Lieut., his gallant charge, Hudson, Lieut.—cont.
and death, near Gangarí (Dec), iv. 203.
- Hughes, Capt., killed in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 326, 384 ; iv. 114.
- Hughes, Major, leads Madras troops against Sholápúr (Jan '58), v. 86 ; attacks Shorápúr (8 Feb '58), v. 87 ; attacks and captures Kopul-drúg (May '58), v. 170.
- Húglí, its meaning, situation, and description, i. 149, ii. xvi ; a district of Western Bengal, vi. 3.
- Hugo, Victor, his opinion of "citizens," ii. 45n.
- Humáyun, Emperor, defeated at Kananj (1540), iv. xvi ; his tomb outside Dehlí, rendezvous for mutineer chiefs, iv. 51 ; seizure of King of Delhi at tomb of (20 Sept), iv. 54 ; the three princes surrender at discretion, iv. 55 ; wounded Hawaldar at, discloses plan of Jálándhar rising, ii. 376n.
- Hume, Mr. Allan O., Magistrate and Collector of Itáwah, organises patrolling parties, iii. 106 ; captures seven mutinous troopers (16 May), iii. 106 ; the prisoners attack the guard, and five of them are killed, iii. 106 ; another small party of Cavalry stopped (19 May), iii. 106 ; they kill their captors and escape to a Hindu temple, iii. 106 ; Mr. Hume and Mr. Daniell attempt to assault the temple, iii. 107 ; they are driven back, iii. 107.
- Makes gallant attempt to stop Fírúzsháh at Harchandpúr (8 Dec '58), v. 251.
- Humfries, Lieut., wounded at Rájpúr (25 Nov '58), v. 244.
- Humphrey, Lieut., his daring charge at Nárnúl, iv. 81 ; severely wounded there, iv. 81.
- Hungerford, Capt. Townsend, commands Artillery at Máu, iii. 137 ; believes in Holkar's loyalty, v. 42 ; summoned to Indúr, with his guns, at 10 a.m. (1 July), iii. 155 ; takes two hours to get his

- Hungerford, Capt.—*cont.*
 battery in motion, iii. 155 ; proceeds towards Indúr, and then returns to Máu, iii. 155 ; mutiny breaks out at Máu, iii. 156 ; he is again too late with his guns to be of any use, iii. 156 ; assumes direction of affairs in Central India, iii. 156.
- Attacks centre of Dhár rebels with his battery (22 Oct), v. 48.
- Hunter, Scotch Missionary, his wife, and child, murdered at Siálkot mutiny (9 July), ii. 473.
- Hunter, Gen. George, his character, i. 208 ; wounded at Bharatpúr, i. 208 ; partly successful with Shikárpúr mutineers (1844), i. 209 ; ultimately subdues mutiny at Shikárpúr, i. 211.
- Hunter, Lieut., accompanies Capt. Mackenzie to recover guns at Baréli (31 May), iii. 210n.
- Hunter, Sir William, proves the existence, at Patná, of the Wáhábí conspiracy which Mr. Tayler tried to suppress, iii. 79n.
- Hurpo, a pass from Kashmír to Indur Valley, v. 2.
- Hurst, Corporal, protected by Mán Singh at Sháhganj, iii. 270.
- Husan Fathpúr, the Kánpúr mutineers propose to attack, v. 305.
- Húsénganj, by marching on, Col. Evelegh compels rebels to retreat from Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 197.
- Husénpúr, village commanding Fathgarh fort, iii. 228.
- Husora, a valley of Kashmír, v. 2.
- Hutchinson, Capt., Political Agent, reports the disloyal character of the rulers of Dhár (15 Oct), v. 47.
- Hutchinson, Capt. G., describes Sir H. Lawrence's partial success in preventing mutiny (Apr), iii. 240n.
- Hutchinson, Capt. Waterloo, summoned to Council of Emergency at Láhor (12 May), ii. 321 ; conducts dangerous Sipáhís away from Lakhnao (27 May), iii. 248 ; does this by distributing cash among them, iii. 249 ; returns to Lakhnao in safety (30 May), iii. 249 ; accompanies second sortie from Residency, Lakhnao (12 Aug), iii. 309 ; demolishes, under fire, houses outside Residency defences, iii. 316 ; frustrates mining operations in the vicinity of Phillips's Garden, Oct), iv. 113 ; engineer with party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Hutchinson, Lieut., murdered at A'zamgarh (3 June), ii. 161.
- Hutchinson, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385 ; captures Amjhéra fort (Nov), v. 50.
- Hutchinson, Mr., Collector of Dehlí, driven into Royal Palace for shelter, ii. 59 ; wounded by trooper in Dehlí (11 May), ii. 497 ; murdered in Dehlí Palace (11 May), ii. 60 ; evidence at the King's trial, as to his death, v. 319.
- Huyshe, Lieut.-Col., stands, with Artillery, ready to attack Dánápúr mutineers, but receives no orders, iii. 45.
- Huxham, Lieut., wounded at Lakhnao (27 Sept), ii. 110.

I.

Ibráhím Lodí, his defeat at Pánípat (1526), vi. 140.
 Ibráhím Khán, left in charge of Shámlí, vi. 124 ; attacked there,

- Ibráhím Khán—*cont.*
 capitulates, and is massacred (14 Sept), vi. 124.
- Ichamátí, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.
- 'I'd, Muhammadan festival, the nature and origin of festival, vi. 20*n*; dread of massacre at Calcutta on, ii. 89.
- Iktiapúr, burnt by Dragoons (24 May), ii. 135.
- Iláhábád, old name for Alláhábád, ii. 194*n*.
- Iláhbás, ancient Muhammadan name for Alláhábád, vi. 69, ii. 194*n*.
- Iláhi Bakhsh, faithful trooper who keeps to Capt. Conolly (Aug), iv. 411.
- Iláhí Bakhsh Mirza, the wily counsellor of the King of Dehlí, iv. 50; sends for physician to save Fakir-ud-dín, ii. 21; his influence over the Dehlí King, iv. 50; persuades the King of Dehlí to surrender to the English (20 Sept), iv. 51; betrays the King of Dchlí (21 Sept), iv. 52; accompanies Capt. Hodson to capture secreted princes, iv. 55.
- Imám A'li, a rebel leader, his ill-treatment of the Rájah of Patan (Aug '58), v. 307; hides in Sironj jungle (Apr '59), v. 264, 310.
- Imám Bakhsh Khán, Jámadár, captures the fort of Khót (18 Apr '58), iv. 361.
- Imámbárah, its storm and capture (14 Mar '58), iv. 272.
- Imámbárah, the Great, in Lakhnao, its description, iv. xv, 255; capture of (16 Mar '58), iv. 279.
- Inám Commission of Bombay, its nature and operations, i. 127, v. 14; constitution of (1852), i. 128; dread of its proceedings, i. 128, v. 14; shocking havoc it works, i. 129, v. 15; hatred and revolution its natural result, i. 130, v. 15; the Desáís of Jámbotí, Nipaní, and Wantmúrí, discontented sufferers
- Inám Commission of Bombay—*cont.*
 under, v. 19, 20; theoretical justice of, v. 15*n*.
- India, Land Revenue system of, i. 112.
- Indian Government, *see* Government of India.
- Indian Navy, its great services, its unrewarded condition, and its abolition, vi. 172.
- Indragarh, occupied by Tántiá Topí, after leaving Tonk, v. 223; Tántiá Topí's defeat at (Aug '58), v. 307. Tántiá Topí takes possession of (13 Jan '59), v. 250; Firúzsháh joins Tántiá Topí at (15 Jan '59), v. 254.
- Indra Singh, a brave Sipáhí, his gallantry at Lakhnao, iv. 111*n*.
- Indúr, situation of, iii. xi; its isolated position from other parts of Holkar's territory, iii. 136; native forces in the neighbourhood of, iii. 136; the troops at the command of the Governor's Agent, iii. 137; contingencies on which its defence depended, iii. 137; the line of communication by the Narbadá runs through, iii. 137; the direction whence *chapáti* distribution appeared to come in January, i. 420*n*.
- Col. Durand takes up appointment as Agent for the Governor-General (5 Apr), iii. 135; financial arrangements in, under discussion in early May, i. 428; command of troops at Residency devolves on Col. Stockley, iii. 138; description of Residency at, iii. 143 and *n*; positions of the troops guarding it, iii. 143.
- Precautionary Measures.*—News of Mírath outbreak reaches (14 May), iii. 138; Col. Durand's method of preserving order in, iii. 138; Bhíl troops summoned to (14 May), iii. 138; part of Bhopál Contingent called to (20 May), iii. 138; Holkar sends Artillery to guard Residency, iii. 139; more Bhopál troops arrive at, in June,

Indúr—*cont.*

iii. 139; command of troops at Residency devolves on Col. Travers (June), iii. 139; uncertainty of affairs at, during June, iii. 139; effect of reported fall of Dehlí on, iii. 141; deceptive protestations of garrison of Máu, iii. 140; the approach of troops from Bombay offers the only chance of safety, iii. 141; revolt postponed by the march of Gen. Woodburn's column, iii. 141; the halt of that column at Aurangábád gives the conspirators their opportunity, iii. 141.

The Revolt.—The discovery that Dehlí had not been captured gives the signal for revolt, iii. 142; mutiny breaks out (1 July), iii. 142; attack on the Residency, iii. 144; the Residency guards join in the attack, iii. 145; Col. Travers heroically charges guns of rebels, with only five men, iii. 146; Col. Durand sends for Capt. Hungerford's battery from Máu, iii. 146; Cavalry begin to desert, iii. 147; Mehídpur Contingent refuse to fight, iii. 148; only twelve men of Bhopál Contingent willing to fight, iii. 148; the Bhils will not act, iii. 148; delay in Capt. Hungerford's appearance, iii. 149, 155; desperate position of Residency, iii. 148; Native Cavalry insist on retreat from Residency, iii. 149; Col. Durand compelled to retreat from Residency (1 July), iii. 150.

Saadat Khán leads mutiny, iii. 144; conflicting accounts as to office and influence of Saadat Khán, iii. 144n; he is wounded during the attack, iii. 146; Saadat Khán tells Holkar that he is attacking Residency, iii. 152; he is ordered into arrest by the Mahárájáh, iii. 153; recovers his liberty by some means and occupies Residency with his family, iii. 153; general slaughter of Christians takes place, iii. 145.

Indúr—*cont.*

Holkar refuses to surrender fugitives to mutineers (2 July), iii. 154; Holkar reviled by his own troops (4 July), iii. 153.

Retreat from the Residency.—Direction of retreat from, forced on Col. Durand, iii. 157; impossibility of crossing Khán river by either of the bridges, iii. 157, 158.

Col. Durand offers to ride into with his troops (31 July), v. 42; state of feeling in, during August, v. 43.

The Return.—Col. Durand returns with his victorious army (14 Dec), v. 56; Holkar's troops disarmed, v. 56; Col. Durand again visits Holkar, v. 56; Sir R. Hamilton resumes charge of affairs, v. 57.

Its seizure suggested by Ráo Sáhib and Nawáb of Bandah (26 Aug '58), v. 228; Col. Lockhart posted to cover, v. 229; covered by Brig. Parke (5 Sept '58), v. 231.

Indúrkí, Kálpí rebels chased through by Col. Robertson (May '58), v. 148.

Indus, regiments of Bengal Army refuse to cross, without extra pay, i. 203, 205.

Ingelby, Lieut., his heroic devotion and death, in the retreat from A'rah, iii. 58n.

Inglis, Brigadier, his character and services, iii. 323; his opinion of Sir H. Lawrence, iii. 294; follows mutinous Police, but fails to reach the main body, iii. 280; takes command at retreat from Chinhát, iii. 286; member of Provisional Council at Lakhnao (9 June), iii. 278.

Defence of Lakhnao.—Succeeds Sir H. Lawrence in command of troops, iii. 297; resolves to keep office of Chief Commissioner vacant after death of Major Banks,

- Inglis, Brig.—*cont.*
 iii. 304; stays in battery believed to be mined to give confidence to his men (16 Aug), iii. 309; repulses every assault on Residency, iii. 306; receives letter from Col. Tytler about Gen. Havelock's advance to Lakhnao (25 July), iii. 305; sends to Gen. Havelock plan of his position and approaches, iii. 305.
 His official report of the defence of Lakhnao, iii. 376; his cordial thanks to his soldiers, iii. 387.
 Commands fifth brigade at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.
- Inglis, Mr. C. S., causes capture of rebel ringleaders in Murádábád (26 Apr '58), iv. 364.
- Inheritance, interference with the law of, a potent cause of disaffection (1856), i. 187*n.*
- Innes, Brigadier, assumes command at Firúzpúr (11 May), ii. 329; unsuccessfully disarms Sipáhís there (13 May), ii. 330; blows up regimental magazines, ii. 331; sends troops to pursue flying mutineers, ii. 332.
- Innes, Lieut., murdered at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 190.
- Innes, Lieut., attacks and destroys mutineers at Kolhápur (10 Aug), v. 28.
- Innes, Lieut. Macleod, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385; his splendid gallantry near Sultánpúr, iv. 234; wins the Victoria Cross, iv. 234*n.*
- Innes's House, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 297; attempt to assault by mutineers fails (20 July), iii. 302, 380.
- Irádat Khán, Rájah, a rebel leader, captured and hanged (27 Sept), iv. 223.
- Irádatnagar, occupied by Gwáliár rebels (11 Sept), iv. 67.
- Irawádí river, i. 47, 48; 38th Bengal Regiment fear to approach in 1856, i. 339.
- Iráwan, column chasing Kálpí rebels stops here for supplies (May '58), v. 148.
- Irby, Lieut., drives rebels from left of Mess-House, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 143.
- Irwin, Lieut., driven from Lálitpúr by mutineers (13 June), v. 66*n.*
- Irwin, Private, wins the Victoria Cross for gallantry at the Sikandár-bágh (16 Nov), iv. 139.
- I'sa Khán, becomes ruler of Herat (1856), i. 304.
- I'ságárh, stormed and plundered by Tántiá Topí (25 Sept '58), v. 235, 308; Firúzsháh passes (18 Dec '58), v. 254.
- Ishapúr, powder manufactory, near Calcutta, ii. 91.
- Ishmáilganj, village near Chinhát, iii. 285.
- Islámábád, Muhammadan name of Chitragáon, iv. xiv.
- Islámkót, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Isrí Pándí, hanged at Barrackpúr, and confesses conspiracy (22 Apr), i. 429; effect of reading his sentence at Dehlí Cantonment, ii. 63.
- I'tah, district to the east of A'lígarh, vi. 137; Mr. A. Phillips, Magistrate of, iii. 216; goes to Budáun in search of help after the outbreak of mutiny, iii. 216; Brig Seaton occupies (24 Dec), iv. 206.
- Itáwah, a district of A'gra division, iii. x, xi, vi. 38; description of district, iv. xv; its garrison, iii. 106; Mr. A. O. Hume, Magistrate and Collector of, iii. 106.
- Organization of patrolling parties, iii. 106; arrest of seven mutinous troopers (16 May), iii. 106; the prisoners attack the guard, but five of them are slain, iii. 106; another is next day captured and hung, iii. 106; second attempt to arrest mutinous troopers near (19 May), iii. 106; they kill their captors and escape to a Hindú temple, iii. 107; Mr. Hume and Mr. Daniell attempt to assault

Itáwah—*cont.*

them in temple, iii. 107; Mr. Daniell is wounded, and they are driven back, iii. 107; the troopers escape at night, iii. 107.

Mutiny breaks out (23 May), iii. 107; order restored (25 May), iii. 107.

A few fanatics in, attempt to stop Col. Walpole's column, iv. 201; house held by fanatics, blown up by Col. Walpole (29 Dec), iv. 201.

Its unprotected condition in 1858, v. 214; troops from, drive Rúp Singh from Ajítmal (July '58), v. 215; defeat of Rúp Singh at Barhí (Aug '58), v. 215; final defeat of Rúp Singh at Kúári (Oct '58), v. 216; perfect tranquillization of, after defeat of Rúp Singh, v. 216.

Tántia Topí encamps near, v. 308; he occupies the town (Oct '58), v. 238; Firúzsháh approaches (8 Dec '58), v. 251.

J.

Jabalpúr, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. x, 60; mutiny at (1843), i. 214; the Brigadier allays the mutiny, i. 214.

Major Erskine appointed Commissioner of, v. 61, 69; Col. Jamieson commands at, v. 69; its garrison, v. 69.

A Sipáhí tries to murder the Adjutant (16 June), v. 69; effect on Indúr of state of troops at, iii. 141; Kámthí column arrives, and

Jabalpúr—*cont.*

preserves order (2 Aug), v. 70; Shankar Sháh and sons, blown from guns (18 Sept), v. 70.

Sipáhís mutiny and march away at night to Patan (18 Sept), v. 70; Sipáhís from, announce at Patan their intention of marching to Dehlí, v. 71; they seize Lieut. MacGregor, v. 71; offer to exchange him for ten Sipáhís, v. 71; this not being complied with, they shoot him, v. 71; Madras troops summoned from Damoh (21 Sept), v. 71; and arrive (27 Sept), v. 72.

Sipáhís from, plunder Damoh, v. 73; and ravage the district for months, v. 73, 134; defeat of rebels near (Nov), v. 73; Gen. Whitlock occupies, with his troops (6 Feb '58), v. 134; but refuses to clear neighbouring places, v. 134. Jack, Brigadier, shows courageous example during excitement at Kánhpúr (May), ii. 228.

Jackson, Col., stops mutiny at Ní-mach (12 Aug), iv. 388.

Jackson, Lieut., accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n; given command of Volunteer Cavalry at A'rah, iii. 84.

Jackson, Mr. A. J., Magistrate of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.

Jackson, Mr. Coverley, appointed interim Commissioner of Oudh (1856), i. 292; his ungovernable temper, i. 292; Sir H. Lawrence's generous opinion of him, iii. 294n; quarrels violently with Mr. Gubbins, i. 293; he pursues his quarrel to the detriment of the service, i. 294; he is kindly reproved by Lord Canning, i. 293n; absorbed by his private wrangle he fails to investigate charges of British cruelty in Oudh, i. 298; he is severely reprimanded by Lord Canning, i. 298; his administration worse than that of Native rulers, v. 287; Lord Canning re-

- .Jackson, Mr. Coverley—*cont.*
solves to depose him, i. 299; he is at last removed from Commissionership of Oudh, i. 329; great dislike felt for his system of government by Natives, v. 287.
- .Jackson, Miss, released by party of Gurkhás at Lakhnao (16 Mar '58), iii. 261*n*, iv. 281*n*.
- .Jackson, Mr. Mountstuart, officer of Oudh Commission, at Sítápúr, iii. 252; escapes from Sítápúr to the Mithaulí Rájah (3 June), iii. 255; conveyed to Lakhnao and there murdered (16 Nov), iii. 260*n*.
- .Jacob, Brig. Le-Grand, in command of troops at Bombay, ii. 310; Lord Elphinstone's great confidence in him, v. 300; appointed to take command at Kolhápúr (1 Aug), v. 26; receives plenary powers from Lord Elphinstone (2 Aug), v. 27*n*; hurries with a few men to Kolhápúr, v. 27; reaches Kolhápúr after suppression of mutiny (14 Aug), v. 28; disarms Sipáhís there (18 Aug), v. 29.
Appointed Commissioner of Belgáon (Apr '58), v. 165; despatches troops to Dhárwár to put down insurrection (27 May '58), v. 168; forces the Chief of Miraj to surrender his ammunition (June '58), v. 172; tranquillizes Southern Maráthá country, v. 172; becomes Brigadier-General, v. 172.
- .Jacob, Gen. John, his opinion on promotion in the Army, i. 246; warns Government of the dangerous condition of the Bengal Army (1856), i. 238.
- .Jacob, Major, repulses mutineers from Ridge, Dehlí (12 June), ii. 410*n*; with first column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; urges Gen. Nicholson to advance cautiously into Dehlí, iv. 31; he is wounded in attack on Láhor Gate, iv. 32; killed in storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
- .Jacob, Major G. O., rides from Simlah to Dagshai at night to warn troops, ii. 104*n*.
- Jacobábád, a district of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Jacobi, Mrs., supposed bearer of terms to Kánhpúr dëfenders, ii. 251*n*.
- Jacobs, Major, murdered at A'gra (6 July), iii. 187*n*.
- Jacquemont, Victor, his inquiry into the Land Revenue of India, i. 113.
- Jagannáth, a district of Orísá, iv. xvii.
- Jagannáth Singh, Rájah of Powáin, consents to hear the Maulaví, iv. 380; closes the gates of his town, iv. 380; his brother shoots the Maulaví and decapitates him (5 June '58), iv. 380: he carries the head to Shájhahánpúr, and receives £5,000 in exchange, iv. 380*n*.
- Jagathír, Jámadár, completely defeats Chitrágáon mutineers (30 Jan '58), iv. 296.
- Jagdíspúr, a town in Sháhbád district, iv. xvi; the residence of Kúnwar Singh, iii. 50; Sipáhís from A'rah fly to, on Major Eyre's advance, iii. 67; force with which Major Eyre attacked, iii. 84; captured by Major Eyre (12 Aug), iii. 86; destruction of rebel property at (14 Aug), iii. 86.
Kúnwar Singh falls back from A'zamgarh on (14 Apr '58), iv. 330; he re-enters, his capital (22 Apr '58), iv. 324; Kúnwar Singh defeats Capt. Le Grand at (23 Apr '58), iv. 335; but dies there of a wound (26 Apr '58), iv. 336.
The place is captured by Sir E. Lugard (9 May '58). iv. 337.
It is afterwards re-occupied by Amar Singh (July '58), iv. 340; seven columns directed to converge on (13 Oct '58), iv. 340; plan for finally crushing rebels in, v. 201; Amar Singh cleverly extricates his troops from (18 Oct '58), iv. 341; jungle entirely cut

- Jagdíspúr—*cont.*
 down and cleared away, in order to reduce (Nov '58), iv. 345.
- Jaghírdárs of Maráthá country, resumption policy applied to, i. 128.
- Jahánábád, Brig. Carthew joins Káhnpúr force there (Jan '58), iv. 314.
- Jaiájí Ráo Sindhiá, *see* Sindhiá.
- Jaintiá Hills, a district of A'sum, vi. 3, 32.
- Jaipúr, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. 163*n*, iv. xvii, vi. 158; description of the state, iii. x, iv. xvi, vi. 158.
 The Mahárájah places all his forces at the service of the British, vi. 158; the troops march with Major Eden, and do useful service, vi. 159; the loyalty of troops becoming doubtful, they are returned to Jaipúr, iii. 172, vi. 159; the country remains undisturbed and loyal, vi. 159.
- Tántiá Topí advances from, on Jhánsí (Mar '58), v. 306; Tántiá Topí retreats on (22 June '58), v. 221; Gen. Roberts reaches, before Tántiá Topí (30 June '58), v. 222.
- Jaipúr, Rám Singh, Mahárájah of, thoroughly loyal to the English, iii. 171; labours earnestly for the British cause, vi. 159; he is defeated by Jodhpúr mutineers (Oct), iv. 76; rewarded for his fidelity, vi. 159.
- Jáis, plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 201.
- Jaisalmír, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. 163*n*, iv. xvii, vi. 151; description of the state, vi. 144, 151; territory increased by Lord Ellenborough (1843), vi. 151.
 Ranjít Singh, becomes Maháráwal (1856), vi. 151; the King of Dehlí's letter to the Chief of, v. 334; the Chief remains loyal, vi. 151.
- Jaitpúr, Pargannah of, annexed by Lord Dalhousie, i. 80.
- Jait Singh, Rájah, builder of Obsetry near Dehlí, ii. 390*n*.
- Jajamáo, place where Náná Sáhib boats were seized, iii. 336.
- Jajhar, a town of Rohtak, vi. 14
 Brig. Showers marches on, iv. 7 the Nawáb of, submits voluntaril (18 Oct), iv. 76; occupation fort, by Brig. Showers, iv. 76.
- Jakes, Private, his heroic conde on Chárbágh bridge (25 Sept), iii 362; killed in action (25 Sept), iii 363*n*.
- Jakhání, captured by Lieut. Osborn (Dec), v. 76; entered by Gen Whitlock (24 Feb '58), v. 134.
- Jakláiún, Tántiá Topí passes through the jungles of, after defeat a Mangráuli (10 Oct '58), v. 237.
 Tántiá Topí occupies, v. 308, Tántiá Topí again hides his troops in (Oct '58), v. 238.
- Jalálábád, in Afghanistan, i. 22, 325.
- Jalálábád fort, near the A'lambágh, blown up by Col. Adrian Hope (13 Nov), iv. 120; British position at (Dec), iv. 240; rebel attack near, defeated (16 Jan '58), iv. 245; attack on, again defeated (21 Feb '58), iv. 248; last serious attack on, defeated (25 Feb '58), iv. 249; Sir J. Outram's information concerning, iv. 407; Sir Hope Grant encamps there (19 May '58), iv. 349.
- Jalálpúr, head-quarters of insurgents near Kálpí (Jan '58), iv. 314.
- Jálandhar, its situation and garrison, ii. xvi, 333; Lord Hardinge's policy towards (1847), iii. 100.
 Bodies of Cavalry raised at, by Col. Lake, iv. 235; Sipáhís at, charged with joining in general conspiracy, ii. 323*n*; Major Lake counsels disarmament in May, ii. 375; Gen. Anson orders troops from, to Philúr (13 May), ii. 104.
- Mutiny breaks out (7 June), ii. 375; methodical arrangement of rising at, ii. 376*n*; Brigadier absent on outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 333;

Jálandhar—*cont.*

Brig. Johnstone allows mutineers to escape (8 June), ii. 377; mutineers from, said to have hurried off with blank cartridges only, ii. 382n; troops from, allow Philúr Sipáhís to escape, ii. 377.

Mutineers from, cross the Sájlaj at Lusam Ferry, ii. 379; they march on Dehrá Dúín (15 June), vi. 118; but escape, by Timlí pass, from Dehrá Dúín (17 June), vi. 118; they are gallantly opposed by Rájah of Nabhá, v. 214.

Jálandhar Duáb, placed under John Lawrence (1845), i. 37.

Jalanghí, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.

Jaláun, its description, v. x; Tántiá Topí leaves his impedimenta there, to advance on Kánhpúr, iv. 161.

Jalpá, Col. Fischer, leads his troops towards (24 Sept), iv. 99.

Jalpaigurí, near Bhután, a district of Koch Bihár, vi. 3; meaning of the word, vi. 27n; its isolated character and garrison, iii. xi, 91; Col. Sherer commands there, ii. 91; uproar there (25 June), ii. 92; arrest and condemnation of four Sipáhís of his regiment, iii. 92; Col. Sherer is ordered to dismiss the four Sipáhís and blows them from guns, iii. 92.

Mutinous Sipáhís from Dhákah fly to (Nov), iv. 293; fresh outbreak occurs (5 Dec), iv. 298; Col. Sherer blows two more Sipáhís from guns, iv. 300; mutineers from, hurry to Dinájpúr (Dec), iv. 298; troops from Darjiling hurry to, after mutiny, iv. 300; mutineers from, chased into Nipál by Mr. Yule (12 Dec), iv. 300; mutineers from, arrested by the Nipálese, iv. 300.

The Sipáhís at, carried through the Mutiny, vi. 27; isolated condition of Sipáhís in, preserves tranquillity, vi. 27.

Jamálpúr, troops from, reach Alláhábád, ii. 182.

Jam'ánia-bágh, a strong position at Lakhnao, iv. 255.

Jámboti, the Desái of, a disaffected Maráthá chieftain, v. 19.

James, Capt., murdered at Sháh-jahánpúr (31 May), iii. 214.

James, Capt. Hugh, secretary to Sir J. Lawrence, his high character, ii. 350; appointed Deputy Commissioner at Pesháwar, ii. 460; protests against proposed cession of Pesháwar, ii. 458.

James, Lieut., his character, iii. 325; distinguished at battle of Chinhát (29 June), iii. 377; shot through the knee at that battle, iii. 285, 386; his great services during defence of Lakhnao, iii. 325, 386; ably seconded at Lakhnao by Hírá Lál Misr, iv. 111n; killed while hunting in Bengal, iii. 325.

Jamieson, Lieut.-Col.. commands at Jabalpúr, v. 69; endeavours fruitlessly to reconcile Jabalpúr Sipáhís to execution of disloyal Chief (18 Sept), v. 70.

Jámkhándí, state in Southern Maráthá country, v. x, 14; seizure at Belgáoñ of emissary from (Aug), v. 22; the conspiracy he represented extended from Kohlapúr and Haidarábád to Púnná, v. 22; he is blown from a gun by Mr. Seton-Karr, v. 22; arrest of the Chief of (10 May '58), v. 167.

Jamnadáss, a Brahman, assists Capt. Holland to escape death, ii. 74n.

Jamnah River, its course, iii. xi; Brig. Wilson crosses at Bághpat, to march on Dehlí (6 June), ii. 141; order preserved along the right bank, by Native land-owners, vi. 71; the disaffected from various parts collect on the right bank, near Fathpúr (Dec), iv. 314.

Jammú, the King of Dehlí's letter to the ruler of, v. 334; Guláb Singh, the ruler, said to have joined Náná Sáhib's plot after annexation of Oudh, i. 426n.

- Jammū family, nobles of the Panjáb, i. 4.
- Jamruíd, Dost Muhammad's camp there (Jan '57), i. 318.
- Ján Fishan Khán, warns the Government of the dangerous rumours in circulation (1856), i. 355n; an Afghan, accompanies Wilson's force from Mírath with a body of Horse, ii. 137; fights bravely in capturing Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 145n.
- Jang Bahádúr, Prime Minister, and practical ruler, of Nipál, iv. 221; his visit to Europe, iv. 221; his opinion of England's strength, iv. 221; places the military resources of Nipál at the disposal of the English (May), iv. 221; authority given to summon his Gurkhá troops (22 May), iii. 246; his aid strenuously opposed by Mr. Tucker, of Banáras (June), vi. 56; sends Gurkhás into Gorákh-púr to help the English (July), iv. 221.
- Second arrangement with him (Nov), iv. 225; he enters British territory with large body of Gurkhás (23 Dec), iv. 226; drives rebels from Gorákh-púr (6 Jan '58), iv. 226; hems in Oudh rebels with his Gurkhás, iv. 216; crosses into Oudh with these troops (14 Feb '58), iv. 227; reaches Barári (19 Feb '58), iv. 227; and is joined by Col. Rowcroft (20 Feb '58), iv. 227.
- Marches on Lakhnao (25 Feb '58), iv. 227; crosses the Gúmtí unopposed (10 Mar '58), iv. 228; reaches British camp at Lakhnao, iv. 228; his troops become the English left, before Lakhnao, iv. 271; advances from Chárbágħ bridge to Residency (14 Mar '58), iv. 281; stops fugitives from Músá-bágh to the south (19 Mar '58), iv. 283.
- Junction of his force with that of Sir Hope Grant (22 Apr '58),
- Jang Bahádúr—*cont.*
iv. 348; route of his retiring for to Nipál, iv. 349n; finally re-enters Nipál with his troops (June '58 iv. 349n).
Permits English to chase rebels into Nipál (Jan '59), v. 205.
- Jánojí Bhonslá, adopted heir of private estates of Nágpúr family (1854), i. 62.
- Jargarh, perilous landing of troops near, vi. 172.
- Jasandá, Béni Mádu eludes Sir Hope Grant at (27 May '58), v. 186.
- Jasar, district of Eastern Bengal, iv. xiv.
- Jashahr, native name of Jessor, vi. 26.
- Jashpúr, a Tributary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.
- Jaswantnagar, disastrous attempt to arrest mutinous troopers at (19 May), iii. 106.
- Jaswant Singh, Maháráwal of Dungapúr, deposed for his vices (1825), vi. 156.
- Jataurá, Kúnwar Singh driven from, by Major Eyre (14 Aug), iii. 86.
- Jathin, site of Amar Singh's third defeat (12 May '58), iv. 337.
- Ját Mall, his evidence as to the change of the Sipáhís' status by the annexation of Oudh, v. 335.
- Jatogh, Gurkhás at, ordered to Philúr (13 May), ii. 105; temporary revolt of Gurkhás at, causes shameful panic at Simlah (16-18 May), ii. 108.
- Játs, Mr. Colvin seeks the support of, iii. 101; send support to Mr. Colvin, from Bharatpúr, iii. 101; the contingent of Ját troops mutinies at Kosí (31 May), vi. 83.
- Jáurá, a state of Western Málwá, v. x; under care of Central Indian Agency, iii. 135; a fief of Holkar, iii. 136.
- Jáurá, Nawáb of, his thorough loyalty, vi. 165; gives much useful information to the British, vi.

- Jáurá, Nawab of—*cont.*
 165; joins Col. Durand in the field with his troops, vi. 166.
- Jáurá-Alipúr, Tántiá Topí retreats from Gwálíár on (19 June '58), v. 307; rebels driven from, by Gen. Napier (21 June '58), v. 161; Tántiá Topí retreats from, towards Jaipúr (22 June '58), v. 221.
- Jaunpúr, a district of Banáras division, vi. 38; description of district, ii. *xvi*, vi. 50; Lieut. Mara commands Sikhs at, ii. 178.
 Sikhs at, revolt and murder officers (5 June), ii. 178; Europeans disarmed and turned loose to save themselves, ii. 178; general anarchy succeeds mutiny, ii. 179; Mr. Taylor explains reasons for outbreak at, vi. 50; Sipáhís from, plunder Chandah and march to Sultánpúr (6 June), iii. 272.
- Occupied by Gurkhás (15 Aug), iv. 222; Gurkhás restore British authority (8 Sept), vi. 51; reinforced and placed under command of Gen. Franks (29 Nov), iv. 225, 228.
- Mehndí Husen plunders district near (Dec), iv. 229; Sir E. Lugard attacks and defeats rebels near (10 Apr '58), iv. 329; garrisoned by Sir E. Lugard (11 Apr '58), iv. 330.
- Java, Sipáhís volunteer for service in, i. 338.
- Jawála Parshád, negotiates Kánpúr capitulation on behalf of Náná Sáhib, ii. 252; becomes hostage in English hands, after capitulation, ii. 253; the active agent in first massacre at Kánpúr, v. 265*n*; agent of Náná Sáhib, accompanies Sipáhís against Gen. Havelock, v. 305; commands Náná Sáhib's troops at Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 273*n*.
- Jawán Bakht, Prince, favourite son of Dehlí Emperor, ii. 10; special effort of Emperor to secure his succession, ii. 21; his succession protested against by Mirza Korash (1856), ii. 21; his claim to Dehlí succession finally rejected by Lord Canning, ii. 24; irritated at non-recognition of his claim to Dehlí royal title, ii. 20; the Queen renews intrigues for his succession, ii. 25; threatens vengeance against the English in April, ii. 25*n*; hastens to express gratification at the Mutiny (11 May), v. 321; he is allowed to accompany King of Dehlí in his transportation, v. 361.
- Jawan Singh, a leader of the Erinpuram mutineers, iv. 411.
- Jeffreys, on Hinduism in daily life, i. 132.
- Jenkins, Capt., his conspicuous bravery at Kánpúr, ii. 241.
- Jenkins, Capt. Griffith, sent to the Mauritius and Cape to summon troops, v. 4; his valuable service in bringing troops to India, vi. 173; specially thanked by the Queen, vi. 173.
- Jenkins, Col. F., Commissioner of A'sám, vi. 32.
- Jenkins, Major, falls into, but escapes from, ambuscade at Kattangí (26 Sept), v. 71.
- Jenkins, Mr., bars chancel of church at Sháhjahánpúr against attacking mutineers (31 May), iii. 214; asks help from Muhamdí to convey fugitives, iii. 257; gets fugitives from Sháhjahánpúr conveyed to Muhamdí, iii. 215.
- Jenkins, Mr. Arthur, Assistant Commissioner of Púrwá, shut up in Kánpúr, iii. 274.
- Jenkins, Mr. C., Deputy Collector of Púrí, vi. 5.
- Jenkinson, Mr. E. G., Assistant Magistrate at Banáras, vi. 39; his character, vi. 41; his personal bravery and devotion, vi. 42; bravely risks his life to save his companions at Banáras (5 June),

Jenkinson, Mr. E.—*cont.*

ii. 174n; becomes Assistant Magistrate of Jaunpúr (8 Sept), vi. 51; acts as a soldier in Jaunpúr, vi. 51.

Jennings, Mr., Chaplain, murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 60; evidence at the King's trial, as to his death, v. 319.

Jennings, Mrs., murdered at Dehlí, (11 May), ii. 60.

Jennings, Miss, her murder at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 202n.

Jerome, Lieut., leads forlorn hope at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 116.

Jervis, of the Engineers, shot at Kánpúr, ii. 242.

Jessor, a district of Bengal, vi. 3; remains tranquil during the Mutiny, vi. 26.

Jhálawár, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. 163n, iv. xvii, vi. 162; description of the state, vi. 162; Prithí Singh, Maháráj Ráná of, vi. 162; unflinching loyalty of the Maháráj Ráná, vi. 162; the district seized by Tántiá Topí (20 Aug '58), v. 227.

Jhang, situation of, iii. xii.

Jhánsí, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60; its situation, and erection into an independent state, i. 64, iii. xi, 118; military strength of the place, v. 108, 109; garrison of, iii. 121.

Modern History.—A dependent state of the Peshwá, i. 65; Subahdár of, accepts British protection (1817), iii. 119; the Subahdár raised to rank of Rájah by British (1832), iii. 119; changes in succession, and disorder in, iii. 119; Rám Chand created chief, and afterwards Rájah, i. 65; Lord Auckland settles succession to Rám Chand's uncle, i. 65; Gangádhár Ráo chosen to succeed Rám Chand's uncle, i. 65; portion of territory ceded to support Bundelkhand Legion (1843), i. 65; British Government administers

Jhánsí—*cont.*

affairs, but restores Rájah 1843, iii. 120.

Annexation.—Death of Rájah a lapse of State to British, 1854, ii. 120; Lord Dalhousie's reasons for its annexation, i. 66; mean and insulting conduct of British Government towards, iii. 121; great wrongs inflicted on the Ráni of, v. 167; Lord Dalhousie's treatment of Ráni, shakes Native belief in British honesty, v. 287.

Mutiny.—Capt. A. Skene, Political and Administrative officer at iii. 121; Capt. Dunlop command troops at, iii. 121; the Ráni lures Capt. Skene into security, iii. 121 gets his permission to raise armed men for her protection, iii. 122 she covertly stirs up sedition among the troops, iii. 122; description of the Star Fort at, iii. 121; mysterious incendiary fires break out (1 June), iii. 122; a party of Sipáhís seizes the Star Fort, iii. 122; mutiny breaks out (6 June), ii. 309, iii. 123; the Ráni marches to the cantonment in military array, iii. 123; murder of officers on parade, iii. 123; Europeans escape to larger fort, iii. 123; repulse of first attack on larger fort (6 June), iii. 124; three commissioners issue from fort to arrange capitulation, ii. 124; murder of first commissioners from fort (7 June), iii. 124; proposals of English to retire from district, iii. 124; artillery brought against English in fort (8 June), iii. 124; treacherous attempt to open fort to rebels, iii. 125; death of the two traitors, iii. 125; the officers attempt to communicate with Nagód and Gwáliár, iii. 125; the messengers are captured and killed, iii. 125; the Ráni offers to escort officers to some other station, iii. 125; Capt. Skene accepts Ráni's terms, iii. 126; massacre of the English (8 June), iii. 126;

Jhánsí—*cont.*

quarrel between the Rání and the Sipáhís, iii. 126; the Sipáhís threaten to place a king on the throne, iii. 126; the Rání buys their adherence with money, iii. 126; she proves herself a capable ruler, iii. 126; effect of massacre at Indúr, iii. 140; effect of news of massacre at, on Gwáliár, iii. 113; mutineers from, reach Dehlí, and attack Ridge (18 July), ii. 446.

The Siege.—Sir Hugh Rose arrives at (19 Mar '58), v. 106; strength of the fort and city, v. 109; entire absence of outer defences, v. 109*n*; the surrounding neighbourhood stripped of resources by the cunning Rání, v. 110; the siege begins (22 Mar '58), v. 110; the place is completely invested by Sir Hugh Rose, v. 110; determined resistance of the besieged, v. 111; breach at last effected (29 Mar '58), v. 111.

Tántiá Topí approaches to relieve (31 Mar '58), v. 111; he attempts the task with 22,000 men, v. 111; Sir Hugh Rose attacks him while still pressing the siege, v. 112; defeat of Tántiá Topí's attempt to raise siege of (1 Apr '58), v. 306; Tántiá Topí driven away, with tremendous loss, v. 113; he sets fire to jungle to evade pursuit, and escapes across the Betwá, v. 114.

Arrangements for storming (3 Apr. '58), v. 115; desperate resistance to the right attack, v. 116; heavy loss in scaling the wall, v. 117; capture of the walls and streets, v. 117; fearful struggle in Rání's palace, v. 118; masses of rebels slaughtered in and near the town, v. 118; party of enemy driven to a hill outside, v. 118; attacked by Major Gall, and every man killed, v. 118; the

Jhánsí—*cont.*

Rání escapes to Kálpí (5 Apr '58), v. 119; British loss in the capture of the place, v. 119; Col. Liddell left in command of (22 Apr '58), v. 120.

Garrison of (July '58), v. 222; force under Brig. Ainslie advances against Firúzsháh from (17 Dec. '58), v. 254.

Jhánsí, Rání of, her heroic character, v. 155; protests against annexation (1853), i. 66; her cause of anger with the British Government, iii. 120.

Plunges into the Mutiny as soon as it begins, iii. 121; deceives Agent, and gets permission to enlist soldiers, iii. 122; gives the signal for the outbreak (6 June), iii. 123; allows English commissioners to be murdered, iii. 124; proposes terms to English in fort, iii. 125; her complicity in the massacre of the English, iii. 126.

Cleverly manages the Sipáhís, and becomes a capable ruler, iii. 126; joined by Gwáliár Contingent (22 Sept), iv. 105; fights against the English with courage and ability, iii. 127; her desperate defence of Jhánsí (19 Mar—3 Apr), v. 106-119; she escapes to Kálpí, v. 119; begs aid of Tántiá Topí, v. 306; arrives at Kálpí the same day as Tántiá Topí, v. 306; begs troops of Ráo Sáhib, at Kálpí, v. 120, 307; Tántiá Topí's army placed at service of (6 Apr. '58), v. 307; she is present at defeat of Kuinch (6 May '58), v. 125; induces panic-stricken Sipáhís to re-occupy Kálpí (19 May '58), v. 126; she is driven from Kálpí (22 May '58), v. 129, 307; flies from Galáulí to Gopálpír, v. 143.

Suggests the *seizuré* of Gwáliár fort, v. 144; effects the seizure of that fortress (1 June '58), v. 147; she receives command of rebel

Jhánsí, Rání of—*cont.*

troops outside Gwáliár, v. 147; she is killed in battle at Kotah-kí-Sarai (17 June '58), v. 155, 307; her body burnt by Rám Ráo Govind, v. 307.

Jhálrá Patan, the capital of Jhaláwar, vi. 162; seized by Tántiá Topí (21 Aug '58), v. 228; fine levied from Ráná in, v. 228; Ráná of, escapes to Máu, v. 228.

Jhárá, Thákur of, raises loyal horsemen on the Chambal (Feb '58), v. 218.

Jhelum, situation, and description, ii. *xvii*; mutiny at (7 July), ii. 469; disastrously mismanaged attack on mutineers, ii. 471.

Jhigan, rebels evacuate fort on approach of Gen. Whitlock (9 Apr '58), v. 135.

Jhínd, Native state, bounding Gur-gáon, vi. 139.

Jhínd, Mahárájah of, Sir J. Lawrence advises trust in, ii. 116; his unfaltering faithfulness, ii. 121; his eminent services, v. 214; acceptance of help from, authorized (May), i. 443; directed to protect Karnál, ii. 121*n*; his Contingent fights bravely in capturing Ridge at Dehlí (8 June), 145*n*; protects convoys of stores for Dehlí troops, ii. 384*n*.

Jigní, Rájah of, supplies retreating rebels with carriage and stores (25 Apr '58), v. 121.

Jilwánah, town near Akbarpúr, occupied by Major Sutherland, while Tántiá Topí plundered Thán close by (25 Nov), v. 243.

Jíran, near Nímach, seized by rebels from Mandesar (Oct), iv. 399; attacked ineffectually by Capt. Tucker (23 Oct), iv. 400; evacuated by rebels (23 Oct), iv. 400.

Jodhpúr, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. xi, 163*n*, iv. *xvii*, vi. 159; description of the state, iv. *xvi*, vi. 159.

The quarrel with Búndí (1830),

Jodhpúr—*cont.*

vi. 161; Mahárájah, nobles, a subjects, at variance, iii. 17 Mahárájah of, loyal to English for personal reasons, iii. 172, vi. 16

Capt. Monck-Mason, Agent a iii. 172; the Jodhpúr Continge breaks into mutiny at Anádrá, i. 389; and attempts to murder t English on Mount A'bú, iv. 390 they break out at Erinpuram als iv. 391; insurrection suppresse vi. 160; the Mahárájah assist English in suppressing the insui rection, vi. 160; he places a smal Contingent at service of English iii. 172; the Mahárájah entrenches a position at Pálí, to stop muti neers (28 Aug), iv. 394; his troop are surprized and beaten (8 Sept) iv. 395.

Mutineers from Jodhpúr defeat Rájah of Jaipúr (Oct.), iv. 76; they join other rebels, and occupy Nárnúl, iv. 76; Col. Gerrard advances against them, iv. 77; by amazing folly they temporarily abandon their strong position, iv. 78; Col. Gerrard occupies it during their absence, iv. 79; he falls upon, and utterly defeats them, as they attempt to return (16 Nov), iv. 79; splendid charge and countercharge of Cavalry, iv. 80; during pursuit the rebels make another bold dash for victory, iv. 82.

Johannes' House, sortie from Lakhnao Residency to examine (7 July), iii. 301; blown up by the English (21 Aug), iii. 316.

Johnson, Capt. Edwin, Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, before Dehlí, ii. 448*n*; commands left section of No. 2 battery, Dehlí, iv. 13; urges Gen. Wilson to hold on to Dehlí, iv. 40*n*.

Johnson, Capt., leads Cavalry against mutineers at Kúndapati (11 Sept), iii. 350; leads Cavalry in Havelock's advance on Lakhnao, iii. 356.

- Johnson, Mr., a clerk at Bijnaur, vi. 103.
- Johnston, Mr., Magistrate at Mírath, obtains help from military, ii. 135 ; killed by fall of his horse, at Mírath (24 May), ii. 136.
- Johnstone, Brig., in command of Jálándhar, but absent on 11–12 May, ii. 333 ; his want of promptitude at Jálándhar (8 June), ii. 377 ; his own account of his slow movement, ii. 377 ; a second time refuses to pursue Jálándhar mutineers (9 June), ii. 381.
- Johnstone, Lieut., joins in gallant charge at Ráwal (12 Nov), v. 51.
- Jókan Bágh, a garden in Jhánsí where English were massacred, iii. 126.
- Jolá Parganah, Patoda Zillah, Nagar, birthplace of Tántiá Topí, v. 304.
- Jones, Capt., enters Jabalpúr with Artillery (2 Aug), v. 70.
- Jones, Capt. Wilson, killed at A'zamgarh (6 Apr '58), iv. 324.
- Jones, Brig. John, supersedes Col. Coke in command of Rúrkí column (Apr '58), iv. 360 ; allows Col. Coke to exercise all command over Rúrkí column, iv. 360 ; advances against Rohilkhand (17 Apr '58), iv. 360 ; occupies Najíbábád (18 Apr '58), iv. 362 ; drives the rebels from Naghíná (21 Apr '58), iv. 362 ; defeats rebels at Nurganj (6 May '58), iv. 371 ; reaches Baréli, and forces entrance (7 May '58), iv. 371 ; joins Sir Colin Campbell's force, iv. 371 ; sent from Baréli to save Sháhjahánpúr, iv. 373 ; skilfully penetrates Sháhjahánpúr through side-streets (11 May '58), iv. 374 ; joins Col. Hale, but forced to act on defensive only, iv. 375 ; attacked by the Maulaví, and defeats him (15 May '58), iv. 376 ; he is released by Sir Colin Campbell (18 May), iv. 376.
- Jones, Brig. William, his former services in the Panjáb, iv. 20 ; commands second column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19 ; leads his column through curtain breech, Dehlí, iv. 25 ; captures the Burn bastion (19 Sept), iv. 46 ; captures Láhor Gate (20 Sept), iv. 46 ; captures the Ajmír Gate (20 Sept), iv. 47.
- Jones, Col., of the Carabineers, succeeds to the command of Gen. Penny's column (30 Apr '58), iv. 352 ; conducts the column to Miránpúr Katrá (3 May '58), iv. 352 ; commands Cavalry at attack on Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Jones, Lieut., dangerously wounded at surprize of A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 71.
- Jones, Lieut.-Col. John, urges on Gen. Hewitt the readiness of Rifles at Mírath outbreak, ii. 49 ; with reserve column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20 ; commands covering party at explosion of Kashmír Gate, Dehlí, iv. 22.
- Jones, Mr., defeats an attempt to storm Fathgarh fort (1 July), iii. 228 ; wounded in one boat escaping from Fathgarh, is picked up by another, iii. 231 ; stops at Kúsim-khor in consequence of his wound, and is saved by kind villagers, iii. 231 ; joins Mr. Probyn, and reaches Káhnpúr in safety (1 Sept), iii. 232, 348.
- Jordan, Mr., Assistant Commissioner at Bahráich, iii. 264 ; escapes from Bahráich, but murdered on his way to Lakhnao, iii. 265.
- Jotí Parshád, Lálá, a famous contractor, materially assists in provisioning A'gra fort (July), iii. 191.
- Jowálapur, Bijnaur raiders cut off from (9 Jan '58), vi. 113.
- Jowáhir Singh, blown from a gun at Kásganj (22 Dec), iv. 205.
- Joyce, Mr., head clerk, escapes from mutiny at Mathurá (30 May), vi.

Joyce, Mr.—*cont.*

91; rides to Chatá, vi. 92; accompanies Mr. Thornhill in his dangerous ride to A'gra, vi. 91; incidents in his dangerous ride from Chatá to A'gra, vi. 93; romantic adventure at Raal (31 May), vi. 95; ultimately reaches A'gra in safety (1 June), vi. 95.

Leaves A'gra, with Mr. Thornhill to return to Mathurá, vi. 96; returns to that town and resumes official work (July), vi. 96; attempt to murder him and Mr. Thornhill, vi. 97, 102n; incidents of his second escape from Mathurá with Mr. Thornhill, vi. 100; arrives safely at A'gra fort with Mr. Thornhill, vi. 101.

Remains in A'gra fort till 10 Oct., vi. 102; returns to Mathurá with Gen. Cotton (15 Oct), vi. 102.

Juban Singh, joins Kúnwar Singh on the Son (Aug), iv. 311.

Judicial Department, its operations cause grave dissatisfaction, i. 129.

Judicial post, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 298; mutineers attempt to storm, but fail (20 July), iii. 303.

K.

Kabrai, ambush prepared by Nawáb of Bandah (16 Apr '58), v. 136.

Kábul, Sir J. Lawrence's opinion that the great disaster there was the fault of the English, ii. 116; rapid transmission of news of massacre at, i. 361n; Henry Lawrence visits, i. 5; proposal to send

Kábul—*cont.*

British Mission to, accepted (1857), i. 322, 324.

Kábul, Ameer of, *see* Dost Muham-mad.

Kábul Gate, at Dehlí, ii. 393.

Kábulís, assist conspicuously in the plunder of Lodiáná (9 June), ii. 380.

Kachauna, place in jungle near Mitaulí, where English fugitives resided for months, iii. 258.

Kach Bhuj, the King of Dehlí's letter to the ruler of, v. 333.

Kachh, Native state of Bombay Presidency, v. 1, vi. 144; loyalty of Ráo Daisal of, vi. 168.

Kachhár, a district of Dhákah, vi. 3, 28; remains tranquil during Mutiny, vi. 31.

Kachianí, mud fort destroyed by the Maulaví (24 May '58), iv. 378.

Kachrú, rebels at, surprized by Brig. Showers, and ringleaders captured (20 Mar '58), v. 216.

Kadam Rasúl, situation of, at Lakhnao, iv. 133; meaning of term, and description, iv. xvi; captured by Sikhs (16 Nov), iv. 134; unopposed occupation of (11 Mar '58), iv. 268.

Kádar Khán, Malik of Túrú, accused of attempt to assassinate Lieut. Godby (1853), ii. 498.

Kaimur Range, hills near Jabalpúr, iv. xxiii; fastnesses to which Amar Singh was finally driven (Nov '58), iv. 345.

Kairána, a town of Muzaffarnagar, vi. 123.

Kaisarábágh, at Lakhnao, description and history, iv. xvi; Gen. Havelock forces a passage at (25 Sept), iii. 363; Sháhjahánpúr fugitives murdered there (16 Nov), iii. 260n.

Bombardment of, to cover withdrawal from Residency (20-22 Nov), iv. 151.

Its capture and plunder (14 Mar '58), iv. 147, 275.

Kaisar Singh, supplies Tántiá Topí's army (10 Dec '58), v. 309.
 Kajúriá, Tántiá Topí tries to cross the Betwá at, v. 238; Ráo Sáhib encamps there (20 Oct '58), v. 308.
 Kajwá, its situation and history, iv. 102; Col. Powell discovers a body of rebels there, iv. 103; action fought at (2 Nov), iv. 103; death of Col. Powell, iv. 103; Capt. W. Peel assumes command and completes discomfiture of rebels, iv. 104.
 Kakní, the river of Jaisalmír, vi. 151.
 Kakrálá, the ambuscade at, iv. 351; death of Gen. Penny there, iv. 351; rebels driven from their ambuscade (30 Apr '58), iv. 352.
 Kakraula, anarchical condition of (Aug), v. 325.
 Kaládjí, Col. Malcolm in command at (May '58), v. 169.
 Kálá Kankar, Rájah of, despoiled of his inheritance by revenue system, iii. 273n; the noble-hearted Rájah conducts fugitives to Alláhábád, and then returns to fight against the English nation, iii. 273 and n; after suppression of Mutiny, his lands restored to him, iii. 273n.
 Kálápahár, the General who defeats the last Hindú King of Orísá (1567), vi. 4.
 Kalhúr, in Oudh, inhabitants shelter fugitives from Fathgarh, iii. 231n.
 Kaliánpúr, whither Kánhpúr mutineers march, and return from, ii. 234.
 Kalián Singh, Maharájah of Krishnagarh, vi. 152.
 Kaligáon, camping-ground of Gen. Outram (9 Sept), iii. 350.
 Kálí Kankí, rebels driven from their position at (Aug), vi. 171.
 Kálí Nadí, river of Farrukhábád district, iv. xvi, 202; skirmish with rebels near, iv. 74; rebels try to destroy bridge over (31

Kálí Nadí—cont.
 Dec), iv. 211; bridge saved by Brig. Adrian Hope (1 Jan '58), iv. 211; the 53rd Regt. forces on a battle against orders (2 Jan '58), iv. 212.
 Kálínjár, the famous fort of Bandah, vi. 79; fugitives from Náogáon endeavour to reach, but fail (16 June), iii. 129.
 Kálí Sind, a river of Jhaláwar, vi. 162.
 Kalkaparshad, commended by Náná Sáhib for destroying fugitive Europeans from Kánhpúr, ii. 502.
 Kalpí, a town of Jaláun, iv. xvi, 159n, v. x; its strength and strategic position, v. 119, 126; Dr. Lowe's description of Sipáhí arsenal at, v. 130n; his account of the capture of the place, v. 129; Náná Sáhib visits, i. 422.
 Gwáliár Contingent threatens (17 Aug), iii. 347; insurgents around, establish head-quarters at Jabalpúr (Jan '58), iv. 314.
 The town is occupied by Ráo Sáhib and Tántiá Topí (Mar '58), v. 306; Rání of Jhánsí and Tántiá Topí arrive there (8 Apr '58), v. 120; Tántiá Topí again advances from, v. 120; Sipáhís abandon, in a panic, in consequence of their defeat at Kúnch (9 May '58), v. 125.
 Inspired by Rání of Jhánsí, Sipáhís re-occupy (19 May '58), v. 126; Sir Hugh Rose begins his famous attack on, v. 127; Sipáhís harass the English attackers for five days (16–20 May '58), v. 127; skilful plan of Sipáhís to drive away English, v. 127; defeat of Sipáhí effort, and evacuation of the place (22 May '58), v. 129, 307; the camel-corps saves English from defeat there, v. 129n.
 Kalrai, fugitives from Náogáon driven back to, iii. 129; some English and Eurasians remain at (18 June), iii. 130; Europeans left

- Kalrai—*cont.*
behind at, ultimately reach Bandah in safety, iii. 130.
- Kambahyat, native state of Bombay Presidency, v. i.
- Kámpati, i. 213, 219.
- Kámpságár, Amar Singh defeated at, by Col. Durnford (16 Oct '58), iv. 341.
- Kámráñ, Sháh, independent ruler in Herat, i. 301; his nephew becomes ruler of Herat (1855), i. 303.
- Kámruúp, a district of A'sám, vi. 3, 31.
- Kámthí, garrison of, v. 77; column from, preserves order in Jabalpúr (Aug), v. 70; occupied by Gen. Whitlock (10 Jan '58), v. 134.
- Kanarat Nádí, Brig. Jones drives the Maulaví across (11 May '58), iv. 374.
- Kanáuj, town of Farrukhábád district, iv. xvi; the Brahmans of, flee to Bengal (1400), vi. 3; skirmish with rebels near (23 Oct), iv. 74.
- Kanaují Láál, accompanies Kavanagh on his dangerous mission, iv. 117.
- Kanáund, strong fort, submits to Capt. Hodson (19 Oct), iv. 76; Col. Gerrard occupies, and is joined by Hariáná Field Force (15 Nov), iv. 77.
- Kanchanpúr, insurgents defeated at, by Lieut. W. Osborne (Sept), v. 76.
- Kandahar, Persia claims dominance at (1855), i. 303; annexed by Afghanistan, i. 303; selected as place of residence for British Mission (1857), i. 323; a base of operations for Dost Muhammad, i. 320.
- Kandakót, Bálá Ráo driven from, into Nipál (4 Jan '59), v. 204.
- Kandulá, Tántiá Topí destroys Government stores at (Oct '58), v. 308.
- Kángrah, outbreak expected at (12 May), ii. 334.
- Kánpúr, a district of Alláhábád division, vi. 38; its meaning and situation, ii. xvii; description o i. 72, ii. 217; its generally unprotected state, ii. 220; its garrison at time of outbreak, ii. 218 under the command of Gen. Si Hugh Wheeler, ii. 219; great trust reposed in him by Native ii. 230.
- Native guards handle grease cartridges without complaint i 1853, i. 380; agitation among the Sipáhís at, on the annexation o Ondh (1855), v. 288.
- The story of bone-dust flour a (Apr), i. 418; Náná Sáhib's mysterious visit to Lakhnao, i. 426 his sudden return from that tow (Apr), i. 426, 454; Náná Sáhi proposes to visit Mr. Morlan there (Apr), i. 422.
- Preliminary Confusion.* — Critical condition of the town i May, ii. 155; cause of unpreparedness at, ii. 79; the opportunity for securing the place lost by optimist views at Calcutta, ii. 4; Sir Hugh Wheeler's cogent reason for not securing Magazine, ii. 222; Gen. Neill's description o the Magazine, ii. 223n; content of the Magazine said to have been unknown, ii. 233n; Sir Hugh Wheeler's anxiety to blow it up ii. 233n; Náná Sáhib appealed for help, ii. 225; Treasury an Magazine covered by Náná Sáhib, by request, ii. 226 Sir Hugh Wheeler constructs entrenchments at, ii. 221; ridiculously weak character of these entrenchments, ii. 222; effect o massacre at, on troops of Dehlí ii. 454; dangerous temper of the Cavalry at, ii. 228; re-assuring telegram from (19 May), ii. 92 Sir Hugh Wheeler asks for troops from Lakhnao, ii. 223; receives small force from that town (2 May), ii. 224; fearful disorganization at the Barracks, ii. 227.

Kánpúr—*cont.*

Occupation of Entrenchment.—Entrenchments occupied in trepidation (22 May), ii. 127; critical condition of, at end of May, ii. 119; troops begin to reinforce in June, ii. 102; Sir Hugh Wheeler sends on reinforcements to Lakhnao (3 June), ii. 230; Mr. Sherer attempts to act magisterially in the town, vi. 76.

The Revolt.—Náná Sáhib plots with the army, ii. 231; his reasons for conspiring, ii. 235; Tántiá Topí's account of how Náná Sáhib was forced into rebellion by the Sipáhís, ii. 234*n*; hesitation of the Sipáhís to break out, ii. 231*n*; a casual incident precipitates the crisis, ii. 232*n*; revolt of the Sipáhís (4 June), ii. 232; the Sipáhís simply revolt and do not injure their officers, ii. 232; plunder of the Treasury and the Magazine, ii. 233; some Sipáhís remain faithful to the last, ii. 234; every officer and man summoned to intrenchments, ii. 237; the mutineers march towards Dehlí, but subsequently return (6 June), ii. 234; murder of unoffending Christians at, ii. 237*n*.

The Siege.—The siege of the entrenchment begins, ii. 238; the want and exposure in the intrenchments, ii. 239; contrast between the besiegers and the besieged, ii. 240; the desperate sorties of Capt. Moore, ii. 241; noble men who fought in the defence, ii. 241; burning of the barrack, and all hospital comforts (10 June), ii. 244; the faithful Sipáhís sent away to save themselves, ii. 245; special losses within the entrenchment, ii. 247–249; losses inflicted on the Sipáhís from No. 2 barrack, ii. 248; stubborn defence of the unfinished barracks, ii. 247; chief commands of the mutineers conferred on Hindús, ii. 238; muti-

Kánpúr—*cont.*

neers strengthened by Sipáhís from A'zamgarh, ii. 248; Sir H. Lawrence's inability to help, iii. 282; fierce attack on intrenchments on centenary of Plassey, ii. 249; famine begins to tell on defenders, ii. 250; devotion of the women during the siege, ii. 243; heroes of the siege, ii. 241.

The Capitulation.—Náná Sáhib proposes terms of capitulation, ii. 251; he exempts from mercy anyone concerned with Lord Dalhousie's acts, ii. 251; opinions of officers on his terms of surrender, ii. 251; Commissioners appear from Náná Sáhib and offer liberal terms, ii. 252; the capitulation (26 June), ii. 252; treaty of capitulation signed, ii. 253; delusive condolences of Náná Sáhib and his officers, ii. 253; the garrison march out (27 June), ii. 253.

The Massacre.—The garrison is conducted to Satí Chaorá Ghaut, ii. 254; the murder of Col. and Mrs. Ewart, ii. 255; the garrison embark, and the massacre begins (27 June), ii. 254; officers of Náná Sáhib present at massacre, ii. 256; women and children preserved from first massacre at, ii. 258; anecdote of the boat which for a time escaped, ii. 259; escaping boat attacks and defeats pursuers, ii. 260; desperate stand made by the escaping boat-party, ii. 261; only four men escape the general massacre, ii. 262; the escaping boat brought back, ii. 262; males in captured boat murdered by order of Náná Sáhib (30 June), ii. 263.

Effect of the fall of, on Patná, iii. 36; destruction of fugitive Europeans from, commanded by Náná Sáhib (9 July), ii. 502; removal of English captives to the Bíbígarh, ii. 266; lady captives made to grind corn for Náná Sá-

Kánpúr—*cont.*

hib, ii. 267 ; Náná Sáhib captures Col. Smith's escaping boat from Fathgarh, ii. 266 ; fugitives from Fathgarh murdered by him, iii. 225.

Slaughter of women and children at the Bíbígarh (15 July), ii. 280 ; some Sipáhís refuse to murder the women, ii. 281n ; the assistance of Musalmán butchers called in to complete the work, ii. 280 ; the corpses are thrown into a well, ii. 281.

Recapture of the Town.—Instructions to Gen. Havelock for relief of, ii. 213 ; Náná Sáhib goes out to meet Gen. Havelock, ii. 282 ; skilful disposition of his troops, ii. 282 ; Gen. Havelock manœuvres to defeat him, ii. 283 ; irresistible rush of the Highlanders, ii. 284 ; heroic charge of the Eighteen Volunteers at victory of, ii. 285 ; complete defeat of Náná Sáhib (16 July), ii. 287 ; explosion of the Magazine by Náná Sáhib, ii. 287.

Retribution inflicted on the town, ii. 290 ; general flight of the inhabitants (17 July), ii. 291 ; Náná Sáhib pretends to immolate himself, and escapes into Oudh (18 July), ii. 293 ; plunder and destruction of Bithúr palace (19 July), ii. 294 ; Brig. Neill arrives there (20 July), iii. 329 ; punishments inflicted for massacre of women and children, ii. 300.

Order restored.—Defence of, secured by Havelock and Neill, ii. 303 ; Gen. Havelock constructs new intrenchment, ii. 304, iii. 329 ; 300 men left with Neill to protect, ii. 303 ; Col. Neill's description of demoralization of English force in, ii. 305n ; Col. Spurgin and his party arrive by river, ii. 305 ; Brig. Neill stops plundering at, iii. 335 ; Gen. Havelock starts from, to relieve Lakhnao (25 July), ii. 311.

Kánpúr—*cont.*

Mutineers gather round f another attack (25 July), iii. 33 critical position of, in August, ii. 347 ; strengthening and reinforcement of, during that month, ii. 348 ; Gen. Neill attacks Bithúr iii. 341 ; sends expeditions up th river, and destroys rebel boat iii. 342 ; Gen Neill marches troop to raise confidence of the people iii. 343 ; Gen. Havelock and hi force return to (13 Aug), iii. 341 he marches against Bithúr an drives the enemy from the plac (16 Aug), iii. 344.

Military division placed unde Gen. Outram, iii. 88 ; Gen. Ou tram's ever famous order at (16 Sept), iii. 352.

Tántiá Topí's Attempt on.—Sir Colin Campbell arrives (3 Nov), iv. 104 ; goes on to Lakhnao (9 Nov), iv. 159 ; Sir Celin Campbell's instructions to Gen. Windham on leaving him in charge, iv. 159 ; Gen. Windham strengthens entrenchment at, iv. 160 ; Tántiá Topí occupies country to west of (10 Nov), iv. 161 ; reinforcements arrive at (14 Nov), iv. 162 ; Gen. Windham extends his position (17 Nov), iv. 162 ; plan for aggressive defence of, suggested by Gen. Windham, iv. 164 ; Brig. Carthew commands troops in extended po sition, iv. 163.

Communication with Lakhnao severed (19 Nov), iv. 163 ; Gen. Windham guesses object of Tántiá Topí's advance, iv. 161 ; troops sent to re-occupy Banní Bridge (23 Nov), iv. 163 ; Gen. Windham's plan for striking a blow at Tántiá Topí, iv. 164 ; he marches six miles westwards to confront Tántiá Topí, iv. 165 ; the rebels close gradually around him, iv. 156 ; they occupy Suchandi and the banks of the Pándú, iv. 165 ; Gen. Windham attacks rebels at

Káñhpúr—*cont.*

Pándú rivulet (26 Nov), iv. 166; defeats the enemy and falls back, iv. 167; Gen. Windham hears of approach of Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 166; Tántiá Topí follows the English and forces further retirement, iv. 167; he repulses Gen. Windham's left (27 Nov), iv. 170; the General's defective tactics, iv. 172; he is compelled to fall back on Brick Kilns, iv. 169; Tántiá Topí again attacks Gen. Windham, iv. 168.

Dispositions to meet attack of 28 Nov, iv. 173; Brig. Carthew ordered to defend bridge on Bithúr road, iv. 174; Gen. Windham driven back into intrenchment, iv. 181; stores collected for women and sick fall into hands of rebels, iv. 181.

Sir Colin Campbell's convoy crosses into (30 Nov), iv. 183; Sir Colin Campbell sends women and children to Alláhbád, iv. 185; Tántiá Topí is defeated with great loss (6 Dec), iv. 196; but his army is allowed to escape by Gen. Mansfield, iv. 193; Gen. Hope Grant sent in pursuit, ii. 194; Tántiá Topí's account of the defeat, v. 304, 306.

Sir Colin Campbell marches westward from (24 Dec), iv. 210; Sir Colin Campbell returns to (4 Feb '58), iv. 220.

Its position in rebel operations, iii. 118; fluctuating feelings of landowners in, till capture of Lakhnão, vi. 77; judicial inquiry into atrocities at, vi. 78.

Káñhpúr battery, a post at Lakhnão, iii. 298; mutineers attempt to storm, and fail (20 July), iii. 303; so dangerous that the commanding officer had to be changed every day, iii. 309*n.*

Kankar, strong rebel position at, iv. 350; defeat of rebels at (17 Apr '58), iv. 351.

Kankráulí, Tántiá Topí occupies position at (13 Aug '58), v. 225.

Kantit, Rájah of, assists the English in Mírzápiúr, vi. 49.

Kaotlí, a river in Jaipúr, vi. 158.

Kapadak, a branch of the Ganges in the Sundarban, vi. 6.

Kapúrthalá, the Sikh Rájah joins Sir Hope Grant with a contingent, v. 186; posted at Banni bridge (4 June '58), v. 186.

Karáchí, the harbour of, i. 215, vi. 143; Commissioner ordered to send troops to Panjáb (May), i. 442; troops again sent from, into Panjáb, v. 3; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Karaulí, a state of Rájputáná, iii. x, 163*n.*, iv. x*ii*, vi. 152; description of the state, vi. 152.

The young Chief dies, and adopts heir in 1852, i. 67; Court of Directors sanctions the succession of Bharat Pál, i. 68; Madan Pál ultimately chosen instead of Bharat Pál, i. 69; he becomes Mahárájah (1853), vi. 152; Lord Dalhousie's treatment of, shakes native belief in British honesty, v. 287.

Matchlockmen from, stationed at A'gra, iii. 177; levies from, sent back as untrustworthy (5 July), iii. 179; Brig. Seaton defeats Rájah of Mainpurí at (27 Dec), iv. 206.

Special reasons for disloyalty, vi. 152; yet remains loyal, vi. 152; justifies generous treatment of Court of Directors, vi. 153.

Karaulí, Rájah of, releases Mahárájah of Kotá from his own troops (Dec), iv. 402.

Karamnásá, river near Patná, iii. 26, vi. 46; railway works at, threatened by defeated rebels (30 May '58), iv. 338.

Karak, to be occupied by British troops (1856), i. 306.

- Karans, name of a people in Orísá, vi. 4.
- Kargún, Tántiá Topí captures some of Holkar's troops at (19 Nov '58), v. 241.
- Karím Baksh, his traitorous conduct, at Dehlí, v. 347.
- Kárisát, Amar Singh defeated at, by Gen. Douglas (14 Oct '58), iv. 341.
- Karmnásá, *see* Karamnásá.
- Karnál, its situation, ii. xvii; its importance as a point of communication, ii. 122; a Native centre of news-transmission, i. 361n; road from, joining Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 387; some fugitives from Dehlí reach (11 May), ii. 73; the Guides delayed there, in their march to Dehlí, ii. 351; selected by Gen. Anson as base of operations against Dehlí, ii. 105, 106; Gen. Anson dies there (27 May), ii. 123, iii. 7; danger of severance of Dehlí Field Force from (4 July), ii. 426; protected during Mutiny by Rájah of Patiálá, v. 214.
- Karnál, Nawáb of, supports the English cause, ii. 122.
- Karnátik, general disaffection in (1806), i. 170.
- Karnátik, Naw) of, title and pension abolished by Lord Dalhousie (1854), i. 80.
- Kars, i. 302.
- Kasáolí, Gen. Anson sends troops from, to Ambálah (12 May), ii. 104.
- Kásganj, action fought near (Dec), iv. 202; Jowáhir Singh blown from a gun at (22 Dec), iv. 205.
- Káshí, *see* Banáras.
- Kashmír, situation, and description, i. 392, ii. xvii; taken over by the British, i. 4; its transference to Guláb Singh (1846), v. 2; rumour of its speedy capture, a signal among conspirators, ii. 31; Sir J. Lawrence proposes a trip to (May), i. 451; Hoti-Mardán mutineers endeavour to escape into (June),
- Kashmír—*cont.*
ii. 371n; shawl-weavers assist in plunder of Lodiáná (9 June), ii. 380.
- Kashmír Gate, at Dehlí, ii. 393; Col. Ripley enters Dehlí with his troops (11 May), ii. 64; arrangements for blowing in, iv. 22.
- Kásimbázár, south of Murshídábád, vi. 26.
- Kásim Khán, urges on mutiny at Vellúr (1806), i. 165n.
- Kásipúr, gun-manufactory near Calcutta, ii. 91; gun-foundry set in action by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 87.
- Katangí, detachment sent to secure passage of stream near (26 Sept). v. 71; detachment escapes from ambuscade near, v. 71; Madras Sipáhís gallantly drive mutineers from, v. 72; Lieut. Macgregor's body found there (26 Sept), v. 72.
- Katak, a district, and the capital, of Orísá, iv. xvii, vi. 3, 4; town of Orísá, description of, iv. xvi; Lieut.-Col. Fischer commands at, iv. 98; Madras Sipáhís marched from, to Bengal, iv. 98; troops sent from, to keep order in Sam-bhalpúr (Sept), iv. 307.
- Katak Banáras, chief town of Katak, iv. xvii.
- Káthíwár, Native state of Bombay Presidency, v. 1.
- Kátjurí, branch of the Mahánadí near Katak, iv. xvi, vi. 5.
- Katrá, pass protected by Réwah troops (June), v. 76.
- Kaugáon Batís, Tántiá Topí occupies (Oct '58), v. 308; impresses Holkar's troops there (Nov. '58), v. 308.
- Kavanagh, Thomas Henry, a clerk, offers to carry a letter from Lakh-nao intrenchment to Sir Colin Campbell (9 Nov), iv. 116; personal description, iv. 115; his disguise, iv. 116; reaches Sir Colin Campbell safely (10 Nov), iv. 117; receives the Victoria Cross, iv. 117n.

- Kavanagh, Thomas Henry—*cont.*
 Crosses under fire to meet Sir Colin Campbell (17 Nov), iv. 144.
 Becomes Assistant Commissioner of Málíábád, v. 198; suggests and effects the capture of Sandélá (30 July '58), v. 198; his tact and judgment after capture of Sandélá (Aug '58), v. 198.
 His death (1883), iv. 117n.
- Kayath, the most numerous caste in Bengal, vi. 2.
- Kaye, Major, on outbreak of mutiny, cuts off communication with Lakhnao city, iii. 250; conducts siege-train from Philúr to Dehlí Force, ii. 141n; commands Artillery at Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143n; commands heavy guns on Dehlí Ridge, ii. 448n; commands left section No. 1 battery, Dehlí, iv. 9; his section of battery catches fire (10 Sept), iv. 11; transferred to No. 2 battery, iv. 13.
- Kaye, Sir John, his statement as to the influence of Mr. Colvin over Lord Auckland, iii. 97n; his masterly summary of Mr. Tayler's conduct at Patná, iii. 78n.
- Keane, Sir John, his march through Afghanistan, iii. 133.
- Keate, Headmaster, his tender treatment of young Canning at Eton, i. 267.
- Keating, Major, notices *chapátí* distribution at Nimár in January, i. 420n; fortifies a refuge near A'sírgarh (10 July), v. 40.
 Created Political Agent for Western Málwá (26 Nov), v. 56; marches from Mandesar up A'gra road (Feb '58), v. 104; bravely drives rebels from Khíkwásás, near Chandéri (5 Mar '58), v. 105; severely wounded at storming of Chandéri (17 Mar '58), v. 106.
- Keen, Lieut., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140; occupies Banks's House, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 147.
- Keene, Mr. H. G., Superintendent of Dehrá Dún, vi. 116; hears of Mírath outbreak (16 May), vi. 117; hurries to chief station and raises recruits (May), vi. 117; organizes European night patrols, vi. 117; sends treasure up to Masúrí, vi. 118; his difficulty in cashing drafts, vi. 119; issues paper money on his own responsibility (June), vi. 119; marches against Jálanhádhar mutineers (16 June), vi. 118.
 His testimony as to Mr. Gubbins' efforts to save Banáras, vi. 41n; his testimony as to the excellence of Mr. Ross's service, vi. 62; relates the true story of the rising at A'zamgarh, vi. 63.
- Kehrí, situation of, iii. xi.
- Keir, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Kellner, Mr. George, officer of Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 17.
- Kelly, Capt., disarms fugitive rebels in Nipál (Jan '59), v. 206.
- Kelly, Col., commands second brigade at battle of Kánhpúr (26 Nov), iv. 165; captures three guns at Pándú rivulet, iv. 166; acts under Brig. Carthew at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173.
- Kemble, Capt., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Kemp, Mr. F. B., Judge of Dhákah, vi. 28.
- Ken, river to the west of Bandah, vi. 78.
- Kendall, Lieut., escapes from Sikrorá to Balrámpúr, iii. 263.
- Kennedy, Capt., commands Guides in Rewári expedition (Oct), iv. 76.
- Kennedy, Col. J. D., commands 43rd Native Regt. at Barrackpúr, i. 364.
- Kenny, Private, wins the Victoria Cross for gallantry at the Sikan-darbágh (16 Nov), iv. 139.
- Kerr, Lieut., destroys defiant mutineers of Kolhpúr (10 Aug), v. 28; his brave attack on Halgalli (29 Nov), v. 166; drives enemy

- Kerr, Lieut.—*cont.*
from English left at Chhota Udaipur (1 Dec '58), v. 246.
- Kerr, Lord Mark, his character, iv. 321; despatched with troops to save A'zamgarh (27 Mar '58), iv. 321; reaches Banáras, and starts for A'zamgarh, iv. 322; attacks Kúnwar Singh, near Sarsána (6 Apr '58), iv. 322; his remarkable battle, iv. 323; penetrates Kúnwar Singh's force, and relieves A'zamgarh (6 Apr '58), iv. 325; clears A'zamgarh of rebels, vi. 68.
- Kerr, Lord Walter, Midshipman, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Keshwá, village near which the remnants of Amar Singh's troops were defeated (June '58), iv. 338.
- Khagan, flying mutineers stopped at, by border tribes (June), ii. 371n.
- Khaibar Pass, i. 31.
- Khairábád, ferry on the Atak, guarded by mutinous Sipáhís, ii. 363n.
- Khairábád, plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 201.
- Khairagarh, occupied by Gwáliár rebels (11 Sept), iv. 67.
- Khairpúr, Nat'ye state of Bombay Presidency, *s. l.*
- Khálkí Risála. name of Mírath Volunteers, vi. 127.
- Khálsá, army of the Sikhs, i. 5; completely broken (Mar '49), i. 32; revive hopes of independence, i. 8; believe in prophecy to plunder Dehlí, ii. 355.
- Khán Bahádur Khán, heir of the Rohillas, and pensioner of the British Government, iii. 206; titular ruler in Rohilkhand, ii. 309; stirs up sedition at Baréli, iii. 206; proclaimed Viceroy of Rohilkhand (31 May), iii. 212; slaughters all the English remaining in Baréli, iii. 212; is defied by his helpless victims, iii. 212; induces his rival Bakht Khán to go to Dehlí, iii. 212; destroys Mr. Thomason's tomb to build one for himself, iii. 212; begins to oppress the Hindús, and provokes his own downfall, iii. 213.
- Extends his rule to Budáun, iii. 217; gains nominal sway throughout Rohilkhand (2 June), iii. 222; disorder under his sway, iii. 223; the Thákurs for a long time dispute his authority, iii. 223; his misgovernment causes people to desire the return of the English, iii. 224; makes himself hated by the Natives (Apr '58), iv. 364.
- The force with which he held Baréli, iv. 366; the natural defences of the place, iv. 366; he resolves to meet the British in the open, iv. 367; takes up a position at Natiá Nadí, iv. 367; he is driven into Baréli by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 368; the fierce onslaught of Gházís, iv. 368; Sir Colin halts to collect his force, iv. 369; the Khán withdraws at night from Baréli, (5 May '58), iv. 370; he causes Sir Colin Campbell to pause in final attack on Baréli, iv. 370.
- Brig. Coke sent in pursuit of, (12 May '58), iv. 376; again appears at the head of a small force near Powái (Aug '58), v. 191.
- Khandaits, name of a people in Orísá, vi. 4.
- Khandé Ráo, Gáekwár of Barodah, his loyalty, vi. 168.
- Khándesh, protected by Sir Hugh Rose (Nov '58), v. 241.
- Khandlá, a town of Muzaffarnagar, vi. 123.
- Khankal, defeat of Bijnaur raiders near (9 Jan '58), vi. 113.
- Khán River, near Indúr Residency, iii. xi, 143; impossibility of crossing, in face of Holkar's mutineers, iii. 157.
- Khán Singh, intrigues against the English at Lahor (1848). i. 21.
- Khán Singh, Sirdár, appointed Governor of Múltán (1847), i. 14.

- Khán Zamán, his victory at Pánípat (1556), vi. 140.
- Kharsúá, river of Katak, iv. xvi.
- Khás Bazaar, market-place near Residency, Lakhnao, iii. 364.
- Khasiá Hills, district of A'sám, vi. 3, 32.
- Khátmándu, capital of Nipál, i. 5; Gurkhás start from, to help the English, in July, iv. 221.
- Kházar Sultán Mirzá, Mirzá, a Dehlí prince, secreted in Humáyun's tomb, iv. 55; his death, iv. 55.
- Khém Sáwant, generously aids the British although deposed, vi. 168.
- Kherá, a position occupied by Tántiá Topí's force (10 Dec), v. 306.
- Kheri, district to the west of Bahráich, iii. 261, iv. xv.
- Khot, fort captured by Jámadár Imám Bakhsh Khán (18 Apr '58), iv. 361.
- Khúkwásás, place near Chandéri, v. 105.
- Khulná, a station of Jessor, vi. 26.
- Khurajpura, Nawáb of, his petition to the King of Dehlí (12 July), v. 325.
- Khurjá, occupied by Wálídád Khán (27 May), vi. 135; occupied by Col. Greathed's force (3 Oct), iv. 64.
- Khwájá A'bdu'l Ganí, see A'bdu'l Ganí, Khwájá.
- Kíká, Ráná, his defeat at Gogúndah (1576), vi. 155.
- Kilburn, Mr., a merchant, serves in Calcutta Cavalry Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Kilwári, Tántia Topí marches on (Jan '59), v. 309.
- Kínah, pass by which Tántiá Topí marched out of Bundí (July '58), v. 223.
- Kirby, Capt., accompanies Capt. Mackenzie to recover guns for Baréli (31 May), iii. 210n.
- Kirchoff, Sergeant, attacked, left for dead, but escapes (20 June), iii. 130.
- Kirk, Dr., murdered at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.
- Kirk, Major, commands Sipábís at Náogáon, iii. 127; removes guns to quarter-guard (30 May), iii. 127; opens communication with Jhánsí and Lálatpúr (9 June), iii. 128; dies of sunstroke in escaping from Náogáon (17 June), iii. 129.
- Kírwí, a town of Bandah district, v. x, vi. 79; its recent history, v. 138; Amrit Ráo founds the *ráj*, v. 139; Venáyak Ráo deposits trust-fund in hands of Indian Government (1853), v. 139; Venáyak Ráo's trust-fund appropriated by Government (1855), v. 139; Mádhava Ráo rides out to welcome Gen. Whitlock (2 June '58), v. 140; the place is occupied without resistance, vi. 83.
- Kírwí, Ráo of, a child of nine years, v. 138; the story of his unjust treatment, v. 290; his innocence of treason officially declared, v. 303; no grounds whatever for treating him as an enemy, v. 304; the wealth of the boy-king causes his condemnation, v. 141.
- Kishanganj, suburb near Ridge at Dehli, ii. 390; its military strength, ii. 290n; evacuated by mutineers (16 Sept), iv. 41.
- Kishanganj, near Purniá, Mr. Yule chases Dhákah mutineers to (20 Dec), iv. 300.
- Kishan Singh, minister of Búndí, his murder (1830), vi. 161.
- Kishan Singh, witnesses Commissioner Fraser's murder at Dehlí, ii. 60n.
- Kishngarh, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. 163n, iv. xrii.
- Kittúr, Desái of, a disaffected Máráthá chieftain, v. 20.
- Knight, Dr., civil surgeon at Bijnaur, vi. 103.
- Knight, Mrs., resides at Bijnaur, vi. 103.
- Knocker, Capt., storms and carries the pass of Shergáti (5 Nov), iv. 307.

- Knox, Capt., killed at sortie from Dehlí (12 June), ii. 409n.
- Knyvett, Col., last to leave Dehlí Cantonment (11 May), ii. 73n.
- Koch Bihár, a division of the Lower Provinces, iii. xi, vi. 3.
- Kochin, perfect loyalty of ruler of, vi. 168.
- Koel, town near fort of A'lígarh, vi. 137.
- Kohan-dil-Khan, chief of Kandahar, dies (1855), i. 303.
- Kohát, its situation, ii. xvii; detachment sent from, to occupy Atak (16 May), ii. 350; its abandonment proposed, by Sir J. Lawrence, ii. 465.
- Koilsá, spot where Mr. Venables attacked the Palwár Rájputás, vi. 66; camping station of Col. Milman (Mar '58), iv. 319; Col. Milman driven out of, by Kúnwar Singh (22 Mar '58), iv. 320.
- Kokhand, Persia tries to influence against England (1856), i. 317.
- Kokrail, scene of the gallant charge of Cavalry after battle of Chinhat (29 June), iii. 285; stream crossed by Sir J. Outram in his attack on Lakhnao (9 Mar '58), iv. 261.
- Kolá Kankar, the last boat escaping from Kánhpúr, captured there, v. 305.
- Koláhán, the district of the Kol tribes, iv. xiii.
- Kohlápúr, Native State of Bombay Presidency, v. x. 1; former corrupt condition of (1830-40), v. 24; under British management, vi. 168; its readiness for revolt in 1857, v. 25; the plot which was hatched, v. 29.
- Mutiny breaks out (31 July), v. 21, 26; Sipáhís attempt to murder their officers, v. 26; mutineers shut from station by Col. Maughan, v. 27; all but forty mutineers disperse, v. 28; Lieut. Kerr arrives with troops and destroys remnant of mutineers (10 Aug), v. 28.
- Kohlápúr—*cont.*
Col. Jacob arrives there (14 Aug), v. 27; mutinous regiment disarmed (14 Aug), v. 29; final suppression of disturbance in, v. 29.
- Kols, a people of Chútiá Nágpúr, iv. xiii, 95; those at Singhbhúm, rise in insurrection (Dec), iv. 306.
- Komilá, district through which Chitrágáón mutineers passed (Dec), iv. 295.
- Konds, an aboriginal tribe of Orísá, vi. 4.
- Kopuldrúg, the Chief of, defeated by Col. Hughes (May '58), v. 170.
- Koreá, a Tributary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.
- Korwás, a people of Chútiá Nágpúr, iv. xiii, 95.
- Kosí, small town on the frontier of Mathurá district, vi. 91; Bhart-púr troops mutiny near (31 May), vi. 93.
- Kotá, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. x, xi, 163n, iv. xvii, vi. 161; description of the state, iv. 397, vi. 161; Rám Singh, Maháráo of, vi. 161.
- The Contingent of, and its behaviour, vi. 161; Contingent from ordered to attack mutineers near A'gra, iii. 178; but mutinies there (4 July), iii. 179; the mutineers are destroyed by Gen. Nicholson at Najafgarh (25 Aug), ii. 494.
- In a state of rebellion (Sept), iv. 397; mutiny at (15 Oct), iv. 398; the Maháráo imprisoned in his own palace, by rebels, iv. 401; his officers fire on Tántiá Topí's force (28 Dec '58), v. 309; fords at, watched by Brig. Honner (Jan '59), v. 255; Major Burton returns to, from Nímach, iv. 398; Maj.-Gen. Roberts reaches (22 Mar '58), iv. 402; rebels driven from the place by Gen. Roberts (29 Mar '58), iv. 403; Major Gall sent to watch rebels at (22 Apr '58), v. 120.
- The Maháráo fails to clear him-

- Kotá—*cont.*
 self from disloyalty, vi. 162 ; the Maháráo's salute reduced as a mark of disfavour, vi. 162 ; salute restored (1866), vi. 162.
 Kotah-kí-Saraj, occupied by Brig. Smith (17 June '58), v. 150.
 Kotáriá, stream on the banks of which Tántiá Topí was defeated (7 Aug '58), v. 244.
 Kothí, states to the west of Rewah, v. xi.
 Kotrá, Tántiá Topí retreats from Indragarh to (11 Aug '58), v. 307 ; defeat of Rájah of Bánpur at (25 Apr '58), v. 120.
 Krishnagarh, principal station of Nadiá, vi. 25.
 Krishnagarh, a state of Rájpútáná, vi. 151 ; description of the state, vi. 151 ; remains loyal during Mutiny, vi. 152.
 Krishn Singh, Pandit, fights and labours for the English, at Jaunpur, vi. 52.
 Kúári, description of the course of the river, v. 216*n* ; the river on which Rúp Singh operated (Oct '58), v. 216 ; and the town at which Rúp Singh was finally defeated (Oct '58), v. 216.
 Kuchwaghār, district attempted by Firúzsháh (Dec '58), v. 251.
 Kuchwáyá Kharwála, joins in attack on Chirkhári (Mar '58), v. 306.
 Kudya, its situation, iv. 224*n* ; rebels at, defeated by Gurkhás (19 Oct), iv. 224.
 Kukrail, rivulet near Lakhnao on road to Chinhat, iii. 284 ; scene of gallant Cavalry charge (29 June), iii. 285 ; crossed by Sir J. Outram in final attack on Lakhnao (9 Mar '58), iv. 261.
 Kuládgí, its situation, v. x.
 Kulinism, affected by widow-remarriage, i. 381.
 Kultura, in Ceylon, Havelock almost wrecked there (May), ii. 211.
 Kumár, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.
 Kumáun, levies from, engaged at Pílibhít (Aug '58), v. 192.
 Kúmbá, Rána, his pillar of victory at Chitor (1440), vi. 155.
 Kumoná, Nawáb of, assists Tántiá Topí at Náthduwárá (Aug '58), v. 307.
 Kúnch, its situation, v. x ; Tántiá Topí retreats from Jhánsí through (1 Apr '58), v. 306 ; Tántiá Topí takes up strong position there (20 Apr '58), v. 120 ; Sir Hugh Rose disconcerts rebels by a flank march, v. 122 ; the defeat at, causes discord among the Sipáhís (6 May '58), v. 125 ; Tántiá Topí's account of battle at, v. 307.
 Kúndapati, spot at which Oudh mutineers cross Ganges to harass English, iii. 350 ; annihilation of party of Oudh mutineers at (11 Sept), iii. 351.
 Kúnwar Singh, a Rájpút, Chief of Jagdíspúr, iii. 50 ; one of the three capable rebel leaders, iv. 105 ; unwise treatment of, v. 291 ; Mr. W. Tayler urges the Government to adopt a more prudent course, iii. 50*n* ; cause of his enmity against the English, iii. 50 and *n* ; his plan for redeeming his fortune, iv. 318.
 First intimation of his intended revolt (June), iii. 32 ; directs Dánápúr mutineers to attack A'rah, iii. 52 ; his followers assist Dánápúr mutineers across Són, iii. 52 ; Sipáhís fly from A'rah to him, iii. 67 ; effect of his rebellion on Gházipúr, vi. 61.
 His levies harass Major Eyre's rear, iii. 66 ; Major Eyre moves against his stronghold, iii. 84 ; he prepares to defend Jagdíspúr, iii. 85 ; one of his scouts captured by Major Eyre (31 July), iii. 64 ; he takes up position on the Són, iv. 311 ; occupies villages Diláwar and Tolá Nárainpúr, iii. 85 ; is defeated and flies with remnant of his troops (12 Aug), iii. 86 ; he is

Kúnwar Singh—*cont.*

driven from Jataurá by Major Eyre (14 Aug), iii. 86.

His reported advance on Nagód (27 Aug), v. 74; breaks into Mirzápír district (8 Sept), vi. 49; he occupies A'zamgarh, vi. 68; threatens part of road to Alláhábád, iv. 88.

He threatens Western Bihár (Mar '58), iv. 317; his probable course, if victorious, vi. 32; Calcutta itself open to his depredations, vi. 33.

Effects junction with detachment from Belwá, at Atráoliá (17 Mar '58), iv. 318; advances, and drives back Col. Milman (22 Mar '58), iv. 319; repulses Col. Dames at A'zamgarh (27 Mar '58), iv. 321; blockades Col. Milman in A'zamgarh gaol (4 Apr '58), iv. 326; defects in carrying out his admirable strategy, iv. 327; his force is penetrated by Lord Mark Kerr (6 Apr '58), iv. 325; his strategy in withdrawing his force from A'zamgarh (14 Apr '58), iv. 330; disputes the passage of the Tons, against Sir E. Lugard, i. 330; his masterly retreat from the Tons (15 Apr '58), iv. 331; checks the English pursuit a second time (17 Apr '58), iv. 332; caught and defeated at Manohar (20 Apr '58), iv. 333; eludes pursuit and safely crosses the Ganges (21 Apr '58), iv. 334; his retreat across Gházípúr demoralizes that district, vi. 62.

Re-enters Jagdíspúr (22 Apr '58), iv. 334; defeats Capt. Le Grand (23 Apr '58), iv. 335; dies of a wound at Jagdíspúr (26 Apr '58), iv. 336.

Kurai, near Ságár, Tántiá Topí arrives there, v. 238; half Tántiá Topí's army destroyed at (25 Oct '58), v. 238.

Kurandwár, state in Southern Máráthá country, v. 14.

Kursí, rebel detachment driven from, by Sir Hope Grant (23 Mar '58), iv. 287.

Kurundwád, its description, v. x; Mr. Manson hears of insurrection of Dhárwár at (27 May '58), v. 168

Kusí river, crossed by Mr. Yule when driving mutineers into Nipál (12 Dec), iv. 229.

Kusí, the Little, river of Púrniá. iv. xvii.

Kusia Bágh, summer-palace of Emperors near Dehlí, ii. 391.

Kúshalgarh, Brig. Showers takes up position at (Jan '59), v. 255.

Kushání, Ráo Sáhib defeated at (10 Feb '59), v. 257.

Kúsímkhor, in Oudh, people of, treat kindly fugitives from Fathgarh, iii. 231.

Kutb, a royal residence near Dehlí, ii. 13.

Kydganj, suburb of Alláhábád, attacked by Col. Neill (15 June), ii. 200; considered by Col. Neill the most important position in Alláhábád, ii. 297.

L.

Labadoor, Mr., murdered at Sháhjahánpúr (31 May), iii. 213.

Lachman Siugh, Maháráwal of Bánswárá, his loyalty, vi. 157.

Laiákat A'lí, name of the "Mau-laví," ii. 197n.

Láhor, its situation, ii. xvii; before annexation, i. 3; the cantonment of Mián Mír at, ii. 320; the civil station of Anárkalí near, ii. 320;

Láhor—*cont.*

Sir J. Lawrence's estimate of its importance, ii. 349; Sir F. Currie appointed Resident at (1847), i. 11; intrigues against the English, in 1848, i. 21; the Durbar demands an exorbitant succession duty from Múlháj, i. 13; unjust treatment of Dhulíp Singh, King of, v. 290*n*; establishment of Board of Administration, i. 38; Sir H. Lawrence political officer, i. 38; abolition of the Board, i. 45.

Its garrison at the time of the Mutiny, ii. 320; supposed general conspiracy among Sipáhís of Panjáb, ii. 333*n*; troops sent from, to secure Govindgarh, ii. 327; a faithful Brahman there, ascertains the mutinous state of the Native troops, ii. 321; in absence of Sir J. Lawrence, Montgomery assumes responsibility of action, ii. 322; the station ball at, ii. 323; the English seize the Fort, ii. 326; successful disarmament of Sipáhís (13 May), ii. 325; unable to supply Artillery at first outbreak, ii. 106.

Insurrection near (14 Sept), v. 211.

Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov. '58), v. 276.

Láhor, Maháráni of, her discreditable life, i. 3; she intrigues against the English (1847), i. 10; banished to Shekhopúr, i. 10; she again intrigues against the English (1848), i. 21; she is banished from the Panjáb, i. 21; and conveyed to Banáras, i. 22; she escapes from fort at Chanár, vi. 46; and dies in London, i. 34.

Láhor Gate, at Dehlí, captured by Brig. Jones (20 Sept), iv. 46; interior defences of, on day of assault, iv. 32.

Lake, Col., Deputy Commissioner at Jálardhar, raises bodies of Cavalry, iv. 235.

Lake, Gen. Lord, i. 157; captures Fort of A'lígarh, iii. x, 102; rescues Sháh A'lám (1803), ii. 2; his siege of Bharatpúr (1804), iii. x.

Lake, Major Edward, Commissioner of Jálardhar, ii. 375; assists Herbert Edwardes to defeat Múlháj (1849), i. 20, ii. 375.

Lákhí, name of a gate at Lakhnao, iv. xvi.

Lakhnao:—

Historical Details.—Description of the city, iii. 246; its importance to the rebel cause, iv. 216; Col. Sleeman Resident at (1846–1849), i. 96; King publicly disgraces himself in the streets (1848), i. 96; insults offered to ex-King's family (1856), i. 297; Muhammadans of, write to Dost Muhammad, in 1856, asking aid against the English, ii. 373*n*; Náná Sáhib visits, i. 422; Mr. Gubbins's description of Náná Sáhib's visit to, i. 454.

Indications of unsettlement.—The religious question raised to fanaticism before March, iii. 239; Sir H. Lawrence becomes Chief Commissioner (20 Mar), i. 332, iii. 234; he detects discontent in, and its cause, iii. 234; he begins to remove the cause of discontent, iii. 234; and pacifies the small traders of, iii. 238.

Disaffection shows itself.—The garrison of the town in April, iii. 239; an inadvertent act of surgeon in, reveals disaffection (Apr), iii. 239; Sir H. Lawrence reports signs of dangerous coalitions, i. 423; question of removing disaffected regiments, i. 431; first mutinous display (30 Apr), iii. 242; Sir H. Lawrence makes Residency defensible, iii. 242.

First Mutiny.—Native officers confess the deep-rooted distrust of their men, i. 435; disaffection among men of 7th Regt (2 May), i. 431; Sir H. Lawrence resolves

Lakhnao—*cont.*

to disarm 7th Regt., i. 432; scene at disbandment, i. 433, iii. 243; first open mutiny at (3 May), iii. 243; incendiary fires break out at (7 May), i. 434; Sir H. Lawrence holds his famous Durbár at (12 May), iii. 244; he receives, from Lord Canning, plenary military authority at, iii. 246; plenary power granted to Sir H. Lawrence removes Oudh from Kánpúr military division, ii. 223n; protective measures necessitated by Mírath outbreak, iii. 245; reassuring telegram from (19 May), ii. 92; Sir H. Lawrence's military preparations at, iii. 247; ladies, &c., removed to Residency (26 May), iii. 247.

Second Mutiny.—Mutiny breaks out violently (30 May), iii. 249; Sir H. Lawrence is informed of the intended rising, iii. 249; critical position of Sir Henry and his staff, iii. 250; first act of mutineers is to plunder, iii. 250; on night of mutiny many Sipáhís prove loyal, iii. 251; mutineers assemble at Múdkipúr, iii. 251; mutineers driven from Múdkipúr (31 May), iii. 252; a time more tranquil after mutiny than before, iii. 252; deposed King of, recognized as leader of the first mutinies, i. 421n; critical condition of, at end of May, ii. 119.

Preparations for Attack.—Its defences strengthened in June, ii. 307; reinforcements sent to, from Kánpúr (3 June), ii. 230; Sir H. Lawrence's break down in health, iii. 278; the Provisional Council at (9 June), iii. 278; Mr. Gubbins sends away the Sipáhís, iii. 278; Provisional Council dissolved (11 June), iii. 278; Sir H. Lawrence recommends Major Banks as his successor, iii. 277; and Col. Inglis for military command, iii. 277.

Lakhnao—*cont.*

Third Mutiny.—Cavalry mutiny (11 June), iii. 279; Native Brigade organized for defence of Residency (12 June), iii. 278; Military Police mutiny (12 June), iii. 279; the Mounted Police march to Kánpúr, iii. 280; Capt. Weston's heroic attempt to recall mutineers, iii. 280; Col. Inglis pursues mutineers with little effect, iii. 280.

The Battle of Chinhát.—Preparations for defence of Machchí Bhawan, iii. 281; mutinous troops collect at Nawábganj Bara Bánkí (20 June), iii. 283; mutineers advance to Chinhát (28 June), iii. 283; troops moved from Cantonment to Residency, iii. 283; the battle of Chinhát (29 June), iii. 284; treachery of the Native gunners, iii. 285; defeat of Sir H. Lawrence, iii. 284; gallant charge of Capt. Radclyffe secures retreat, iii. 285; the iron bridge gallantly held against advancing Sipáhís, iii. 286; the shattered army regains the Residency, iii. 287; defeat at Chinhát causes concentration on Residency, iii. 286; first attack on, at Anderson's post (29 June), iii. 287; abandonment of Machchí Bhawan (29 June), iii. 288.

The Defence of the Residency.—Sir H. Lawrence resolves to hold Residency as final post, iii. 275; description of Residency at, iii. 242; descriptions of the various posts, iii. 297; Innes's house, iii. 297; the Redan battery, iii. 297; the Water Gate, iii. 297; the Banqueting Hall, iii. 297; the Treasury buildings, iii. 297; the Baillie Guard, iii. 297; Fayrer's house, iii. 297; the Financial garrison, iii. 297; Sago's house, iii. 297; the Post Office, iii. 297; the Judicial post, iii. 298; Anderson's post, iii. 298; the Kánpúr battery, iii. 298; the Thag gaol, iii. 298; the Brigade Mess, iii.

Lakhnao—*cont.*

298; the Sikh squares, iii. 298; Gubbins's post, iii. 298; the Church garrison, iii. 298; the Bhúsá intrenchments, iii. 298; Ommaney's post, iii. 298; relative positions of troops in, iii. 241; works thrown up for the defence of Residency, iii. 281; on fall of Kánhpúr, mutineers at once advance on Lakhnao, iii. 283; instructions to Gen. Havelock for relief of, ii. 213.

Horrible confusion in Residency, after defeat at Chinhat, iii. 299; heroic rescue of Mr. Capper, iii. 287; order restored in Residency (10 July), iii. 300; weakness of the Residency defences, iii. 291; garrison of Residency at commencement of attack, iii. 289; 68 ladies and 66 children shut up in, iii. 327; rebels attack Machchí Bhawan, iii. 288; the garrison of that place enter Residency, iii. 289; Machchí Bhawan is then blown up, iii. 289.

The Siege.—Beginning of the siege (1 July), ii. 308; iii. 291; The Sipáhís fear to attack the Residency, iii. 290; their method of attack, iii. 291; Sir H. Lawrence mortally wounded with a shell (2 July), iii. 292; Capt. Wilson's account of the disaster, iii. 293; death of Sir H. Lawrence (4 July), iii. 297; Major Banks takes chief command, iii. 297; Náná Sáhib sends help to mutineers at (7 July), ii. 502; first sortie from Residency (7 July), iii. 301.

The First Assault.—Mutineers prepare for three weeks before really attacking Residency, iii. 299; account of first assault (20 July), iii. 300; mutineers attempt to storm Innes's house, iii. 302; their attempt to storm the Redan battery, iii. 302; they attempt to storm Kánhpúr battery, iii. 303; and vigorously attack Anderson's

Lakhnao—*cont.*

post, iii. 303; they also attempt to storm Judicial post, iii. 303; they fail in every attempt, iii. 303; material and moral effects of failure of first assault, iii. 303.

Arrival of news from the outer world (22 July), iii. 305; Brig. Inglis has news of Havelock's advance (25 July), iii. 305; ceaseless toil of garrison, iii. 307; garrison led to expect speedy relief, ii. 311.

The Second Assault.—Mutineers deliver second assault (10 Aug), iii. 306; account of second assault, iii. 380; mutineers renew assaults till 10 o'clock at night, iii. 307; garrison make a second sortie (12 Aug), iii. 309.

The Third Assault.—Third grand assault of mutineers (18 Aug), iii. 309; description of third assault, iii. 381; special means by which third assault was repulsed, iii. 311; complete failure of third assault, iii. 310; after third assault, houses outside defences demolished, iii. 315.

Mutineers try to burn gate of Baillie Guard (19 Aug), iii. 316; Johannes' house successfully blown up (21 Aug), iii. 316; garrison hear distant firing of approaching relief (22, 23 Aug), iii. 317.

The spy Angad sent out, iii. 217; Angad returns on 28 Aug., to say that relief cannot come for 25 days, iii. 317; supplies of garrison run short in September, iii. 319.

The Fourth Assault.—Fourth grand assault delivered (5 Sept), iii. 317; description of fourth assault, iii. 381; fourth attack completely defeated, iii. 318; Angad goes on third trip and brings news of speedy relief (22 Sept), iii. 319.

The First Relief.—Gen. Havelock reaches the A'lambágh (23 Sept), iii. 358; capture of the

Lakhnao—*cont.*

A'lambagh, iii. 359; Gen. Havelock penetrates by the Chárbágh (25 Sept), iii. 360; the Artillery fight at the Chárbágh Bridge, iii. 361; young Havelock audaciously tricks Gen. Neill into charging the bridge, iii. 362; heroism of young Havelock and Private Jakes on the bridge, iii. 362; death of the heroic Private Jakes, iii. 363n; terrible resistance at the Kaisarbágh, iii. 363; death of Gen. Neill at the Khás Bazaar, iii. 364; entry of Gen. Havelock into Residency (25 Sept), iii. 365.

Second Defence of Residency.—Gen. Outram assumes command of the united forces (26 Sept), iii. 367; capture of Captain Bazaar (26 Sept), iv. 108; Gen. Outram extends intrenchment, iv. 108; Gen. Outram tries but fails to send away Native Cavalry, iv. 109; sortie from intrenchment (27 Sept), iv. 109; Gen. Havelock's rear-guard brought into Residency, iii. 366, iv. 107; three sorties from intrenchment (29 Sept), iv. 110; last of Gen. Havelock's guns and matériel enters Residency (1 Oct), iii. 367.

In first relief 702 of Havelock's men were killed and wounded, iii. 367; first relief, 24 Sept., after 87 days siege, only a reinforcement, iii. 321, 322; the 1692 occupants of the Residency lose 713 before first relief, iii. 328.

Nature of the Defence.—Its defence the Plevna of India, iii. 296; desperate position of occupants of each post gives vigour to the defence, iii. 311; the reserve of 18 men placed in centre of the position, iii. 312; 24 gunners to work 30 guns, iii. 388, ceaseless "look-out" maintained by garrison, iii. 314; mining and counter-mining at, iii. 314, 381; the science of loop-holing at, iii. 312; close

Lakhnao—*cont.*

proximity of contending parties during siege, iii. 312; sparing but deadly character of fire of besieged, iii. 313; heavy fatigue duties at Residency in addition to fighting, iii. 301, 382; every artifice used ineffectually to get Native soldiers to desert, iii. 326; devotion and services of pensioned Sipáhís at, iii. 327; the British flag kept flying during siege, iii. 314; reasons for successful defence and relief of, iii. 368.

Gen. Outram tries to extend intrenchment towards Kánpúr road (Oct), iv. 112; Phillips's Garden occupied as an outpost (2 Oct), iv. 111, 112; mutineers retire to some distance from intrenchment, iv. 113; description of the extensive mining at, iv. 113n; news of Greathed's movements cheers the garrison, iv. 114; garrison hears of the arrival of Brig. Hope Grant, iv. 115; semaphore erected to communicate with A'lambágh (Nov), iv. 115; signalling between garrison and Sir Colm Campbell, iv. 144.

Second Relief.—Force with which Sir Colm Campbell attacked (13 Nov), iv. 121; Sir Colm's plan for relieving the place, iv. 118; his plan based on that supplied by Sir J. Outram, iv. 119n; capture of Dilkushá (14 Nov), iv. 122; capture of Martinière (14 Nov), iv. 123; the rebels twice attack Sir Colm Campbell, but fail to make any impression, iv. 124; first day's bivouac during attack (15 Nov), iv. 125; attack on Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 127; Lieut. Cooper forces an entrance, iv. 129; daring courage of Col. Ewart and Capt. Lumsden, iv. 129; gallantry of Gokul Singh iv. 129; capture of the place through the bravery of these men, iv. 131; slaughter of the entire

Lakhnao—cont.

garrison, iv. 133; capture of the Barracks, iv. 133; attack on the Sháh Najaf, iv. 133; capture of the Kadam Rasúl by a party of Sikhs, iv. 134; the crisis of the battle, iv. 135; Sir Colin Campbell leads the assault in person, iv. 136; but cannot capture the place, iv. 136; Sergeant Paton discovers an opening and saves the army, iv. 137; capture of the Sháh Najaf, iv. 137; second day's bivouac during attack, iv. 138; list of the real heroes of this day's attack, iv. 139.

Sir J. Outram makes a diversion during Sir Colin Campbell's attack, iv. 140, 145; capture of Harankháná by Gen. Havelock, iv. 146; rebels deliver counter-attacks on Martinière and Dilkushá during Sir Colin Campbell's advance into the town, iv. 140.

Capture of Banks's House (17 Nov), iv. 147; Sir Colin Campbell's plan for final junction with Sir J. Outram, iv. 141; attack and capture of Mess-House (17 Nov), iv. 142; first meeting between Sir Colin Campbell and Sir J. Outram, iv. 144; capture of Hospital, by Col. Hale (18 Nov), iv. 149; the rebels attack left of British advancing troops, iv. 148; they also attack British centre, but are repulsed, iv. 150; services of Cavalry during Sir Colin Campbell's relief operations, iv. 153; Sir Colin Campbell's arrangements for withdrawing garrison, iv. 151; bombardment of Kaisarbágh to cover withdrawal from Residency (20-22 Nov), iv. 151.

Defence of the A'lambágh.—Sir J. Outram left in command of A'lambágh (26 Nov), iv. 239; Sir J. Outram occupies fort of Jalálábád, iv. 240; the Maulaví begins to attack the English left (Dec), iv. 240; the Maulaví cuts the

Lakhnao—cont.

communication with Kánpúr (22 Dec), iv. 241; Brig. Stisted attacks and drives rebels back to the town, iv. 241; Sir J. Outram sends large convoy to Kánpúr (8 Jan '58), iv. 242; Mansab Átí worries Sir J. Outram's communications, iv. 242; rebels make supreme effort to drive Sir J. Outram from A'lambágh (12 Jan '58), iv. 242; rebels repulsed at all points with heavy loss, iv. 244; Maulaví attempts to capture returning convoy (14 Jan '58), iv. 244; the Maulaví wounded and driven off, iv. 245; the rebels make another general attack (16 Jan '58), iv. 245; complete defeat of second attack, iv. 246; the rebels greatly disheartened, iv. 246; dissensions among the rebels in (Feb '51), iv. 246; rebels make a third ineffectual attack (15 Feb '58), iv. 246; the rebels attempt a grand assault (21 Feb '58), iv. 247; again beaten back with a loss of 340 men, iv. 248; last despairing attack on Sir J. Outram (25 Feb '58), iv. 248; the Begam accompanies last despairing attack on A'lambágh, iv. 248; crushing defeat inflicted on rebels, iv. 250.

The Final Capture of Lakhnao.—Sir Colin Campbell arrives with his troops (3 Mar '58), iv. 253; Jang Bahádur reaches British camp at (10 Mar '58), iv. 228; description of its defences at that date, iv. 255; number of rebel troops there, iv. 251n; the three lines of defence erected by rebels, iv. 256; rebels leave the north side undefended, iv. 257; Brig. Napier's plan for the capture of, iv. 254n; Sir Colin Campbell's plan for its capture, iv. 257; troops with which Sir Colin Campbell advanced to final capture of, iv. 258, 259.

Sir J. Outram crosses the Gúmtí

Lakhnao—*cont.*

to outflank works (6 Mar '58), iv. 260; first line of defence abandoned by rebels (9 Mar '58), iv. 263; Lieut. Butler's daring deed, iv. 263; Sir J. Outram begins his attack from the north side, iv. 261; nine brave rebels at Chákar Kothí make heroic resistance, iv. 262; capture of the Chákar Kothí, the key to the enemy's position, iv. 262; rebels try to check Sir J. Outram, but fail (10 Mar '58), iv. 265; capture of Banks's house (10 Mar '58), iv. 265; Sir J. Outram gains complete command of north side (11 Mar '58), iv. 266; occupation of Kadam Rasúl, iv. 268; audacious seizure of the Sháh Najaf (11 Mar '58), iv. 268; fierce struggle and capture of Begam Kothí, iv. 270; death of Capt. Hodson, iv. 270; capture of the Imámbárah (14 Mar '58), iv. 272; Brig. Napier proceeds by sap to second line of defence, iv. 272; second line of defence turned and abandoned (14 Mar '58), iv. 273; third line of defence turned by Capt. Havelock (14 Mar '58), iv. 274; Gen. Franks and Brig. Napier improve the advantage gained iv. 275; capture and plunder of the Kaisarbágh (14 Mar '58), iv. 275; the plunder of the place described by Dr. Russell, iv. 275.

Complete capture of rebel army prevented by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 277; he forbids Gen. Outram to cut off retreating enemy, iv. 277; his extraordinary order thereanent, iv. 277; this disastrous order causes subsequent campaign in Oudh, iv. 277; rebels allowed to escape by Faizábád road, iv. 278; an attempt at pursuit is then made, iv. 278; Gen. Outram is called to the right bank of the Gúmtí, iv. 278; he advances through the Kaisarbágh, iv. 279; and captures Residency (16 Mar

Lakhnao—*cont.*

'58), iv. 279; the main body of the rebels retreat towards Faizábád, iv. 280; while another party makes counter-attack on A'lambágí (10 Mar '58), iv. 280; seizure of Huséní Mosque and Daulat Khána by Sir J. Outram (17 Mar '58), iv. 281; capture of Sharif-ud-Daula's house, iv. 282.

Lord Canning's Oudh proclamation reaches (20 Mar '58), iv. 285; the Maulaví driven from Shádatganj with great loss (21 Mar '58), iv. 286; Sir Hope Grant left in command of (24 Mar '58), iv. 328; remarks on the siege and final capture, iv. 287; the capture of, tranquillizes Kánhpúr district, vi. 77.

Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Lakkhimpúr, a district of A'sám, vi. 3, 32.

Lalalpúr, Ráo Sáhib marches through (28 Sept '58), v. 235.

Lálbágh, in Central Provinces, v. ix.

Lálitpúr, a district of Central Provinces, iii. xi, v. ix; its description, v. x; Major Kirk communicates with, from Náogáon (9 June), iii. 128.

Mutiny at (13 June), v. 66; Europeans at, flee to Rájah of Bápúr, v. 66; effect on Indúr of state of troops at, iii. 141.

Tántiá Topí occupies (15 Oct '58), v. 237; Ráo Sáhib joins Tántiá Topí at (20 Oct '58), v. 237; operations of Ráo Sáhib and Tántiá Topí near, v. 308.

Col. Liddell occupies and advances against Firúzsháh from (17 Dec '58), v. 254.

Láll Singh, kills his own officer while attacking Ridge at Dehlí (13 June), ii. 411n.

Lál Madhu Singh, a young Oudh chief strongly opposed to the English, v. 191.

- Lál Singh, paramour of Mahárájáh Dhulíp Singh's mother, his character, i. 3; his treachery, and fall, i. 4; resides in Dehrá Dún during Mutiny, vi. 117; assists the English there, vi. 117.
- Lance, Mr., Magistrate of Itáwah, accompanies force to eject Rúp Singh from Barhí (Aug '58), v. 215; after capture of Barhí pushes on to Chakarnagar, v. 215; and defeats rebels there, v. 215.
- Lance, Mr G., renders much service in restoring order at Kánhpúr, vi. 78; implicates Tántiá Topí in the Kánhpúr massacres, v. 265n.
- Landáur, situation of, iii. xii; road to, lies through Saháranpúr, iii. 199.
- Lane, Mr. C. E., Magistrate of Dhákáh, vi. 28.
- Lane, Mr. F. B., Deputy Collector of Jessor, vi. 26.
- Lang, Lieut., examines breach at Kashmír bastion, Dehlí (12 Sept), iv. 17; with first column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; leads assault at the Kashmír bastion, iv. 23.
- Lang, Lieut., his daring entry and occupation of Kadam Rasúl (11 Mar '58), iv. 268.
- Lang, Mr. Arthur, his kindly feeling for the natives of India, vi. 75.
- Langmore, Lieut., commands at the Water Gate, Lakhnao, iii. 297; his exposed position near the Water Gate, iii. 385.
- Lansdowne, Lord, moves the Jewish Disabilities Bill, i. 271.
- Lar, name for Lower Sindh, vi. 144n.
- Larkhaná, a district of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Larkins, Mr. T. P., Magistrate of Dhákáh, vi. 28.
- Larkins, Capt., sends Lieut. Craigie to protect Núriah (28 Aug '58), v. 192; sends supports to Lieut. Craigie (29 Aug '58), v. 192.
- Lascelles, Mr., Naval Cadet, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- La Touche, Capt., his brave attack on Halgalli (29 Nov), v. 166.
- Latour, Mr., Judge of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25.
- Látú, place at which Chitrágáo mutineers were defeated and driven into jungle (18 Dec), iv. 295.
- Laughnan, Private Andrew, plants flag on Kábúl Gate, Dehlí, iv. 25.
- Law, Capt., wounded through treachery of his men near Mardán (26 May), ii. 365n; killed at Dehlí (23 July), ii. 447.
- Lawford, Mr. H. B., Magistrate in Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Lawrence, Capt. Richard, Chief of Police, ascertains mutinous disposition of Láhor troops, ii. 321; summoned to council of emergency at Láhor (12 May), ii. 321; advises depriving Sipáhís of their ammunition, ii. 322n.
- With fourth column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20; directed to command fourth column by Major Reid, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 29; takes command of fourth column when the day was lost, iv. 29 and n; secures orderly retreat of defeated fourth column, iv. 30.
- Lawrence, Col. A. W., commands Cavalry in Whitlock's column, v. 133.
- Lawrence, Col. George St. Patrick, Governor-General's Agent in Rájpútáná, iii. 163; his character and history, iii. 163, iv. 404.
- Goes to Mount A'bú (Apr), iii. 164; hears of Mírath outbreak while at A'bú, iii. 164; resolves to secure Ajmír arsenal, iii. 165; sends for European troops from Dísá, iii. 166; Dísá column placed at his service, v. 13.
- Issues proclamation to Rájpút princes (23 May), iii. 167; requests troops for A'gra to be passed through Rájpútáná, iii. 167; descends from A'bú to Bíáur (1 June), iii. 170.
- Created Brigadier-General of all

Lawrence, Col. George—*cont.*

troops in Rájpútáná (1 June), iii. 170; orders repair of Ajmír fort, iii. 170; resides alternately at Ajmír, Bíaur, and Nasírábád, during June and July, iii. 170*n*; preserves routine of civil duties at Ajmír, iv. 386; trusts to the Mair soldiery, iv. 385.

Re-captures escaping convicts from Ajmír gaol (9 Aug), iv. 387; on outbreak of rioters, sends Lieut. Heathcote to advise Jodhpúr commander (28 Aug), iv. 394; urges Jodhpúr troops to advance from their entrenchments, iv. 395; the Jodhpúr troops are defeated (8 Sept), iv. 395.

He creates a diminutive field force (10 Sept), iv. 396; advances against A'wah, but is unable to attack it (18 Sept), iv. 397; receives help from Bombay troops (Jan '58), iv. 400; suppresses disturbance in Jodhpúr, vi. 160.

Resigns military command to Maj.-Gen. Roberts (Mar '58), iv. 401; removes Capt. Showers from political command for disobedience, iii. 173.

Lawrence, Lady, hears at Marrí of intended rising in Hazárah (Aug), v. 211.

Lawrence, Lieut. Samuel, commands at the Redan battery, Lakhnao, iii. 297; distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385; wins Victoria Cross at first sortie from Residency (7 July), iii. 301.

Lawrence, Mr. Alexander J., wounded on Mount A'bu (21 Aug), iv. 390; his exposure of Gen. Showers' pretences, iii. 375.

Lawrence, Mr. George, called from Sikrorá to Lakhnao by Sir H. Lawrence (9 June), iii. 263.

Lawrence, Sir Henry, his personal appearance, i. 7; his activity and powers of endurance, i. 331; his character, i. 6, iii. 234, 293, 378.

His earlier Services.—Aids in

Lawrence, Sir Henry—*cont.*

inducing Sipáhís to enter Afghanistan, i. 202; accompanies Pollock to Kábul, i. 5; appointed to Nipál (1842), i. 5; appointed Resident in the Panjáb (1846), i. 5; his unlimited authority in the Panjáb, i. 7; his reforms in the Panjáb, i. 9; plainly predicts the Mutiny, i. 332 and *n*; returns to England through ill-health (1847), i. 11.

Returns to the Panjáb (1848), i. 27; dissents from annexation of the Panjáb, i. 34*n*; appointed head of Board of Administration in Panjáb (1849), i. 36; his kindly advice to John Nicholson, ii. 340*n*; deals gently with the privileged classes in the Panjáb, i. 42 & rightly ganges Sikh feeling with respect to English dominance (1850), i. 252; his removal from the Panjáb, and its effect on his health (1853), i. 45, i. 331.

Asks to be sent to Haidarábád, i. 45*n*; he is appointed Governor-General's Agent in Rájpútáná (1853), i. 45*n*; supports Madan Pál's succession to Karaúlí Ráj, i. 69; his desire to take part in the Crimean War, i. 291.

His general Policy.—On promotion in the Indian Army, i. 246; his disapproval of General Service Order (1856), i. 345*n*; his remarks on the absence of a pay-code for the Indian Army, i. 236*n*; disapproves of resumption policy, i. 130*n*; his condemnation of the policy of suppressing Native princes, i. 333; his reasons for the misgovernment of Oudh Nawábs, i. 85*n*; on the object of creating Oudh into a kingdom, i. 86*n*.

Proposed as commander of Persian expedition, i. 307; offers to act as interim Commissioner in Oudh (1856), i. 292.

His Oudh Administration.—Appointed Commissioner of Oudh

Lawrence, Sir Henry—*cont.*

(Jan '57), i. 329 ; his opinion of the dangerous condition of the Sipáhís (Feb '57), i. 331 ; arrives at Lakhnao (20 Mar), i. 332, iii. 234.

Recognizes the dangerous excitement of the people, iii. 236 ; knows that Muhammadan feeling is against the English, iii. 237 ; detects the discontent in Oudh, and its cause, iii. 234 ; from the first moment begins to tranquillize Oudh, iii. 234, 236 ; promises employment to natives of Oudh, iii. 238 ; pacifies the small traders of Lakhnao, iii. 238 ; pays pensions withheld from Oudh aristocracy, iii. 238 ; but fails to content the late King's soldiery, iii. 248.

Prepares for the Storm.—Warns Alláhábád of dangerous condition of Sikh troops, ii. 187n ; urges Lord Canning to get troops from China, Ceylon, and Gurkhás, i. 452, iii. 246 ; asks and obtains plenary military power (16 May), i. 451, iii. 246 ; warns Mr. Colvin, early in May, to look to safety of the forts, i. 436 ; reports signs of dangerous coalitions, i. 423 ; his protective measures on hearing of Mirath outbreak, iii. 245 ; holds his famous Durbár (12 May), iii. 244 ; his arguments check, but cannot stop mutiny, iii. 241 ; convinces the reason of the Oudh soldiery, iii. 240 ; his guiding principles at the crisis, iii. 246.

His conversation with the doubting Jámadar, iii. 247 ; hears from Native officers of the deep-rooted distrust of Sipáhís, i. 435 ; authorized to move disaffected regiment, but prudently declines to do so, i. 431 ; resolves to disarm 7th Regt. (3 May), i. 432 ; scene at disbandment of 7th Regt. i. 433 ; suppresses the first mutiny at Lakhnao, iii. 243.

Urges, upon Banáras, the necessity of relieving Kánhpúr, ii. 155 ;

Lawrence, Sir Henry—*cont.*

sends succour to Kánhpúr (21 May), ii. 224 ; receives authority to call in Gurkhás (22 May), iii. 246 ; makes the Residency defensible, iii. 242 ; occupies the Machchí Bhawan, iii. 242 ; stores and arms the Residency, iii. 242 ; secures some of the guns, iii. 242 ; the care and foresight with which he prepared for the siege, iii. 296 ; his tenderness for holy places, iii. 379 ; removes ladies, &c., to Residency (26 May), iii. 247.

The Second Outbreak.—The outbreak of 30 May facilitates his defence, iii. 252 ; his critical position at the moment of the outbreak of mutiny, iii. 250 ; cuts off revolted Sipáhís from city, iii. 250 ; marches against mutineers, iii. 251 ; and disperses them by one discharge of artillery (31 May), iii. 252.

His sudden illness necessitates a Provisional Council (9 June), iii. 278 ; the strong measures of Mr. Gubbins startle him into renewed action, iii. 278 ; he dissolves the Council and resumes command (11 June), iii. 278 ; his opinion of Mr. Martin Gubbins, iii. 278 ; his increasing illness urges him to select a successor, iii. 276 ; organizes Native brigade for defence of Residency (12 June), iii. 279 ; his inability to help Sir H. Wheeler at Kánhpúr, iii. 282 ; his description of Oudh on 12 June, iii. 275.

The Battle of Chinhát.—The enemy congregate at Náwábganj Bara Bankí, iii. 283 ; they advance on Chinhát (28 May), iii. 283 ; Sir Henry resolves to go out against them, iii. 283 ; reason for the battle of Chinhát, iii. 376 ; force with which he attacked mutineers at Chinhát, iii. 283 ; the battle is fought (29 June), iii. 284 ; defeat ensured by treachery of Native

Lawrence, Sir Henry—*cont.*

gunners, iii. 285; his retreat secured by gallant charge of Capt. Radclyffe, iii. 285; he defends Kukrail bridge by a ruse, iii. 286; he makes over command to Col. Inglis, and hurries to secure the main point, iii. 286; sends a force which successfully holds the iron bridge, iii. 286; concentrates his shattered force in the Residency, iii. 287; horrible confusion in the Residency, iii. 299; the rebels begin their attack, iii. 289; Sir Henry abandons the Machchí Bhawan, iii. 288; and blows up the place, iii. 289; his calmness and decision at defeat of Chinhát, iii. 287; he gives intelligence of the loss of Kánpúr, ii. 215; mortally wounded by a shell in the Residency (2 July), iii. 292; account of his death (4 July), ii. 308; iii. 378; effect of news of his death on Dehlí Camp, ii. 453.

He founds the famous Lawrence Asylum, iii. 294.

Lawrence, Sir John, his character and early service, i. 37; appointed to Board of Administration in Panjáb (1849), i. 37; created Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb (1853), i. 44; character of his rule in the Panjáb, i. 46; his policy of dealing directly with the people, i. 111, ii. 354.

His Afghán Policy.—Concludes engagement of amity with Afghánistan (1855), i. 314; confers with Dost Muhammad at Pesháwar (1 Jan), i. 318; his mistaken estimate of Dost Muhammad's power, i. 327; his want of faith in Dost Muhammad, i. 327; his opinion of the subsidy to be given to that potentate, i. 322; signs Articles of Agreement with Dost Muhammad (26 Jan), i. 324; good results of the treaty with him, ii. 316.

Consulted as to commander of

Lawrence, Sir Henry—*cont.*

Persian expedition, i. 307; thinks Sipáhís in the Panjáb pleased with the new rifle, i. 427; his proposed trip to Kashmír not carried out (May), i. 451.

His Precautionary Measures.—His position on the outbreak of the Mutiny, ii. 318; his comprehensive grasp of the situation, on the outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 348; his witty telegram, ii. 347n; his confident calmness on outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 347; on the danger of precipitancy, ii. 354n; directs discrimination in the execution of mutineer prisoners, ii. 367.

The Movable Column.—Assured by Edwardes of the safety of Pesháwar, ii. 341; urged by Edwardes to form a movable column, ii. 342; sanctions formation of Movable Column (13 May), ii. 344; directs Nicholson to remain at Pesháwar, ii. 346; proposes to raise Sikh Irregulars (13 May), i. 451; urges Gen. Anson to disarm Sipáhís at Ambálah (15 May), ii. 106; telegraphs to secure Philúr, ii. 105n; joined by Gen. Reed and Chamberlain, at Ráwalpindí, ii. 346; receives plenary power (17 May), i. 451; urges Gen. Anson to advance immediately on Dehlí, ii. 113; hears from Gen. Anson that speedy advance on Dehlí is impossible, ii. 112; advises trust in Patialá and Jhínd, and speedy advance on Dehlí, ii. 116; brushes aside Commissariat difficulties against advance on Dehlí, ii. 117.

His Active Measures.—Commends disarmament of Sipáhís at Pesháwar (22 May), ii. 361; informs Lord Canning of death of Gen. Anson, ii. 212n; reasons which induced him to denude the Panjáb of Europeans, v. 210; enlists old Sikh Artillerymen, for siege of Dehlí (July), ii. 355, 449;

Lawrence, Sir Henry—*cont.*

forms a movable column to protect the Panjáb, v. 210.

His Pesháwar Scheme. — His disesteem of Pesháwar, ii. 458; proposes to cede Pesháwar to Dost Muhammad, ii. 458, 465; his reason for proposed cession of Pesháwar, ii. 458, 460; almost insists on abandonment of Pesháwar (25 July), ii. 460; urged by Edwardes to sacrifice Dehlí rather than Pesháwar, ii. 462; Lord Canning rejects his proposal to abandon Pesháwar, ii. 466.

His Dehlí Reinforcements. — Sends final reinforcements, with Gen. Nicholson, to Dehlí, ii. 484; estimate of his services with respect to siege of Dehlí, iv. 405.

Suppresses rising in Gughaira (14 Sept), v. 211; equips a small column to start from Rúrkí (Jan '58), iv. 219.

His View of the Mutiny. — His qualifications for probing the cause of the Mutiny, v. 279; thinks there was no previous conspiracy, v. 357; believes that the conspiracy began with the Hindús, v. 354; his firm opinion that the outbreak had its origin in the Army, v. 353; his decision in favour of the greased cartridge theory, v. 280, 353; suggests transportation for King of Dehlí, v. 361.

Lean, Mr., Judge of Mírzápúr, vi. 46.

Le Bas, Mr., after outbreak, represents civil power at Karnál, ii. 122n; receives the entire support of Nawáb of Karnál; ii. 122n; delays the Guides on their march to Dehlí (6 June), ii. 351.

Le Champion, Col., clears Carabiniers from charge of inactivity on 10 May, ii. 49n.

Leckie, Dr., accompanies Lord Canning to India, i. 280.

Legge, Mr., Uncovenanted officer of A'zamgarh, vi. 63

Le Grand, Capt., attempts to dislodge Kúnwar Singh from Jagdís-púr, iv. 334; defeated by Kúnwar Singh, iv. 335, vi. 171; killed at Jagdís-púr (23 Apr '58), iv. 335.

Le Grand Jacob, *see* Jacob, Capt. G. Le Grand.

Leia, occupied by Lieut. Herbert Edwardes (1848), i. 20.

Leigh, Capt., at Sambhalpúr, gets aid from Katak (Sept), iv. 306; a second time gets help from Katak (Oct), iv. 307; asks further help but cannot get it (Dec), iv. 307; saves Mr. Hanson from being murdered, iv. 307.

Leith Hay, Brig., commands a brigade at attack on Barélí (5 May '58), iv. 367.

Lemaistre, Mr., head clerk at Bijnaur, vi. 103.

Lemaistre, Mrs., resides with her three children at Bijnaur, vi. 103.

Le Mesurier, Capt., present with siege-train, at attack on Barélí (5 May '58), iv. 367.

Le Mesurier, Col., commands at A'sírgarh, v. 39; sends away some Sipáhís to Burhánpúr (19 June), v. 40.

Lennox, Lieut., commands Engineers at attack on Lakhnao (13 Nov), iv. 121.

Lennox, Col., commands troops at Faizábád, iii. 265; escapes from Faizábád and ultimately reaches Gorákhpúr, iii. 270; reaches Captainganj in safety, iii. 269.

Leodán Singh, becomes Ráo Rájah of A'war, vi. 153.

Leslie, Sir Norman, attempt to assassinate at Rohní (12 June), iii. 24.

Lester, Lieut., leads party of Sítá-púr fugitives safely to Lakhnao, iii. 255; mortally wounded at siege of Lakhnao (14 July), iii. 300.

Lester, Maj.-Gen., assumes command at Belgáo (11 May), v. 18; im-

- Lester, Maj.-Gen —*cont.*
 proves defences of that place, v. 18; reports insurrection in Dhár-wár (26 May '58), v. 168; prudently sends the disaffected Thákur Singh to Badámí (2 Aug), v. 22; punishes five conspiring Sipáhís at Belgáoñ, v. 23; his death (June '58), v. 172.
- L'Estrange, Capt., cordially assists Major Eyre to relieve A'rah, iii. 63; gallantly leads charge to clear the road to A'rah, iii. 66.
- Leupholt, Mr., brave-hearted missionary, who remains in Banáras notwithstanding mutiny, ii. 172n.
- Lewis, Ensign, accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n.
- Lewis, Lieut., sheltered in his flight from Sultánpúr, by Rústam Sáh, iii. 272n.
- Lewis, Lieut. T. E., I.N., commands a party of sailors at Dhákah, vi. 28; his gallantry at Dhákah, vi. 170; attempts to disarm Dhákah Sipáhís (Nov), vi. 29; attacks and scatters mutinous Sipáhís at Dhákah (20 Nov), iv. 293; bravely drives rebels from an enclosure near Chandéri (5 Mar '58), v. 105.
- Lewis, Quartermaster-Sergeant, murdered at A'zamgarh (3 June), ii. 161.
- Leycester, Mr. G. P., Judge of Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Liddell, Lieut.-Col., leads escalading column at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115; left in command of Jhánsí (22 Apr '58), v. 120; advances towards Sironj in pursuit of Tántiá Topí (5 Sept '58), v. 231; stops Tántiá Topí from crossing the Betwá (Oct '58), v. 238; advances from Lálítpúr towards Chándéri (17 Dec '58), v. 254.
- Liddell, Veterinary Surgeon, accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n.
- Light, Lieut., energetic Artillery officer before Dehlí, ii. 448n.
- Light, Major, warns Brig. Seaton of approach of rebels near Gangárí (Dec), iv. 202.
- Lightfoot, Capt., breaks the right of Tántiá Topí at Jhánsí (1 Apr '58), v. 113; drives rebels from Jáurá-A'lípúr (21 June '58), v. 161.
- Lillie, Mr. J. E. S., Judge of Dhákah, vi. 28.
- Limond, Lieut., engineer with party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Lind, Capt., commands Multáni Horse, in Rewári expedition (Oct). iv. 76; his gallant charge at Nárnúl, iv. 81.
- Lind, Lieut., of the Swedish Navy, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Lind, Mr. F. M., Magistrate and Collector of Banáras, ii. 151, vi. 39; his character, vi. 41: resents proposal to retreat from Banáras to Chanár, ii. 152; joins with Mr. Gubbins in preventing the abandonment of Banáras, vi. 41; provides place of refuge at Banáras, vi. 42; becomes Magistrate of Jaunpúr (8 Sept), vi. 51: acts as a soldier in Jaunpúr, vi. 51.
- Lincoln, Lord, fellow-student with Viscount Canning, i. 268.
- Lincoln, Mr., heroically joins in saving Mr. Capper's life, iii. 288.
- Lindsay, Lieut., murdered near Mohádaba (June), iii. 269.
- Lindsay, Major, killed at Káhnpúr, ii. 246.
- Lindsay, Mrs., died at siege of Káhnpúr, ii. 247.
- Linsúgúr, occupied by Capt. Wyndham (Jan '58), v. 86; Capt. Wyndham advances from, to attack Shorápúr (6 Feb '58), v. 87.
- Litchfield, Major, disliked by his Sipáhís, i. 21f.
- Little, Brig., command Cavalry at attack on Lakhnao (13 Nov), iv. 121; left in charge of Dilkushá iv. 126; commands Cavalry at

- Little, Brig.—*cont.*
 · attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.
- Little, Major, clears roads near Gúnah (Feb '59), v. 259.
- Littledale, Mr., Judge, one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53*n.*
- Littler, Sir John, his opinion as to removal of Royal Family from Dehlí, ii. 19.
- Lloyd, Maj.-Gen., commands at Dánápúr, iii. 26; the extent of his command, iii. 26; suppressed the Santál insurrection, iii. 26; his blind confidence in Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 30; believes in the loyalty of his Sipáhís (2 June), ii. 93*n.*; he has a personal repugnance to disarming them, iii. 41.
- Sir P. Gránt suggests placing the responsibility of disarming on him, vi. 9; responsibility of disarming Dánápúr Sipáhís thrown on him by Lord Canning, iii. 40; he shrinks from the responsibility, iii. 42; declines to disarm Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 33; vacillates in intention to disarm Sipáhís, iii. 42; allows a detachment of Europeans to pass without attempting the disarmament, iii. 42; changes his mind, and stops the next detachment, iii. 42; resolves to deprive Sipáhís of percussion-caps, iii. 42; inadvertently incites Sipáhís to mutiny, iii. 43; removes percussion-caps from magazine at Dánápúr (25 July), iii. 43; his method of doing this, iii. 43; the extreme injudiciousness of the measure, iii. 43.
- Orders percussion-caps to be taken from persons of Sipáhís, iii. 44; the Sipáhís resist and break into mutiny (25 July), iii. 45; on outbreak of mutiny, goes on board river-steamer, iii. 44; his absence on river-steamer prevents arrest of Dánápúr mutiny, iii. 45; his lame excuse for retiring to the steamer, iii. 46*n.*; refuses to pursue mutineers until they are out of danger, iii. 49; by delay, allows mutineers to start for A'rah, iii. 46; his lame excuse as to the uselessness of pursuing mutineers, iii. 49*n.*
- Proposes to intrench Dánápúr (26 July), iii. 49; Mr. W. Tayler urges him not to do so, iii. 50; implores him to pursue the mutineers, iii. 50; sends some riflemen in a steamer to intercept mutineers (26 July), iii. 49; sends a small party to relieve A'rah (27 July), iii. 51; recalls his small party from relief of A'rah, iii. 51; is again induced by Mr. Tayler to do something to relieve A'rah, iii. 51; sends Capt. Dunbar with a small force to A'rah, iii. 51; complete defeat of this party, iii. 57; invited by Major Eyre to assist in relief of A'rah, but discourages the enterprize, iii. 63*n.*
- Ordered to be tried by court-martial, iii. 76; his unfair treatment by Government, iii. 345; Lord Dalhousie condemns Government for throwing responsibility on him, vi. 8*n.*; he, and the Indian Government, solely responsible for Dánápúr mutiny, iii. 46.
- Lloyd, Mr. Thomas K., Magistrate of Hamírpúr, vi. 83; murdered at Hamírpúr, vi. 83.
- Lock, Lieut., wounded at Nasírábád mutiny (28 May), iii. 168.
- Lockhart, Capt., commands one party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Lockhart, Col., placed with troops to cover Ujjén (Aug '58), v. 229; advances to Súsnír, v. 229.
- Lockhart, Lieut., nobly endeavours to extinguish fire in No. 1 battery (10 Sept), iv. 11; severely wounded at No. 1 battery, iv. 11.
- Lodiáná, situation, and description,

Lodiáná—*cont.*

ii. *xvii*; its important situation, ii. 378; Sipáhís at, threaten mutiny (1844), i. 206; its unprotected condition in May, ii. 121*n*; unable to supply Artillery at first outbreak (15 May), ii. 106; the Guides reach (1 June), ii. 351; Sipáhís seize Fort and Treasury (8 June), ii. 378; Mr. Ricketts fights the Jálándhar mutineers near (8 June), ii. 379; disorder and destruction rampant in (2 June), ii. 380; mutineers evacuate, ii. 382; townspeople disarmed (15 June), ii. 383; punishment for plunder of, ii. 382; partly protected by Rájah of Nabhpá, v. 214.

Login. Sir John, appointed guardian of Dhulíp Singh, i. 34.

Lohanga, where Major Renaud's column halted, on fall of Kánpúr, ii. 269.

Lohar, district attempted by Firúzsháh (Dec '58), v. 251.

Lohárdágá, a district of Chutiá Nág-púr, iv. *xiii*, vi. 4.

Lohárí, fort captured by Major Gall, and every defender killed (5 May '58), v. 121.

Longden, Capt., his daring in attack of the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140; present with his battery at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.

Longden, Lieut.-Col., leads small party from Benáras to co-operate with Gurkhás (Oct), iv. 224; ordered to clear rebels from A'zamgarh (1 Nov), iv. 104; drives rebels from Atráolia (9 Nov), iv. 224; fights under Lord Mark Kerr at battle of A'zamgarh (6 Apr '58), iv. 325.

Longfield, Brig., commands reserve column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20; leads reserve column to occupy positions won by stormers at Dehlí, iv. 35.

Loní, a river of Jodhpúr, vi. 159.

Lotah, a cooking-vessel, its religious importance, i. 144.

Loudon, Marshal, anecdote of his devotion to his profession, iv. 153.

Loughnan, Lieut., commands at Innes's House at Lakhnao, iii. 297; distinguishes himself at Innes's post (20 July), iii. 380.

Lowe, Capt., leads party to bring Gen. Havelock's rear-guard into Residency, Lakhnao (25 Sept), iii. 366; captures Captain Bazaar, Lakhnao (26 Sept), iv. 108; severely wounded at Lakhnao, iv. 114.

Low, Gen. Sir John, Military Member of Council, his character and views of Indian policy, i. 283; his early services, i. 56; Resident at Lakhnao (1835), i. 90; his courage saves Lakhnao from pillage (1836), i. 91; mistakenly called the author of the quashed Oudh treaty of 1837, i. 93*n*; recommends recognition of Karauli adoption (1852), i. 67.

Becomes Resident at Haidarábád (1853), i. 45*n*; opposed to annexation of Nág-púr (1854), i. 58; his minute of Mar. 1855, urging stoppage of Oudh misrule, i. 103.

Inclined to excuse disaffected Oudh regiments, in early May, i. 437; advises the primary importance of recovering Dehlí, ii. 90.

Admits that the Council was deluded into condemning Mr. Taylor of Patná, iii. 80.

Low, Mr. Malcolm, Chief Civil Officer at Pilibhit, v. 192; procures guides for attack on Sirpúrah (30 Aug '58), v. 193.

Lowe, Dr., his description of the Sipáhí arsenal at Kálpí, v. 130*n*; his description of the final struggle for Kálpí, v. 128*n*; his description of the passage of the Chambal by Col. Durand (19 Nov), v. 52.

Lower Provinces, extent and description, vi. 2; diversity of races and languages in, vi. 3.

Lowis, Mr., Magistrate of Patná, iii.

- Lewis, Mr.—*cont.*
 35 ; sent to arrest the conspirator A'lí Karím, iii. 35 ; amusing account of the attempted capture, iii. 36 ; A'lí Karím easily escapes, iii. 36.
- Lewis, Mr. John, his opinion as to removal of Royal Family from Dehlí, ii. 19.
- Lowth, Lieut.-Col., commands storming party at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115 ; clears way for escaladers, and forces his way to Rání's palace, v. 116 ; leads attack on rebel left, at capture of Gwálíár (19 June '58), v. 157.
- Lucas, Mr., killed at Lakhnao, iii. 326, 384.
- Ludlow Castle, residence of Commissioner Fraser, near Dehlí, ii. 391 ; mutineers attack (23 July), ii. 446.
- Ludlow, Major, his careful instruction of the Mahárájah of Jaipúr, vi. 158.
- Lugard, Col., storms and captures Banks's house (10 Mar '58), iv. 265 ; orders the assault of Begam Kothí (11 Mar '58), iv. 269 ; drives Maulaví from Shádatganj (21 Mar '58), iv. 286.
 Sent with brigade to relieve A'zamgarh (29 Mar '58), iv. 328 ; occupies Sultánpúr (5 Apr '58), iv. 329 ; attacks and defeats rebels at Tigrá (10 Apr '58), iv. 329 ; garrisons Jaunpúr (11 Apr '58), iv. 330 ; forces the passage of the Tons, near A'zamgarh (14 Apr '58), iv. 330 ; relieves A'zamgarh (14 Apr '58), iv. 330.
- His operations in Jagdíspúr jungles (Apr '58), vi. 171 ; forced to send additional troops in pursuit of Kúnwar Singh (16 Apr '58), iv. 332 ; crosses the Ganges to attack Kúnwar Singh (3 May '58), iv. 336 ; defeats rebels, and occupies Jagdíspúr (9 May '58), iv. 337 ; again defeats Amar Singh (11 May '58), iv. 337 ; defeats Amar Singh a third time (12 May '58), iv. 337 ; crushingly defeats Amar Singh at Dalílpúr (27 May '58), iv. 337 ; cuts roads through jungle to defeat rebels (June '58), iv. 338 ; compelled by excessive labour to return to England (15 June '58), iv. 338
- Lumsden, —, killed at Najafgarh (25 Aug), ii. 492.
- Lumsden, Capt. John I., the third man to enter the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 129, 140 ; killed inside the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 130.
- Lumsden, Lieut. Peter, appointed to Mission to Kandahar (1857), i. 324.
- Lumsden, Major Henry, conveys the Maháráni of Láhor from the Panjab (1848), i. 21 ; appointed to head Mission to Kandahar (1857), i. 324 ; visits Dost Muhammad at Jamruíd, i. 318 ; signs Articles of Agreement with Dost Muhammad (26 Jan '57), i. 324 ; condemns the proposal to abandon Pesháwar, ii. 467n ; Lord Canning's letter of encouragement to, i. 326.
- Lund-khur hills, final refuge of mutineers from Hoti-Mardán, ii. 365.
- Luní, river of Jodhpúr, iv. xri.
- Lusam Ferry, near Philúr, point where Jalandhar mutineers crossed the Satlaj (8 June), ii. 379n.
- Lushington, Mr., Commissioner of Mánbhúm, attacked by Kols, iv. 306 ; forced to abandon his camp to retreat from the Kols, iv. 306 ; he is wounded in the retreat, iv. 306.
- Lushington, Mr., Commissioner of Singhbhúm, his excellent work in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 35.
- Lushington, Mr. F. A., Collector of 24 Parganahs, vi. 25.
- Lútf A'lí Khán, traitoróus banker at Patná, iii. 37 ; suspected and arrested, iii. 37 ; acquitted on ground of insufficient evidence, iii.

- Lútf A'lí Khán—*cont.*
 37; honoured as a martyr by Mr. Tayler's successor, iii. 37.
- Lyall, Mr., Opium Agent at Patná, murdered (3 July), iii. 36.
- Lyall, Mr. Alfred, Assistant Magistrate of Bulandshahr, driven away by Sipáhís (21 May), vi. 135; his gallant conduct in the Khákí Risála, vi. 132*n*; returns to Bulandshahr (25 May), vi. 135.
- Lysaght, Capt., bars chancel of church at Sháhjahánpur against attacking mutineers (31 May), iii. 214
- M.
- Maafi Tenures, i. 143*n*.
- Macan, Brig. Henry, suppresses mutiny at Nasírábád (10 Aug), iv. 387.
- Macan, Capt., his evidence as to deterioration of Indian Army, in 1832, i. 200.
- McAndrew, Adjutant, informs his Colonel of excited feeling at Barhámpur (27 Feb), i. 368.
- MacBarnett, Lieut., killed at storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
- Macbean, Major, his great services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252; his fierce bravery at the assault of Begam Kothí (11 Mar '58), iv. 270.
- McCabe, Capt., clears the way for Gen. Havelock's guns to enter Residency (27 Sept), iii. 366; killed in sortie from Redan battery, Lakhnao (29 Sept), iii. 326, 384, iv. 110.
- McCausland, Col., takes command of Fathgarh (25 May '58), iv. 378.
- McCrea, Capt., sent to recall Brig. Carthew to bridge on Bithúr road, iv. 174; dies fighting bravely at Kánpur (28 Nov), iv. 177.
- McCrae, Mr., wounded in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Macdonald, Capt., suppresses mutiny at Govindgarh (1850), i. 230.
- Macdonald, Capt., charges with Cavalry and breaks rebel left at Dhár (22 Oct), v. 48; his dangerous state, by over-exertion, v. 131*n*; killed at Kursí (23 Mar '58), iv. 287.
- Macdonald, Major, attempt to assassinate, at Rohní (12 June), iii. 24; executes murderous Sipáhís at Rohní (16 June), iii. 25; his description of the hanging scene at Rohní, iii. 25*n*; postpones mutiny at Rohní, by his courage, iii. 25.
- Macdonald, Mr., Collector of Rangpúr, conveys Government treasure into jungle to save it from mutineers (Dec), iv. 298.
- Macdonald, Mr. A. G., Collector of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.
- Macdonald, Mrs., her brutal murder at Mírath, ii. 202*n*.
- McDonell, Mr., saves a boat-load of men by his calm courage, iii. 58; wins the Victoria Cross for heroic bravery in the retreat from A'rah, iii. 58*n*.
- McDouglas, band-boy, rides 80 miles to summon Nicholson to Siálkot (24 June), ii. 479*n*.
- Macedowall, Gen. Hay, on native prophecies against English rule (1806), i. 169*n*.
- M'Dowell, Lieut., accompanies Capt. Hodson to capture secreted princes at Humáyun's tomb (21 Sept), iv. 55; accompanies Capt. Hodson in his daring ride from Mainpuri (30 Dec), iv. 207; his perilous adventure while returning with Capt.

- M'Dowell, Lieut.—*cont.*
 Hodson, iv. 208; wounded at Shamsábád (27 Jan '58), iv. 219.
- McDuff, Col., commands part Infantry in Whitlock's column (16 Nov), v. 133; marches on Nagód (24 Mar '58), v. 137; joins Gen. Whitlock at Bandah (27 May '58), v. 137.
- McEgan, Dr., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, ii. 123; murdered there (8 June), iii. 126.
- McFarlane, Capt., expels rebels from fort of Nárnuíl, iv. 82.
- Macfarlane, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- MacGregor, Col., sent to accompany Jang Bahádúr's force, iv. 225.
- Macgregor, Col. George, induces the Nawáb Nazim to tranquillize population (March), i. 373.
- MacGregor, Lieut., commands Sipáhís at Patan, v. 71; surprized and seized by Sipáhís (19 Sept), v. 71; murdered at Katanji (26 Sept), v. 72.
- MacGregor, Lieut., greatly distinguishes himself at capture of great Imámbárah (16 Mar '58), iv. 280.
- Macgregor, Major George, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39; receives charge of the Maháráni of Lahor, at Banáras, i. 29.
- Machchí Bhawan, its position at Lakhnao, ii. 307, iii. 242; Sir H. Lawrence's preparations for the defence of, iii. 247, 281; abandoned and blown up by English (29 June), iii. 289; wisdom of evacuating and destroying, iii. 378; subsequent capture of (16 Mar '58), iv. 279.
- Machhlígáon, defeat of rebels at, by Gen. Hope Grant (4 Dec '58), v. 203.
- Machlipatan, mutinous Subahdars sent to (1806), i. 172.
- Macintire, Capt., commands Nizám's Cavalry at Jabalpúr (Nov), v. 138;
- Macintire, Capt.—*cont.*
 greatly distinguishes himself at Bandah (19 Apr '58), v. 137.
- McIntyre, Major, left in charge of A'lambágh (23 Sept), iv. 109; his skill in holding the A'lambágh, iv. 120.
- Mackay, Private, heroically enters the Sikandárbaág by a hole in the wall (16 Nov), iv. 139.
- McKenna, Lieut., dies fighting bravely at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 177.
- Mackenzie, Capt. Alexander, commands Irregular Cavalry at Baréli, iii. 204; calls out his Irregulars, and checks outbreak of mutiny (26 May), iii. 206; firmly believes in the fidelity of his Irregulars, iii. 207; warned of the intended rising, iii. 208; his judicious arrangements for anticipated rising, iii. 208; on outbreak of mutiny tries to arrange his Irregulars for action (31 May), iii. 209; right wing marches from parade-ground, iii. 209; risks his life to bring his men to their duty, iii. 210; his men refuse to obey, iii. 211; compelled to leave Baréli with only 23 of his men, iii. 211; specially commended by Col. Troup for gallantry at Baréli, iii. 211n.
- Mackenzie, Capt. Colin, nearly murdered by his own Sipáhís, at Boláram, i. 239.
- Mackenzie, Holt, his *bon mot* on the Land Revenue of India, i. 113.
- Mackenzie, Major Murray, commands heavy guns on Dehlí Ridge, ii. 448n; recounts the heroism of Tombs and Hills at Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 437n; struck by splinter on 30 July, from effects of which he dies at Simlah, ii. 448n.
- Mackeson, Col. Frederick, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39; his murder near Pesháwar (1850), ii. 498.
- Mackeson, Fort, disarmament of Sipáhís at (24 July), ii. 479.

- Mackillop, John, a brave civilian, killed a siege of Kánpúr, ii. 250.
- Mackinlay, Mr. Daniel, heads deputation at Calcutta, to urge Lord Canning to disarm Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 41; his account of his interview with Lord Canning, vi. 8.
- Mackinnon, Capt., accompanies Sir Hope Grant's column in Oudh, iv. 346; joins in attack on Bení Mádhu (25 May '58), v. 186.
- Macleod Innes, Major, his conspicuous daring at Bádsháhganj, iv. 234; wins the Victoria Cross (23 Feb '58), iv. 234*n.*
- Macleod, Mr. Donald, appointed to Panjab (1849), i. 38; becomes Financial Commissioner in the Panjab (1853), i. 47*n.*; summoned to Council of Emergency at Láhor (12 May), ii. 321; sends supplies into Dehrá Dún (June), vi. 119.
- Macleod, Major, his character, iii. 178; member of council during Mr. Colvin's illness at A'gra, iii. 178.
- McMahon, Capt., guards the confluence of Jumnah, Chambal, and Sind rivers (Dec '58), v. 251.
- M'Mahon, Commissioner, sends to Nicholson for help at Siálkot (9 July), ii. 479.
- Macnaghten, Mr., Assistant Commissioner at Govindgarh, his character, ii. 328; raises a body of villagers to cover Govindgarh, ii. 328.
- Macnaghten, Mr. Elliot, Chairman of Court of Directors, i. 275.
- M'Naghten, Sir William, warned by Ján Fishán Khán of his danger at Kábul (1839). i. 355*n.*
- McNamara, Capt., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140.
- M'Namara, Dr., his report on chemical constitution of cartridge paper (11 Feb), i. 385.
- M'Neill, Capt., rescues Miss Jackson M'Neill, Capt.—*cont.*
and Mrs. Orr from captivity (17 Mar '58), iv. 281*n.*
- M'Neill, Sir John, entertains idea of subsidizing Afghanistan, i. 315.
- Macpherson, Capt., summoned to Council of Emergency at Láhor (12 May), ii. 321.
- Macpherson, Mr., joins in attack on mutinous Sipáhís at Dhákah (20 Nov), iv. 293.
- Macpherson, Mr. Arthur, a barrister, serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Macpherson, Major Chartres, Resident at Gwálíár, doubts fidelity of Contingent, iii. 112; his prudent arguments to Sindhiá, v. 145; effect of his counsel on Sindhiá, v. 294; induces Sindhiá to send his body-guard to protect A'gra, iii. 111; forbids Lieut. Tomkinson's detachment to enter Gwálíár (12 June), vi. 174.
Shut up in A'gra fort (Aug), iii. 191; advises Sindhiá from A'gra, iv. 66.
Stops Gen. Napier at A'ntri by false intelligence (12 Dec '58), v. 252.
- MacQueen, Lieut., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140.
- Madan Mán Singh, Col., the gallant Gurkhá leader, killed at Chanda (30 Oct), iv. 224.
- Madan Pál, Mahárájah of Karaulí (1853), vi. 152; selected for Karaulí Ráj, i. 69; has special reasons for disloyalty, vi. 152; but remains loyal, vi. 152; rewarded for his loyalty, vi. 153.
- Madanpúr, description of, v. 102; invading rebels defeated at, by Capt. Ternan (Jan '58), v. 74; Madanpúr pass forced by Sir Hugh Rose (3 Mar '58), v. 102; rebels driven from pass and town into jungle, v. 103.
- Madáriganj, mutiny at (4 Dec), iv. 298; mutineers from, chased into

- Madáriganj—*cont.*
Nipál by Mr. Yule (12 Dec), iv. 300.
- Madé Khán, mutinous Native officer, i. 421n.
- Mádhají Ráo, the famous ancestor of Sindhiá, v. 144.
- Mádhava Ráo, the ruler of Kírwí, only nine years old, at outbreak of Mutiny, v. 138; writes loyally to Sir Robert Hamilton, and opens Kírwí to British occupation (19 Apr '58), v. 140; rides forth to welcome Gen. Whitlock (2 June '58), v. 140; his innocence of treason officially declar. v. 303; stripped of rank and property, and pensioned, v. 141; his wealth and youth cause his condemnation, v. 141.
- Madhupúrá, seized by Tántiá Topí after leaving Tonk (July '58), v. 223.
- Madhú Singh, shelters many European planters, at Jaunpúr, vi. 51.
- Madras, project to murder English at (1822), i. 191; line of telegraphic communication with Bombay, in 1857, iii. 137n; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.
- Madras Army, also called Coast Army, its constitution, i. 155; mutiny at Vizagapatan (1790), i. 341n; unwise changes in dress of, i. 158; causes of discontent, i. 160; mutiny brews, in 1806, i. 159; Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and Adjutant-General, dismissed for mutinies of (1806), i. 178; real causes of the mutinies of, i. 183; mutiny of officers of (1809), i. 184; mutinies in (1838–42), i. 212n; allowances guaranteed by Governor, disallowed by Governor-General, and mutiny in consequence (1844), i. 216; Madras troops conquer Pegu (1852), i. 338; difficulty in garrisoning Burmah (1856), i. 341; Sipáhís of, volunteer their services, and are brought to Bengal, iv. 97.
- Madras Government, issues Proclamation to stop mutiny in 1806, i. 177; objects to regular foreign service for Sipáhís, i. 341.
- Madras, Governor of, receives letter of complaints of Sipáhís (1822), i. 192; Lord Harris responds cheerfully to Lord Canning's call for assistance, i. 449.
- Mádura, the attack of (1760), i. 148.
- Magniac, Capt., tries to get Native Calvary to act at Indúr Residency, iii. 147.
- Mahában, a town of Mathurá, vi. 85.
- Mahalls, the Tributary of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. xiii; included in Orisá, iv. xvii.
- Mahánadí, falls into the sea near Katak, vi. 4.
- Mahárájpúr, Sipáhí attack of (1842), i. 202; Lord Ellenborough distributes sweetmeats to soldiers after battle of, i. 220.
- Mahdípúr, Tántiá Topí passes through (Aug '58), 307.
- Mahesh Naráin, Rájah, helps the English at Jaunpúr with matchlockmen, vi. 51.
- Máhí, a river of Dungapúr, and Bánswárá, vi. 156, 157.
- Mahídpúr, head-quarters of the Málwá Contingent, iii. 136; commands line of communication by Narbadá, iii. 137; captured by Mandesar rebels, v. 50; the plunderers chased by Major Orr, v. 51; the rebels take up a strong position at Ráwal, v. 31; they are attacked and defeated with heavy loss, v. 51. 52.
- Mahíkánta, Native State of Bombay Presidency, v. 1.
- Mahmands, their dangerous proximity to Pesháwar, ii. 336.
- Mahmíd of Ghazní, besieges fort of Kálinjár (1023), vi. 79.

Mahmúd Khán, Nawáb of Najíbábád, receives overtures from Rúrkí mutineers (20 May), vi. 104; comes to steal treasure from Bijnaur just too late (21 May), vi. 106; sent from Bijnaur to suppress Mewátí marauders (23 May), vi. 106; returns to Bijnaur with armed Patháns (30 May), vi. 106; persuaded to keep from open revolt, vi. 108; suddenly returns to Bijnaur, vi. 107; receives charge of Bijnaur (7 June), vi. 108; proclaims himself ruler, under King of Dehlí (10 June), vi. 109; appropriates money at Bijnaur, vi. 109; begins to persecute Hindús (July), vi. 110; he is driven from Bijnaur by Hindús (6 Aug), vi. 110; establishes his rule at Bijnaur (Sept-Feb '58), vi. 112; attacks and plunders Miránpúr (5 Jan '58), vi. 112; attacks Khan-kal and Hardwár (7 Jan '58), vi. 112; attempts third raid, but is defeated by Capt. H. Boisragon (9 Jan '58), vi. 112; utter downfall of his power at Bijnaur (17 Apr '58), vi. 114; ultimately condemned to transportation, vi. 115n.

Mahobá, a town of Hamírpúr, vi. 83; fugitives from Náogáon endeavour to reach (18 June), iii. 130; occupied by Gen. Whitlock (12 Apr '58), v. 135.

Mahomed Yúsuf Ali Khán, Afghán chief of Rámpúr, iii. 219.

Mahona, Kálpí rebels chased through by Col. Robertson (May '58), v. 148.

Mahuídrá, Mán Singh secretly visits (Mar '59), v. 260; and surrenders there to Capt. Meade (2 Apr '59), v. 261.

Maiapúr, rendezvous for force attacking Bijnaur raiders (9 Jan '58), vi. 112.

Maihir, district west of Rewah, v. xi; stormed by Lieut. Osborne (29 Dec), v. 76.

Maimánsingh, a district of Dhákah, vi. 3, 28; remains tranquil during Mutiny, vi. 31.

Mainpúri, a district of A'gra division, vi. 38; ladies and children sent safely to A'gra, iii. 104; De Kantzow, the two Powers, Mr. Kellner, Dr. Watson, three serjeants, and a clerk remain, when all others fly, iii. 104; mutiny at (22 May), iii. 104; heroic conduct of De Kantzow during tumult, iii. 104; extraordinary nature of mutiny at, iii. 103; the mutineers depart for Dehlí, iii. 105.

Evacuated by rebels, and occupied by Gen. Hope Grant, iv. 74; Capt. Hodson starts on his daring ride to Sir Colin Campbell from (30 Dec), iv. 207.

Mainpúri, Rájah of, method of dealing with his proprietary rights, i. 117; incites Rohilkhand rebels to invade the Duáb (Mar '58), iv. 350; finally dispossessed of the bulk of his estate, i. 119.

Mairwárá, situation of, iii. x.

Maisúr, general disaffection in (1806), i. 170; war in, i. 157; the Company's treatment of successors to former rulers, i. 76; a Native emissary testifies as to Náná Sáhib's complicity in the outbreak of Mutiny, i. 425n; thorough fidelity of, vi. 168; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Maitáb Singh, a notorious rebel, caught and executed at Akbar-ábád (9 Oct), iv. 65.

Majáulfí, rebels driven from (26 Dec), iv. 226.

Majrá, a town of Rohtak, vi. 141.

Makhanganj, flying rebels from, cut off by Capt. Gould Weston (11 Mar '58), iv. 266.

Makhdúm Bakhsh, gives warning of intended mutiny at Erinpuram (22 Aug), iv. 390; threat to murder him for showing respect to Capt.

- Makhdúm Baklsh—*cont.*
 Conolly, iv. 412; bravely offers his life to protect Capt. Conolly, iv. 392.
- Makimpúr, fugitives from Sítápúr escape to, iii. 256.
- Malagarh, a landowner of, claims jurisdiction in Bulandshahr district (25 May), vi. 135; evacuated by mutineers (28 Sept), iv. 64; Col. Greathed moves against, iv. 62.
- Málápúr, civil officers forced to leave, iii. 265; some fugitives from, reach Nipál, all but one perish, iii. 265.
- Maláun, mutiny at (5 June), iii. 256; district cleared of rebels by capture of Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 198.
- Malcolm, Capt., advances to Shorá-púr, but finds it deserted (8 Feb '58), v. 88.
- Malcolm, Col. George, Lord Elphinstone's great confidence in him, v. 300; gallantry of his troops at Halgalli (29 Nov), v. 166; leads Bombay troops against Sholápúr (Jan '58), v. 86; his valuable services in disarming people of Belgáon (Apr '58), v. 166; ordered to Rámdrúg, and hurries to disturbed district (27 May '58), v. 169; captures town and fort of Nárgúnd (2 June '58), v. 171.
- Malcolm, Sir John, Governor of Bombay, i. 276*n*; when 15 years old commands two companies on service (1784), i. 155*n*; on the dislike of Native troops for sea-voyages (1817), i. 337*n*; on ruling Sípáhís through their affections (1820), i. 341*n*; subdues the Peshwá (1818), i. 71; pledges the Government to bestow 8 lakhs annually on the Peshwá i. 71; his arrangement made with Bájí Ráo, v. 289; his politic reasons for generosity to deposed princes, i. 71; dissents from policy of making Oudh a kingdom, i. 86*n*; his opinion of Mewátís, ii. 184*n*; opposed to annexation policy, i. 57*n*.
- Máldá, a district of Rájsháhí, iii. xii, vi. 3, 26.
- Maler Kotlá, Nawáb of, directed to march to protection of Lodiáná (May), ii. 121*n*.
- Málíábád, Mr. Kavanagh Assistant Commissioner at (July '58), v. 198.
- Máligáón, mutiny of troops at (1840), i. 212*n*; troops sent from, to strengthen Col. Stuart's column (23 July), v. 13.
- Malihábád, turbulent outbreak there (27 May), iii. 248.
- Malmesbury, Lord, directs amendment of the famous Proclamation, v. 273.
- Málparba, river in which the Ránís of Nárgúnd destroy themselves, v. 172*n*.
- Málthon, its situation, v. x; strong pass avoided by Sir Hugh Rose (3 Mar '58), v. 102: pass abandoned by rebels (4 Mar '58), v. 103.
- Málwá, situation of, iii. x; its description, v. x; head-quarters of Contingent at Nahídpúr, iii. 136; disaffection in (June), v. 7; mutineers from, join others at Gwálliár, iv. 66; a general rising in, organized for September, v. 45; Major Orr leads Haidarábád Contingent into (Oct), v. 51; Gen. Michel holds military charge of (Aug '58), v. 229.
- Málwá, Western, its description, v. x.
- Malwái Sikhs, project a rising at Derá Ishmáil Khán (July '58), v. 212.
- Mamú Khán, alleged paramour of Begam of Oudh, v. 189; commands Oudh rebels north of Lakhnau (Sept '58), v. 199.
- Mamat-ullah, Shah, the saint who prophesies downfall of English *rāj*, ii. 27*n*.
- Manás, its junction with the Brahmaputrá, vi. 31.

- Mánbhúm, a district of Chutiá Nág-púr, iv. *xiii*, vi. 4; the Kols of, rise in insurrection, iv. 306.
- Manchur, a lake in Sindh, vi. 145.
- Mándá Ditryá, Rájah of, sides with the English (June), ii. 196.
- Mándalá, Gen. Whitlock refits at (2–4 Apr '58), v. 135.
- Mandáta, village near Nimár, i. 420*n*.
- Mandáwar, marauders at, successfully dealt with by Mr. Palmer (29 May), vi. 106.
- Mandesar, its situation, v. x; becomes centre of rebel force (Aug), v. 44; composition of rebel forces in, v. 44; Firúzsháh leads the rebels there, v. 45; end of Dasahrá festival fixed for rising in Málwá, v. 45; the rebels visit Dhár, v. 46; they threaten the Bombay road, v. 46; rebels in, urge Holkar's troops to join them (Oct), v. 46; emissaries from, received courteously at Dhár, v. 47; the rebel force occupies Dhár, v. 47; but is driven out by Col. Durand (31 Oct), v. 49.
- Rebels from, seize Jíran (Oct), iv. 399; they defeat the force sent against them, but voluntarily evacuate the place, iv. 400.
- The party from Dhár retreat through Western Málwá, v. 50; they attack and capture Mahíd-púr (8 Nov), v. 50; Col. Durand follows them there, v. 51; they are overtaken and defeated at Ráwal (18 Nov), v. 51; they fail to oppose the passage of the Chambal, v. 52; Col. Durand chases them back to Mandesar, v. 53; they march out to attack the Colonel in the open (22 Nov), v. 53; they are driven back into town, v. 54; brave defence made by rebels, v. 55; the stern defence of Rohilahs saves Firúzsháh, and the rest of his army, v. 55; the rebels evacuate the place, and retreat on Nángarh (25 Nov), v. 55.
- Mandesar—*cont.*
Placed under command of Major Orr (26 Nov), v. 56; Tántiá Topí reaches (26 Dec '58), v. 249; Major Orr marches up A'gra road to restore communication (Jan '58), v. 104.
- Mandlá, district south of Rewah, v. xi; district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60; Gen. Whitlock refits at, v. 134.
- Mandlésar, receives mysterious *ckapátis* (12 Jan), i. 420*n*; Bhil troops stationed near, iii. 138; Col. Durand endeavours to reach, iii. 158 protected by Col. Durand (12 Oct), v. 46.
- Mánduri, action fought at, by pálese troops (19 Sept), iv. 223.
- Mangal Pándí, the first mutineer, story of his mutiny (29 Mar), i. 395; he is hanged (8 Apr), i. 402.
- Mangal Singh, a notorious rebel, caught and executed at Akbarábád (9 Oct), iv. 65.
- Mangalwár, village near Ganges, Gen. Havelock reaches (24 July), iii. 330; position of Havelock's encampment (28 July), iii. 312; place where Gen. Havelock received plan of Residency, from the spy Angad, iii. 306; Havelock's battle at (21 Sept), iii. 356; Sir Colin Campbell visits, in his hasty return to Kánhpúr (27 Nov), iv. 157.
- Mangarwár see Mangalwár.
- Manglaur, Lieut. Boisragon sent from, to attack Bijnaur raiders (8 Jan '58), vi. 112.
- Mangles, Mr., Lord Canning's letter to him, about troops for India (May), i. 445; Sir J. Outram's letter to, on cause of the Mutiny, ii. 27*n*.
- Mangles, Mr. Ross, wins the Victoria Cross in the retreat from A'rah, iii. 58*n*.
- Mangráulí, Tántiá Topí marches from Chandéri to, v. 236; defeat

- Mangráulí—*cont.*
of Tántiá Topí at (9 Oct '58), v. 236; his account of the battle near, v. 308.
- Manipúr, Chitrágáoñ mutineers endeavour to reach (15 Dec), iv. 295; one of the princes joins the Chitrágáoñ mutineers (20 Dec), iv. 296.
- Mánjhá, a chief strategic point of the Panjáb, ii. 459.
- Manilla, Madras troops volunteer for service in (1820), i. 341n.
- Manohar, village occupied by Kuínwar Singh (18 Apr '58), iv. 333; Kuínwar Singh believed to have been wounded there (20 Apr '58), iv. 336.
- Mansab A'li, faithful Muhammadan at Púrwá, who keeps open communication with Káñhpúr, iii. 274.
- Mansab A'lí, his duty to harass English communications in Oudh, iv. 242; defeated by Lieut. Aikman (1 Mar '58), iv. 236.
- Mansel, Mr. Charles Grenville, appointed member of Board of Administration in Panjáb' (1849), i. 37; becomes Resident at Nágpúr, i. 55; reports that Rágují Bhonslá had not adopted a heir, i. 55; suggests compromise with respect to adoption, at Nágpúr (1854), i. 61; removed from Nágpúr for his views on adoption, i. 61; disapproves of incautious resumption operations, i. 126.
- Mansell, Adjutant, an attempt to murder him at Mírath (15 May), ii. 134.
- Mansfield, Capt., dies of cholera at Lakhnao (Aug), iii. 326, 377.
- Mansfield, Maj.-Gen. William, Chief of the Staff with Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 192; his character and attainments, iv. 192; his defective vision, iv. 192; ordered to occupy Subahdar's Tank to force surrender of Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 192; places his men in false posi-
- Mansfield, Maj.-Gen.—*cont.*
tion, and allows Tántiá Topí to escape, iv. 193; admits that he might have captured Tántiá Topí's artillery, iv. 194n; charged with instigating Sir Colin Campbell to prevent Sir J. Outram from cutting off Lakhnao rebels (14 Mar '58), iv. 278.
- Mán Singh, his victory at Gogúndah (1576), vi. 155.
- Mán Singh, Chief of the Púrbiah, joins in the plot after annexation of Oudh, i. 425n; his reported defeat by Havelock in July, ii. 453; joins Tántiá Topí at Barna Ságár (Mar '58), v. 306; returns to allegiance, and is attacked by tálukdárs (July '58), v. 188; his besiegers vanish on approach of English (23 July '58), v. 189.
- Mán Singh, Rájah of Narwár, quarrels with Sindhiá (2 Aug '58), v. 231; explains his grievance to Brig. Smith, who cannot deal with it (7 Aug '58), v. 232; seizes Páurí, v. 232; Brig. Smith approaches Páurí against him, v. 232; he is attacked and driven from Páurí (23 Aug '58), v. 233; he skilfully divides his force on escaping from Páurí, v. 234.
- Tries to join Tántiá Topí at Bhilwárá (13 Dec '58), v. 248; joins Tántiá Topí (6 Jan '59), v. 250; marches with Tántiá Topí to Parón, v. 250; parts from Tántiá Topí near Indragarh (12 Jan '59), v. 250; Tántiá Topí comes to him as a fugitive (25 Jan '59), v. 256; protects Tántiá Topí for a time, v. 310; hides himself in Narwár (Feb '59). v. 258.
- Plans for inducing his surrender, v. 258; at last he offers to surrender, v. 261; surrenders to Capt. Meade at Mahúdrá (2 Apr '59), v. 261; arguments which induce him to betray his confederates, v. 261; conducts Capt. Meade to Ajít Singh, but fails to

Mán Singh—*cont.*

catch him (3 Apr '59), v. 262; agrees to betray Tántiá Topí (7 Apr '59), v. 263; tries to fix the price of betrayal, v. 263; leads party and seizes Tántiá Topí (7 Apr '59), v. 264; important effect of his surrender on the population, v. 268.

Mán Singh, Rájah, Talúkdár of Sháhganj, warns Col. Goldney of coming mutiny, iii. 267; he is arrested, but released from arrest at Capt. A. Orr's intercession, iii. 267; offers to protect Capt. Orr's wife and children, iii. 267; conveys Miss Orr to the British camp at Lakhnao, iii. 261*n*; receives in his fort several ladies from Faizábád, iii. 268; hears of Mrs. Mills wandering in distress, and saves her life, iii. 270; arranges with mutineers that he is to protect women and children, but not men, iii. 271.

Manson, Col., supports the claim of Náná Sáhib, i. 74*n*.

Manson, Mr. Charles, his character and mental bias, v. 164; he does not know the cause of his own unpopularity, v. 169; formerly a member of the detested Inám Commission, v. 164; he arrests the Chief of Jámkhándí, v. 167; induces the Chief of Nárgúnd to send some guns to Dhárwár, v. 166; placed in charge of political work at Belgáoñ (Apr '58), v. 164; starts on tour of inspection (26 May '58), v. 168; he reaches Rámdrúg, and discovers rebellion of Chief of Nárgúnd, v. 169; endeavours to join Col. Malcolm, but is murdered by the Chief of Nárgúnd (27 May '58), v. 170.

Márá, Lieut., commands troops at Jaunpúr, vi. 50; murdered there (5 June), ii. 178.

Mara, Lieut., commands one party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.

Maráthá Empire, founded by Sivají, i. 51.

Maráthás, early contests with, i. 157; war with, in 1843, i. 94; resumption policy applied to country of, i. 128; causes of disaffection in their country, v. 14; Mr. Colvin seeks the support of, iii. 101; send support to Mr. Colvin from Gwáliár, iii. 101.

Maráura, its situation, v. 101*n*; strong fort abandoned by rebels (4 Mar '58), v. 103.

Marbán Singh, Subahdár, avenges the death of Quintin Battye, ii. 352*n*.

Mardán, a Yúsufzai assassin wounds Lieut. Godby at (1853), ii. 498; mutiny at (23 May), ii. 363; Col. H. Spottiswoode commits suicide at (24 May), ii. 364.

Mariáun, a cantonment at Lakhnao, iii. 241; mutineers deliver their second assault on Residency from, iii. 306.

Marjatá, a branch of the Ganges in the Sundarban, vi. 6.

Marrí, in the Panjáb, ii. 342; Sir J. Lawrence hears of Mírath outbreak while on his way to, i. 451; Nicholson advises abandonment of, in preference to Pesháwar, ii. 465; proposed Hazárah rising detected at (Aug), v. 211.

Marriott, Col., counsels mercy at Vellúr (1806), i. 168.

Marriott, Major, marches from Lakhnao with dangerous Sipáhís, but returns in safety (30 May), iii. 249.

Márah Khán, second in command at Bijnaur, under the rebel Mahmúd Khán, vi. 112.

Marsh, Ensign, joins in brave retention of factory near A'lígarh (June), iii. 198*n*; acts as volunteer horseman at A'lígarh, vi. 138; shot in a skirmish at that place, vi. 138.

Marshall, Mr., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.

- Marshman, Dr., his daughter married to Col. Havelock, ii. 210.
- Martial Law, acts authorizing, ii. 207, 208; its operation at Alláhábád, ii. 202, 203.
- Martin, Mr., distinguishes himself in defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Martin, Mr. Montgomery, his account of Banáras executions in June, ii. 178.
- Martineau, Lieut., considers periodical religious panic the basis of all the mistrust, i. 409n; told by his men, in March, that they were being out-casted, i. 406; reports to Gen. Becher the alarming condition of Sipáhís, i. 406; interprets Gen. Anson's tranquillizing speech, i. 407; the Native officers tell him that words cannot tranquillize the excitement, i. 408; ball-practice ordered, notwithstanding excitement, i. 410; says Muhammadans at Ambálah ridicule the greased cartridge theory, v. 348.
- Martinière College, at Lakhnao, iii. 246; origin of its name, iv. 256n; capture of (14 Nov), iv. 123; attacked by rebels during Sir Colin Campbell's advance into Lakhnao (16 Nov), iv. 140; Sir J. Outram's directions with respect to attack of (Mar '58), iv. 408; captured by Sir Colin Campbell (9 Mar '58), iv. 264.
- Marwá Ghát, Gen. Whitlock unwisely takes his force through (3 Apr '58), v. 135.
- Márwár, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. xi, 163n, iv. xviii; description of, iv. xvi; Tántiá Topí enters, to escape pursuit (18 Jan '59), v. 309.
- Masaulí, point of junction between Nipálese and Sir Hope Grant's force (22 Apr '58), iv. 348.
- Mason, Ensign, accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n.
- Mason, Mr., called to return to Kohlapúr, but hurries on to Dhárwár (27 May '58), v. 168.
- Massacres: at Dchlí (11 May), ii. 60–62; Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126; Kánhpúr (15 July). ii. 280; Baréli (May), iii. 212; Sháhjahán-púr (31 May), ii. 307.
- Master, Col., commands at the Brigade Mess post at Lakhnao, iii. 298; his critical position there, iii. 385.
- Masúrí, road to, lies through Saháranpúr, iii. 199; coming Mutiny discussed there in April, ii. 32; treasure from Dehrá Dún sent to (16 June), vi. 118; saved from attack and massacre by Mr. Spankie, vi. 122.
- Matábhángá, stream passing through Nadiá, vi. 25.
- Matheson, Capt., commands mounted policemen, with Gen. Franks (Dec), iv. 229.
- Mathiára, fort where Málápúr fugitives find shelter, iii. 265.
- Mathias, Dr., strews in the sand the powder, &c., of Kotá Contingent, iii. 179.
- Mathurá, a district of A'gra division, iii. xi, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 85.
- Approach of mutineers announced (May), vi. 87; ladies collected and sent to A'gra, vi. 87; Assistant Magistrate of Gurgáo rides in with news of Dehlí outbreak, vi. 88; native assistants at, know more of the outbreak than the officials, vi. 88; various fugitives from Gurgáo arrive at, vi. 88; occupied by Ját Infantry, at request of Mr. Colvin, iii. 101; Capt. Nixon arrives with Bharpúr army, vi. 89; the place is put in state of defence by Capt. Nixon, vi. 90; the Seths inform Mr. Thornhill that the Treasury will be plundered, vi. 90; Mr. Thornhill wishes to send treasure to A'gra, vi. 90; Mr. Colvin forbids sending the treasure to A'gra, vi. 91; Jaipúr troops march to maintain order there, iii. 172.

Mathurá—*cont.*

Mutiny at (30 May), iii. 108, vi. 91; Cavalry party from, tries to cut off Mr. Thornhill, vi. 94; Mr. Thornhill returns to, and resides with the Seths (June), vi. 96; Mr. Thornhill calls meeting, and gets dubious help from inhabitants (July), vi. 97; Bhartpúr troops in, accept Mr. Thornhill as leader, vi. 97; some inhabitants write to Dehlí, asking the King to occupy their town, vi. 97; the mob disarmed by Mr. Thornhill, vi. 97.

Capt. Dennys arrives with Kotá Contingent (July), vi. 98; the Kotá Contingent called to A'gra, vi. 98; Débé Singh proposes to expel the English from, vi. 98; Débé Singh attacked and captured, vi. 98; a Gwálíár detachment mutinies, but conveys its officers safely to A'gra, vi. 98; officers urged to fly to A'gra, vi. 98; but Mr. Thornhill and Mr. Clifford return to save their comrades, vi. 99; attempt to murder Mr. Thornhill and Mr. Joyce (July), vi. 98, 102n.

Mr. Thornhill and Mr. Joyce at last start for A'gra by road, vi. 99; the remaining officials leave by boat, vi. 99; incidents in escape of officials from, vi. 100.

The town is occupied by Dehlí mutineers under Firúzsháh (26 Sept), iv. 67; order re-established at (Oct), vi. 102; Mr. Thornhill and officials return to (15 Oct), vi. 102.

Mathurá, name of a loyal gunner who spikes the guns of Kotá Contingent, iii. 179.

Matla, a branch of the Ganges in the Sundarban, vi. 6.

Mattadín Singh, Havildar, his defence, at trial, of self and troopers (6 May), ii. 36.

Matthews, Major, reports bone-dust story at Barrackpúr (Mar), i. 417n.

Máu, its position, and garrison, iii. xii, 136; Col. Platts commands at, iii. 137; Capt. Hungerford chief Artillery officer there, iii. 137; Sipáhís at, debate a rush on Indúr (20 May), iii. 138; outward loyalty of the troops at, iii. 140; at the summons of Col. Durand Col. Platts sends guns to Indúr, iii. 154; Capt. Hungerford takes two hours in starting, iii. 154; he goes half-way to Indúr and returns (1 July), iii. 155; the battery taken into the fort, iii. 156; mutiny breaks out (1 July), iii. 156; murder of Col. Platts and Capt. Fagan, iii. 156; Sipáhís from, join those of Indúr, and march to Dehlí, iii. 156.

Mau Ránípúr, faithful native magistrate, sends intelligence of Jhánsí massacre to Náogáon, iii. 128.

Maude, Capt., commands Artillery under Havelock, ii. 272; drives rebels from bridge at Pándú Nadí (15 July), ii. 279; destroys flying mutineers at second battle of Bashíratganj (4 Aug), iii. 339; his battery leads entry into Lakhnao (25 Sept), iii. 360; attacks Chárbágh bridge, iii. 361; wins the Victoria Cross (25 Sept), iii. 363n; commands battery issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.

Máudhá, a town of Hamírpúr, vi. 83.

Maughan, Col., political superintendent at Kolhápúr, v. 25; closes gates and saves station from mutineers (31 July), v. 27.

Maulaví, the, by name Ahmad Ullah, or Ahmad Sháh, a Talíkdár of Faizábád, ii. 197n, iv. xix; a prime mover in preliminary conspiracy, v. 292; his personal character and previous history, iv. 379; one of the three capable rebel leaders, iv. 105.

His first appearance in the rebellion, at Khusrí Bág, Alláhábád (June), ii. 196; present at

Maulaví—*cont.*

defeat of Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 273n.

Leader of the rebel forces at Lakhnao (Dec), iv. 240; his plan for dislodging Sir J. Outram from the A'lambágh, iv. 240; makes determined attack on A'lambágh (12 Jan '58), iv. 242; swears to capture the convoy from Kánhpúr, iv. 244; Capt. Olpherts defeats attempt on convoy (14 Jan '51), iv. 245; he is wounded and nearly captured, iv. 245; imprisoned by the rebels in Lakhnao (Feb '58), iv. 246; released from prison, again attacks the A'lambágh (15 Feb '58), iv. 246.

Defies the English at Shádat-ganj, but is driven out with great loss (21 Mar '58), iv. 286; his daring reconnoitring (12 Apr '58), iv. 347; instance of his real tactical skill (13 Apr '58), iv. 347; forced to evacuate his position at Bárí, iv. 348; escapes with his army from Sir Colin Campbell (30 Apr '58), iv. 365; escapes to Kánhpúr from Alláhbád (15 June), ii. 201.

Endeavours to capture Shájhánpúr (2 May '58), iv. 372; seizes the town, but is stopped by Col. Hale's resistance at the gaol, iii. 373; bombards the gaol of Shájhánpúr (7-11 May '58), iv. 373; Brig. Jones is sent to drive him away, iv. 373; he advances against the Brigadier but is forced back into the town, iv. 374; important reinforcements reach him at Shájhánpúr, iv. 375; Brig. Jones reaches the gaol, but is reduced to the defensive, iv. 375; he attacks Brig. Jones in Shájhánpúr, and is defeated (15 May '58), iv. 376; sends the bulk of his army to Muhamdí (16 May '58), iv. 377; dexterously evacuates Rohilkhand (24 May '58), iv. 378.

Maulaví—*cont.*

Seeks help from Powáin, and the Rájah consents to see him, iv. 380; he finds the gates closed, and tries to force them with his elephant, iv. 380; killed at the gate by the Rájah's brother (5 June '58), iv. 380; his head is exposed at Shájhánpúr, iv. 380; his death resented, and the cause of further unsettlement, v. 191; tribute to his patriotism and manliness, iv. 281.

Maunsell, Lieut. Fred., urges capture of Dehlí by *coup-de-main*, ii. 397; with fourth column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20; shot down in assault of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 42n.

Mauritius, Sipáhís volunteer for service in (1811), i. 338; troops sent from to India (June), v. 4.

Mawe, Dr., dies of sunstroke while escaping from Náogáoñ (20 June), iii. 130.

Maxwell, Lieut.-Col. G. V., posted on bank of Ganges during attack on Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173; sent to co-operate with Sir Hugh Rose (Apr '58), v. 125; sent to attack Kalpí, iv. 315; reaches Jamnah opposite Guláulí (15 May '58), v. 125; crosses Jamnah to assist attack on Kalpí (20 May '58), v. 127.

Maynard, Major, advances to Sandálá and drives away rebels (6 Oct '58), v. 199; his desperate courage at Panú (7 Oct '58), v. 200.

Mayne, Capt., with party of Cavalry, restores order near Nar-sinhpúr (Nov), v. 73.

Mayne, Capt., killed in attack on Lakhnao (14 Nov), iv. 125n.

Mayne, Major W., on Govindgarh mutiny (1850), i. 230n.

Mayne, Mr. F. O., chief civil officer of Bandah, vi. 79; his character, vi. 79; his prudent measures to preserve order in Bandah, vi. 79;

Mayne, Mr. F. O.—*cont.*

sends treasure to safer stations (May), vi. 80; trusts treasury balance to Sipáhís, vi. 80; arrival of Fathpúr fugitives causes insurrection (8 June), vi. 80; suppresses first insurrection, vi. 80.

Attempts to disarm Sipáhís at Bandah (14 June), vi. 81; retires with Europeans from Bandah, vi. 81; receives charge of Southern Mírzápúr (Sept), vi. 49; after escaping from Bandah works energetically in Mírzápúr, vi. 81; receives friendly letters from Nawáb of Bandah, vi. 82; refuses to reply to Nawáb of Bandah's letters, vi. 82.

Returns to Bandah in the wake of Gen. Whitlock's army (Apr '58), vi. 82; finds evidences of disorder at Bandah, vi. 82; applies the law mercifully at Bandah, vi. 82; hangs the leaders, and fines the led, at Bandah (May '58), vi. 82.

His special certificate as to the loyalty of the Regent of Kírwí, v. 303; officially pronounces the Ráo of Kírwí free from treason, v. 303.

His valuable services, vi. 50; monument to his memory at Alláhábád, vi. 83.

Mayne, Rev. Mr., Chaplain, makes personal appeal for troops for Simlah, ii. 109n.

Mayo, Lord, refuses to place Gen. Showers in Legislative Council, iii. 375.

Mayo, Mr. Arthur, Midshipman, R.N., his gallantry, vi. 170; wins Victoria Cross at Dhákah (20 Nov), iv. 293.

Meade, Capt. R. J., his character, v. 218; the constituents of his famous regiment of horse, v. 218; raising of his regiment of horse at A'gra (Dec), v. 218; moves from Bijráón to Sirsimáo, to clear roads (27 Feb '59), v. 258; opens communication with Naráiyán Singh

Meade, Capt. R. J.—*cont.*

(8 Mar '59), v. 259; induces Naráiyán Singh to return to Sirsimáo, v. 259; has interview with Mán Singh's agent (11 Mar '59), v. 259; promises Mán Singh life and subsistence, v. 259; moves forward to A'gar (20 Mar '59), v. 260; Mán Singh's family surrenders to him (25 Mar '59), v. 260; sends Mán Singh's family to their own villages near Sípri, v. 260; marches on to Mahúdrá, v. 261; Mán Singh surrenders at Mahúdrá (2 Apr '59), v. 261; operates on Mán Singh's mind to induce betrayal of Tántiá Topí, v. 261; attempts, but fails, to capture Ajít Singh (5 Apr '59), v. 262; receives Tántiá Topí as prisoner (8 Apr '59), v. 264; carries Tántiá Topí to Sípri, v. 264; tries Tántiá Topí by court-martial and hangs him (18 Apr '59), v. 265.

Meade, Mr., his condemnation of Lord Canning for not acting on suggestions of Calcutta inhabitants, ii. 92n.

Mecham, Lieut., Adjutant at Lakhnao, iii. 242; his coolness preserves his life (3 May), iii. 243n; sent to suppress rising at Malihábád, iii. 248; by skill and daring returns safely from Malihábád, iii. 248; successfully repulses third assault on Residency (18 Aug), iii. 310n; blown up at Lakhnao, but not hurt (18 Aug), iii. 381; greatly distinguishes himself throughout defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.

Medley, Capt., traces No. 1 battery, Dehlí (7 Sept), iv. 8; traces No. 3 battery (9 Sept), iv. 13; examines breach at Kashmír bastion, iv. 17; with first column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; leads the assault at the Kashmír breach, iv. 23.

His prudent daring at Kadam Rasúl, Lakhnao (11 Mar '58), iv. 267; renders the Sháh Najaf defensible, iv. 268.

- Medlicott, Geological Professor at Rúrkí, ii. 132*n.*
- Meerut, *see* Mírath.
- Mélapúr, station of Bahráich, iii. 261.
- Melbourne, Lord, i. 270*n.*
- Melghát, Brig. Hill's occupation of, stops Tántiá Topí (Nov '58), v. 241.
- Melville, Mr., compelled to flee from Bulandshahr to Mírath (21 May), vi. 134.
- Melville, Mr., B.C.S., joins in attack on Bijnaur raiders (9 Jan '58), vi. 112.
- Melville, Mr. Leslie, objects to the annexation of Satárah (1849), i. 54*n.*
- Mehar, a district of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Mehdí, Maulaví, Magistrate of Patná, arrested by Mr. Tayler, iii. 35.
- Mehídpuर, its description, v. xi; mutineers from, join others at Gwálíár (Aug), iv. 66; the Contingent at Indúr Residency refuse to fight, iii. 148; attacked by rebels retreating from Dhár (8 Nov), v. 50; part of the Contingent fights loyally, and then escorts Europeans to Col. Durand's camp, v. 50; Major Orr saves Mrs. Timmins at (12 Nov), v. 51.
- Méhndí, Col. Colin Troup defeats rebels at (18 Nov '58), v. 204.
- Mehndí Husen, shows real military capacity, iv. 232; calls himself Názim of Sultánpúr, iv. 229; sends his raiders into Bihár (Aug), iv. 311; plunders district near Jaunpur (Dec), iv. 229.
- Defeated by Gen. Franks, at Hamídpuर (19 Feb '58), iv. 232; tries to stop Gen. Franks at Bádsháhganj, iv. 233; out-maneuvred by Gen. Franks, iv. 233; defeated at Bádsháhganj, Sultánpúr (23 Feb '58), iv. 234; commands rebel forces at Belwá (4 Mar '58), iv. 316; he marches against Col. Rowcroft, but is driven into his intrenchment, iv. 317; makes two other attacks, which are defeated (17 and 25 Apr), iv. 317.
- His final defeat and pursuit, by Gen. Hope Grant (27 Nov '58), v. 203.
- Meiklejohn, Lieut., killed in escalade, at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 117.
- Mekká, Prince Mirzá Korash makes pilgrimage to, ii. 21.
- Mekránís, join rebellion in Mandesar (Aug), v. 44.
- Mertá, a town of Jodhpúr, vi. 160.
- Mess-House, Lakhnao, attack and capture of (17 Nov), iv. 142.
- Metcalfe, Lord, opposed to annexation policy, i. 57*n.*
- Metcalfe, Sir Charles, Resident at Haidarábád, i. 6, 45*n.*; his views of the tenure of dependent Princes, i. 66; objects to excessive deference shown to King of Dehlí (1806), ii. 5; opposes increased stipend to Dehlí Emperor (1838), ii. 8; supports Indian Bible Society, i. 348.
- Metcalfe, Sir T. J., Deputy Collector of Fathpúr, vi. 76.
- Metcalfe, Sir Theophilus, his evidence as to popular credence in Persian conquest in India (Jan), v. 342; his account of the Persian proclamation at Dehlí (Mar), ii. 31; his evidence on the intended seizure of the Kashmír Gate, v. 344; hastens to Dehlí Magazine to convey intelligence of coming attack (11 May), ii. 66; delays the Guides in their march to Dehlí (6 June), ii. 351.
- Metcalfe, Sir Thomas, gains consent of Fakir-ud-dín as to his succession to Dehlí royal title, ii. 20; receives special appeal from Emperor in favour of Jawan Bakht's succession, ii. 21.
- Metcalfe House, its position near Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 390; curious traditions concerning, ii. 408; mu-

- Metcalfé House—*cont.*
 tineers occupy (11 June), ii. 409; occupied by English (12 June), ii. 410.
- Méwár or Udaipúr, the most ancient state of Rájpútáná, iii. *xiii*, 163*n*, iv. *xvii*, vi. 155; head-quarters of political agency in Rájpútáná, iii. 163.
- Mewát, district comprising Alwar, vi. 153; marauders of, suppressed near Bijnaur by Nawáb of Najábábád (23 May), vi. 106.
- Méwátís, Sir John Malcolm's opinion of, ii. 184*n*; they join rebellion in Mandesar (Aug), v. 44.
- Miánganj, rebels defeated at, by Brig. Evelegh (5 Oct '58), v. 200.
- Miání, site of Sir C. Napier's defeat of the Amírs of Sindh (1843), vi. 145.
- Mián-Mír, its situation, ii. *xvii*; the military station near Láhor, its garrison in May, ii. 320; plan of general conspiracy at (May), ii. 323*n*; the disarming parade (13 May), ii. 324; native troops at, disarmed, ii. 344; Sir J. Lawrence's opinion of disarmament at, ii. 354.
- Michel, Maj.-Gen., his operations against Tántiá Topí, v. 224*n*; given military command of both Málwá and Rájpútáná (Aug '58), v. 229; joins Col. Lockhart at Nalkérah, v. 229; pushes forward troops to cover Indúr (Aug '58), v. 229; advances to Chápairá (Sept), v. 229; drives Tántiá Topí from Rájgarh (Sept '58), v. 230; advances to Sironj in pursuit of Tántiá Topí (5 Sept '58), v. 231; marches on Mangráulí (9 Oct '58), v. 236; defeats Tántiá Topí there, v. 236; marches on Ráo Sáhib at Sindwáhá (10 Oct '58), v. 237; defeats Ráo Sáhib there (15 Oct '58), v. 237; catches Tántiá Topí at Kurai, near Ságár, v. 238; destroys half Tántiá Topí's army at Kurai (25 Oct '58), v. 238; chases Tántiá Topí from Sindwáhá to Lálitpúr, v. 238; joins Brig. Parke at Hoshangábád (7 Nov '58), v. 242; endeavours to track Tántiá Topí through the wild Betúl country (7–10 Nov '58), v. 243; recrosses Narbadá at Barwání (20 Nov '58), v. 245; occupies Chaprá (Jan '59), v. 255; the skilful arrangements which hunted down Tántiá Topí, v. 268; marches 1,700 miles himself in this famous pursuit, v. 268.
- Michní, Sipáhís at, disarmed, ii. 374.
- Middleton, Capt., his daring in attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140; present with his battery at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; distinguishes himself at Sheorájpúr (8 Dec), iv. 195; accompanies Sir Hope Grant's column in Oudh (11 Apr '58), iv. 346; his conspicuous gallantry in the chase of Kúnwar Singh (15 Apr '58), iv. 331 and *n*.
- Midnapúr, a district of Western Bengal, vi. 3.
- Mihrwán Singh, attempts to kill Capt. Conolly (Aug), iv. 411.
- Miles, Lieut., commands Cavalry at Gondah, iii. 263.
- Miles, Lieut., sent to do duty with Nipálese (Aug), iv. 222.
- Miles, Lieut., killed at outbreak in Múltán (31 Aug '58), v. 213.
- Miller, Col., enters Jabalpúr with Madras Infantry (2 Aug), v. 70; commands Madras Infantry there, v. 133.
- Miller, Lieut.-Col. W. H., commands artillery in Whitlock's column, v. 133; greatly distinguishes himself at Bandah (19 Apr '58), v. 137.
- Mills, Capt., killed in gallant charge on rebels at Mehídpúr (8 Nov), v. 50.
- Mills, Lieut., killed in attack on Gwáliár (19 June '58), v. 158.

Mills, Mrs., her sufferings while escaping from Faizábád, iii. 270; succoured and sent to Gorákhpúr by Rájah Mán Singh, iii. 270.

Milman, Col., commands small force at A'zamgarh (Mar '58), iv. 319; blockaded in A'zamgarh gaol, by Kúnwar Singh (4 Apr '58), iv. 326; marches against Kúnwar Singh (21 Mar '58), iv. 319; attacked, and driven back, by Kúnwar Singh (22 Mar '58), iv. 320.

Mínás, a people of Sirohí, vi. 162.

Minchanah, Táluk of, i. 118ⁿ.

Mír A'lám, Nizám's minister, helps the English in 1806, i. 171.

Míraj, state in Southern Maráthá country, v. 14; its description, v. xi; the Chief of, forced to surrender his ammunition (June '58), v. 172.

Mírau-kí-Sarai, Sir Colin Campbell reaches, iv. 210; place where Capt. Hodson and Sir Colin Campbell met (30 Dec), iv. 208.

Miránpúr Katra, point of junction of Gen. Penny and Brig. Walpole's forces (Apr '58), iv. 349; Col. Jones brings in Gen. Penny's column there (3 May '58), iv. 352.

Mírath, a division of N. W. Prov., ii. xvii, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 125, 134; description of cantonment, ii. 39; its importance and garrison, i. 415; a Native centre of news-transmission, i. 361ⁿ.

34th Natiye Regt. disbanded at (1844), i. 219; becomes headquarters of the Artillery, i. 359; preponderance of Hindús in 3rd Native Cavalry at, i. 415ⁿ.

A disturbing Faqir appears there in April, i. 415; conspiracy before the Mutiny at, v. 292; the story of mixing ground bones with flour, i. 417; Native troops accustomed for years to use greased cartridges, i. 379; Sipáhís permitted to grease their own cartridges (27 Jan), i. 378; Sipáhís

Mírath—cont.

apparently contented in early May, i. 428.

Incendiary fires break out (23 Apr), ii. 34; Cavalry troopers refuse to take cartridges (24 Apr), i. 416; Court of inquiry into conduct of Cavalry, ii. 33; constitution of Court, ii. 35; the 85 troopers ordered to be tried by Court-Martial, ii. 35; trial (6 May), and verdict of Court, ii. 36; sentence confirmed, ii. 37; sentence on the 85 troopers carried out (9 May), ii. 38.

Exciting rumours on 9 May, ii. 39; Sipáhís communicate with Dehlí before outbreak, v. 313; the Natives prepare for the outbreak during 10 May, ii. 40; last telegram before outbreak, i. 437ⁿ; great outbreak (10 May), i. 437, ii. 41; circumstances of the outbreak at, v. 313; the 85 troopers released from prison by their comrades, ii. 43; general massacre of Europeans, ii. 44; slaughter of Europeans during night of 10-11 May, ii. 51; Mrs. Craigie saved by the fidelity of her husband's troopers, ii. 52.

Extraordinary inactivity of European troops at and after outbreak, ii. 46, 54; mutineers allowed to escape through culpable delay, ii. 50; the policy of pursuing mutineers discussed, ii. 80; strength of European troops at, ii. 46; conduct of principal officers during the outbreak, ii. 47; Capt. Craigie and Lieut. Clarke boldly try to control the mutiny, ii. 48; cautious conduct of Col. Smyth, ii. 47, 48, and n; prompt act of Col. A. Wilson, ii. 48, 49; deliberate action of Gen. Hewitt, ii. 49; cause of unpreparedness at station, ii. 78; instances of courage and devotion at outbreak, ii. 56; evidences of forethought in the outbreak, v. 317.

Mírath—*cont.*

Some fugitives from Dehlí reach (11 May), ii. 73; martial law proclaimed at (13 May), ii. 130; mutiny of Sappers at (15 May), ii. 133; direct communication with, severed (21 May), iii. 102; after outbreak, attention given to defence only, ii. 129; complete effacement of English at, ii. 130*n*; help in suppression of crime given by military not before 24 May, ii. 135.

Civilians from Murádábád reach, in safety (6 June), iii. 222; bankers refuse to advance money to the Government (June), vi. 127; Mr. Dunlop organizes volunteers at, vi. 127; Gújars driven from neighbourhood of, vi. 128; panic and selfishness rule military counsels (May–Sept), iii. 200.

Mír Bákir Húsén, warns Col. Goldney of coming mutiny, iii. 267.

Mírí, a tribe to the north of Lower Provinces, vi. 2.

Mir Ja'far, i. 150; his descendant resides at Murshídábád, vi. 26.

Mír Kásim, makes Munger the capital of Bihár (1766), iv. 91*n*, vi. 34.

Mír Khán Sáhib, Sáiad, his faithfulness and bravery at Mírath (11 May), ii. 496.

Mír Muhammad Húsén Khán, Názim, shelters Col. Lennox and family for nine days, and sends them to Gorákhpúr, iii. 270.

Mír Punah Ali, presents petition of mutineers to Náná Sáhib, ii. 500.

Mirwá, Col. Rowcroft's camp at (Dec), iv. 225.

Mírza, faithful Muhammadan servant of Mr. Blake, tries to save Europeans at Gwáliár, iii. 115*n*.

Mírzá Abdulla, his treacherous conduct, v. 347.

Mírzá Gaffúr Beg, sent by rebels to stop approach of Gen. Franks, iv. 233; his strong position at Bág-

Mírzá Gaffúr Beg—*cont.*

sháhganj, iv. 233; he is completely defeated by Gen. Franks (23 Feb '58), iv. 235.

Mírzá Haidar, induces King of Dehlí to become a Shíah, ii. 29.

Mírzá Mughul, publicly appointed Commander-in-chief in Dehlí, v. 327; he is encouraged by the King of Dehlí in opposing the English, v. 324.

Mírzá Muhammad Korash, Prince, eldest son of Bahádur Sháh, protests against succession of Jawan Bakht, ii. 21; his claims to Dehlí succession recognized by Lord Canning, ii. 23, 24.

Mírzápúr, a district of Banáras division, iii. xii, vi. 38; its description, vi. 45; poor descendant of ancient ruler of Banáras lives respected at, v. 290*n*.

Troops from, reach Alláhábád (9 May), ii. 182; Col. Pott's ingenuity in removing temptation from Sipáhís (June), vi. 47; invaded by defeated Sipáhís from A'räh (11 Aug), vi. 49; A'räh Sipáhís totally defeated (20 Aug), vi. 49; Kúnwar Singh makes irruption into (8 Sept), vi. 49.

Mírzá Takí Beg, his treasonable knowledge at Pesháwar, v. 347.

Mishmí, a tribe to the north of Lower Provinces, vi. 2.

Mitchell, Col., hears of the greased cartridge scare from a Sipáhí (16 Feb), i. 367; reproves his men angrily for the fears about the cartridges, i. 368; orders parade of Barhámpúr troops (28 Feb), i. 369; orders Cavalry and Artillery to be present at parade, i. 370; hearing a tumult, brings Cavalry and Artillery to overawe Infantry, i. 371; reluctantly countermands order for parade, i. 372; his prudence in face of the excited men, i. 371; reports dying confession of Isrí Pándí, i. 429*n*.

Mitchell, Sergeant, bravely remains

- Mitchell, Sergeant—*cont.*
 at Mainpúrī during mutiny, iii. 104.
 Mitháulí, captured by Col. Colin Troup (8 Oct '58), v. 204.
 Mithaulí Rájah, shelters English fugitives, iii. 255; feeds English fugitives concealed in the jungles till October, iii. 255; orders English fugitives to Kachauna for greater safety, iii. 258.
 Mocatta, Lieut., reads order to Lá-hor Sipáhís, directing them to pile arms, ii. 325.
 Mohádaba, fugitives from Faizábád betrayed there, iii. 269.
 Mohamdi, massacre of Europeans at, ii. 307; plan for finally crushing rebels in, v. 200.
 Mohamrah, in Persia, proclamation of King of Persia found there, ii. 30; Gen. Havelock leaves there (15 May), ii. 211.
 Mohan, on the Sáí, Mr. Pat Carnegy, chief civil officer at, v. 197; rebels attempt to capture (7 Aug '58), v. 197; they are compelled to retreat from, by Col. Evelegh, v. 197.
 Mohan Lál, his evidence as to undecided conduct of Sipáhís after Mírath outbreak, v. 356.
 Mohárar, pursuit of Kálpí rebels stopped here (3 June), v. 148.
 Mohar Singh, leads the revolt in Mu-zaffarnagar (June), vi. 123.
 Moir, Capt., left in charge of A'lambágħ (13 Nov), iv. 121.
 Moisu'd Din, Prince, heads the revolt at Vellúr (1806), i. 166.
 Mokand Lál, *see* Mukand Lál.
 Möller, Lieut., arrests an assassin single-handed in Great Bazaar, Mírath (14 May), ii. 55.
 Mollinchu, a branch of the Ganges on the Sundarban, vi. 6.
 Momin Khán, faithful trooper who keeps to Capt. Conolly, iv. 411.
 Monck-Mason, Capt., Political Agent at Jodhpúr, his character, iii. 172; receives a small Contingent of troops from Jodhpúr, iii. 172;
 Monck-Mason, Capt.—*cont.*
 applied to by Abbás Alí for promise of pardon (25 Aug), iv. 393; prevented by Government order from making terms with Abbás Alí, iv. 393, 395; killed near A'wah (18 Sept). iv. 397.
 Moncrieff, Capt., assists in restoring order in Chutiá Nágpúr (Jan '58), iv. 308.
 Moncrieff, Rev. Mr., his devotion to duty during siege of Kánpúr intrenchments, ii. 243.
 Mondoh, gives the final blow to Capt. Douglas in the King of Dehlí's palace (11 May), v. 319.
 Money, Lieut., Artillery officer, heroically fights mutineers at Dehlí with Artillery only (18 June), ii. 414n; commands Artillery at flank attack on rebels, from Dehlí Ridge (14 July), ii. 440; wounded at Ludlow Castle, Dehlí (23 July), ii. 447.
 Money, Mr. Alonzo, Magistrate, his view of the danger threatening Gayá, iii. 72; directed to bring treasure from Gayá to Patná, iii. 72; resolves to abandon treasure at Gayá, iii. 72; his resolution to abandon the treasure indefensible, iii. 73; induced by Mr. Hollings to return to Gayá for treasure, iii. 73; returns to Gayá, summons fresh troops, and proceeds to remove treasure, iii. 74; burns Government paper, and conveys treasure to Calcutta (2 Aug), iii. 74; his reason for retiring from Gayá to Calcutta, iii. 75n; his disobedience, vacillation, and blundering, converted into a triumph. iii. 75.
 Resumes his duties at Gayá, iv. 312; induces Capt. Rattray to march against Cavalry, who wheel round and sack Gayá (8 Sept), iv. 312; made a C.B. for his extraordinary conduct, iii. 76n.
 Money, Mr. D. J., Judge of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.

- Monson, Gen., his retreat from the Chambal, ii. 115.
- Montgomery, Mr. Robert, his early and life character, ii. 319, v. 183; appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 38; becomes Judicial Commissioner in the Panjáb (1853), i. 47n.
His prudent measures for the safety of Láhor, ii. 321; calls a council at Anárkali, ii. 321; present at disarming of Láhor Sipáhís (13 May), ii. 324; secures important places near Láhor, ii. 327; urges Mr. Cooper to secure Govindgarh, ii. 327; his account of Nicholson's march to Gurdáspúr, ii. 480n.
Becomes Chief Commissioner of Oudh (16 May '58), v. 183; his discreet method of acting under the Oudh proclamation (June '58), v. 183.
- Montgomery, Major, leads expedition and relieves A'Tigarh, iii. 192.
- Montgomery, Sergeant, bravely remains at Mainpúrí during mutiny, iii. 104.
- Montresor, Col., irritates his Sipáhís by restrictions (1806), i. 170; by vigour and mercy prevents mutiny at Haidarábád, i. 172.
- Moore, Capt., his conspicuous bravery at Kánhpúr, ii. 241; defeats an attack on Kánhpúr by ingenuity, ii. 249n; reluctantly favours capitulation, ii. 252; negotiates Kánhpúr capitulation, ii. 252; leads the Kánhpúr garrison out of the intrenchment, ii. 254; murdered at Kánhpúr (27 June), ii. 259.
- Moore, Capt., guides Brig. Parke's detachment through Chhotá Udai-púr jungles (Nov '58), v. 246.
- Moore, Dr., murdered by revolters in Sambalpúr (Dec), iv. 307.
- Moore, Mr., Joint Magistrate at Mírzápúr, vi. 46; seizes and hangs the rebel chief of Bhudoí, vi. 48; reward offered for his head, vi.
- Moore, Mr.—*cont.*
48; he is set upon and beheaded (4 July), vi. 48.
- Moore, Mrs., her courage during the Kánhpúr siege, ii. 243.
- Moors, early name for Indians, i. 146.
- Moorsom, Lieut., his great services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252; killed in capture of iron bridge at Lakhnao (11 Mar '58), iv. 266.
- Moramáu, rebels defeated at, by Brig. Evelegh (8 Nov '58), iv. 202.
- Morár, cantonment of Gwáliár, iv. xv; Tántiá Topí leads Gwáliár Contingent from (9 Nov), v. 306; rebel troops occupy at instigation of Rání of Jhánsí (30 May '58), v. 146; Sir Hugh Rose drives out rebels (16 June '58), v. 151.
- Morásá, halting-place of Brig. Parke (18 Aug '58), v. 227.
- Morí Gate, at Dehlí, ii. 393.
- Morland, Mr., supports the claim of Náná Sáhib, i. 74n; declines an unwonted proposal of visit by Náná Sáhib, i. 422.
- Morphy, Capt., dies fighting bravely at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 177.
- Morrison, Gen., induces the Bengal Sipáhís to labour at Arakan, i. 197.
- Morton, Sergeant-Major, conveys Mr. Christian's child safely to Lakhnao, iii. 255; himself taken to Lakhnao and there murdered (16 Nov). iii. 260n.
- Morwána, Mr. Dunlop's approach scares rebels from, vi. 133.
- Moseley, Col., marches with the 64th to Sindh (1844), i. 207; condones the temporary mutiny of his regiment, i. 208; his mistake entails a second mutiny in his regiment, i. 208; removed from regiment, and cashiered, i. 211.
- Mosque, the, on Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 389.
- Motihári, capital of Champáran, near Patná, iii. xii, 26; abandoned by Europeans, iii. 70.

- Motí Mahall, its position at Lakhnao, iii. 247; description of, iv. xvii; Military Police at, mutiny (12 June), iii. 279; Gen. Havelock's rear-guard extricated from (27 Sept), iii. 366; attack and capture of (17 Nov), iv. 143.
- Motí Masjid, in A'gra fort, converted into a hospital, iii. 188.
- Moti Misr, discloses Patná conspiracy of 1845, i. 224n.
- Mouat, Dr., witnesses "Panic Sunday," vi. 20n; his description of "Panic Sunday" at Calcutta, iii. 17n.
- Moulmein, i. 215.
- Mound, the, in rear of Dehlí Ridge, ii. 433n.
- Mountsteven, Capt., killed at attack on Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 439n.
- Mowbray-Thomson, Capt., *see* Thomson, Capt. Mowbray.
- Mubárakpúr, captured by Col. Wroughton (27 Sept), iv. 223.
- Mudhal, its description, v. xi; state in southern Maráthá country, v. 14.
- Múdkí, mutiny of the 64th at (1844), i. 207.
- Múdkipúr, military position at Lakhnao, iii. 241; mutineers of Lakhnao occupy, iii. 251.
- Mughal Mirzá, a Dehlí prince, secreted in Humáyun's tomb, iv. 55; his death, iv. 55.
- Mughul Beg, murderer of Commissioner Fraser, ii. 60; evidence given at his trial, ii. 59n.
- Mughul Empire, its surviving influence in 1857, ii. 1.
- Mugra, point at which Chitrágáo mutineers re-entered British territory (3 Dec), iv. 295.
- Muhamdí, situation and garrison of, iii. 257; Mr. Christian sends conveyance to bring Europeans to Sítápúr; iii. 259; Capt. Orr occupies fort with troops, iii. 258; Mrs. Orr sent away from (1 June), iii. 258; massacre of Europeans at, ii. 307; treasure removed into fort (2 June), iii. 258: fugitives from Sháhjahánpúr arrive there (3 June), iii. 215; massacre of fugitives from (5 June), iii. 259.
- Occupied in force by the Maulaví (16 May '58), iv. 377; the Maulaví cleverly withdraws from, into Oudh (24 May '58), iv. 378; plan for finally crushing rebels in, v. 200.
- Muhammadábád, one of two stations in A'zamgarh, loyally held by Muhammad Tákí, vi. 67; occupied by Sir Hope Grant (15 Apr '58), iv. 348.
- Muhammadans, how affected by changes in educational system, i. 143; reasons for their antagonism to the English, iii. 237; their large number in the Dúáb the cause of rapid spread of sedition there, ii. 196; their large number at Kánhpúr a cause of sedition, ii. 228; early concern in the Mutiny doubted, i. 414.
- Muhammadanism, sectarianism of, ii. 29.
- Muhammad-bágh, position seized by Sir Colin Campbell (2 Mar '58), iv. 258.
- Muhammad Bakhsh, Risáldár, takes arms from Irregulars at Gorákh-púr (1 Aug), vi. 58; created extra Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General, vi. 58.
- Muhammad Bakht Khán, an effusively loyal Subahdár at Baréli, iii. 203n; becomes an active leader in rebellion (14 May), iii. 203; induced by Khán Bahádur Khán to go to Dehlí (June), ii. 426; appointed Lord Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in Dehlí (1 July), v. 327; acknowledged by the King of Dehlí as his officer, v. 323; attacks the rear of Dehlí Ridge, but fails (4 July), ii. 426; his proclamation of 12 July, v. 328; evacuates Dehlí (19 Sept), iv. 50; urges the Dehlí King to

- Muhammad Bakht Khán—*cont.*
defy the English, iv. 50; endeavours to persuade the King to keep with the army, iv. 51; marches away towards Oudh, iv. 51.
- Muhammad Darwesh, his petition to Mr. Colvin (27 Mar), v. 339; the loyalty and faithfulness in his letter to Mr. Colvin, v. 348.
- Muhammad Husén, leader of rebels at Gorákhpúr (Aug), iv. 222; offers 5,000 rupees for Mr. Bird's head, vi. 59; gets possession of Gorákhpúr (13 Aug), vi. 59; seeks to hold A'mórha (June '58), v. 196; driven from A'mórha by Major Cox (9 June '58), v. 196; defeated at Harhá (18 June '58), v. 196; joins Bálá Ráo at Tulsí-púr (16 Dec '58), v. 204.
- Muhammad Husén Khán, Názim Mír, shelters Col. Lennox and family for nine days, and sends them to Gorákhpúr, iii. 270.
- Muhammad Husén, Sháh, a Wáhábí Maulaví arrested by Mr. Tayler at Patná, iii. 34.
- Muhammad Khán, Wazír, ruler of Tonk, vi. 154; actively assists the English, vi. 154.
- Muhammad Nazím Khán, faithful officer of Irregulars, iii. 211*n.*
- Muhammad Rahmat Khán, loyally takes charge of Bijnaur (16 Aug), vi. 111; driven from Bijnaur by Mahmúd Khán (23 Aug), vi. 111.
- Muhammad Sádik, the name attached to Persian proclamation at Dehlí (March), ii. 30.
- Muhammad Shafí, officer of Irregulars, labours to corrupt his regiment, at Barélí (31 May), iii. 210; leads left wing of Irregulars to mutiny, iii. 210.
- Muhammad Tákí, loyally holds Muhammadábád, during Mutiny, vi. 67.
- Muhammad Zohar Alí, his report to the King of Dehlí, v. 325.
- Muín-uddín Chishtí, of Sijistán, his mausoleum, iii. x.
- Muir, Mr. William, testifies to t misinformation given to Co Greathed before A'gra surpriz iv. 69*n.*; calls Brig. Hope Gra to A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 74.
- Mujud, the Abyssinian, his warnin to Mr. Everett, at Dehlí, v. 345 confesses the whole Sidi Kamba conspiracy, v. 346.
- Mukandara pass, foolishly left ope by Kotá rebels (22 Mar '58), iv. 402.
- Mukund Deo, last Hindú King Orísú, defeated (1567), vi. 4.
- Mukund Lál, Secretary to the Kin of Dehlí, on the rumours curre before the outbreak, ii. 31; hi evidence as to the King's compli city in the murder of the Europeans, v. 332; his evidence of th peculiar relations between th King of Dehlí and the Sipáhís, v. 346; his evidence as to the imprisionment of Europeans in Dehlí, 331.
- Mukandrá, a range of hills in Jhalá war, vi. 162.
- Mulá, river near Púná, v. xi.
- Múlganj, suburb of Alláhábád, at tacked by Col. Neill (15 June), ii. 200.
- Mulhár Ráo Holkar, his defeat in 1817, v. xi.
- Múlráj, succeeds his father as Go vernor of Múltán (Sept 1844), i. 13; heavily fined by the Láho Durbar on his succession, i. 13 agrees to pay the Durbar 18 lakhs, i. 13; asks the British Govern ment to arbitrate between him an the Durbar, i. 13; goes to Láhor in 1847, to get the 18 lakhs reduced, i. 14; resigns the Governor ship of Múltán, i. 14; pretends to give up possession of Múltán, i. 14; heads the insurgents who murder the English officers, i. 15; marches out against Edwardes, and is beaten back, i. 20; traitor-

Múlráj—*cont.*

ously joined by Sher Singh, i. 23 ; surrenders to the English (21 Jan '49), i. 29.

Multái, in Nágpúr, Tántiá Topí forced to turn back at (Nov '58), v. 241.

Multáu, description of, iv. xvii ; its value to the English in the Panjab, ii. 459 ; Sáwan Mall shot (Sept 1844), i. 13 ; Sirdar Khán Singh appointed Governor (1847), i. 14 ; Múlráj becomes Governor of, i. 13 ; English officers murdered at (1848), i. 15 ; siege of (5 Sept 1848), i. 23 ; Lieut. Edwardes marches against, i. 19 ; captured by Gen. Whish, i. 28.

Outbreak of disarmed Sipáhís at (Aug '58), v. 213 ; terrible slaughter of the insurgent Sipáhís, v. 214.

Mundás, a people of Chútiá Nágpúr, iv. xiii, 95.

Mungér, district of Bhágalpúr, iv. xiii, iv. 91, vi. 3 ; the capital of Bengál under Mír Kásim (1762), iv. 91n, vi. 34 ; proposed as residence for King of Dehlí (1804), ii. 5.

Some European soldiers sent to garrison, iv. 93.

Munro, Ensign, murdered at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 190.

Munro, Colonel, sent to inquire into disaffection at Walajahábád (1806), i. 177.

Munro, Major, one of five who charged successfully hundreds of armed villagers, iii. 230n.

Munro, Major Hector, executes mutinous Sipáhís (1764), i. 150.

Munro, Sergeant, wins the Victoria Cross for gallantry at the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 139.

Munro, Sir Thomas, opposed to annexation policy, i. 57n ; favours liberality to deposed princes, i. 72 ; receives letter of complaints of Madras Sipáhís (1822), i. 192.

Murád A'li, Kotwál of A'gra, pro-

Murád A'li—*cont.*

claims King of Dehlí there, iii. 186.

Murádábád, a district of Rohilkhand, iii. xii, iv. xviii, vi. 38 ; its garrison, iii. 218 ; Mr. J. C. Wilson's report as to taunting Sipáhís by Native women, ii. 42n ; Sipáhís from, garrison Saháranpúr, iii. 199.

Party of Mírath mutineers encamps near (18 May), iii. 218 ; Sipáhís from, attack and disperse the Mírath mutineers, iii. 218 ; Sipáhís in, again appear faithful, by arresting mutineers (19 May), iii. 219.

Partial mutiny among the Sipáhís, iii. 219 ; gaol broken open (19 May), vi. 104 ; prisoners released from gaol by Sipáhís, but many brought back by other Sipáhís, iii. 219.

Fanatics from Rámpúr threaten (21 May), iii. 219 ; Sipáhís of, attack and disperse Rámpúr fanatics, iii. 220 ; chief disturber of, killed by the police, iii. 220.

Mutineers from Rúrkí enter (21 May), vi. 105 ; second party of mutineers approach (23 May), iii. 220 ; second party of mutineers, captured, but stripped of arms, and turned loose, iii. 220.

Open mutiny breaks out (2 June), iii. 222 ; Sipáhís take possession of treasure, iii. 221 ; Mr. Saunders destroys Government paper at, iii. 221 ; Europeans escape from, to Nainí Tál, iii. 222 ; Nawáb of Rámpúr sends news of mutiny at Barélí, iii. 221.

People of, resist rebel leaders (21 Apr '58), iv. 364 ; the place is occupied by Brig. Jones (26 Apr '58), iv. 364 ; Col. Coke captures 21 rebel ringleaders there, iv. 365 ; placed under command of Brig. Coke (25 May '58), iv. 378.

Mr. J. C. Wilson's Official Narrative of mutiny at, ii. 82.

Murphy, Farrier, his gallantry in the chase of Kúnwar Singh (15 Apr '58), iv. 331.
 Murphy, Mr., a clerk at Bijnaur, vi. 103.
 Murphy, Mrs., resides with her four children at Bijnaur, vi. 103.
 Murphy, Mr. James, interpreter during trial of King of Dehlí, v. 361.
 Murphy, Private, one of four survivors from Kánhpúr massacre, ii. 262.
 Murphy, Sergeant, works his gun effectively at Indúr Residency (1 July), iii. 147.
 Murray, Lieut., killed at storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
 Murray, Lieut., joins in gallant charge at Ráwal (Nov), v. 51.
 Murray, Mr., breaks off diplomatic relations with Persia (1855), i. 302.
 Murshídábád, district of Rájsháhí, iii. xii, vi. 3, 26; residence of Nawáb Nazim of Bengal, i. 366; people tranquillized by Nawáb Nazim (Mar), i. 373.
 Músá Bágh, a military position in Lakhnao, iii. 241, iv. 256; attack and capture of (19 Mar '58), iv. 282.
 Musalmans, see Muhammadans.
 Múshairí Pass, Capt. Meade cuts road through (Mar '59), v. 260; Mán Singh's family surrender at (25 Mar '59), v. 260.
 Mustafá Beg, his double treachery (1806), i. 165n.
 Mutá, river near Púná, v. xi.
 Muter, Capt., leads skirmishers of fourth column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 28; assumes command of fourth column on the fall of Major Reid, iv. 30.
 Mutiny (Chronological list of former mutinies):—
 Bengal Army, first mutiny (1764), i. 150.
 Bengal Army, second mutiny (1764), i. 150.
 Vizagapatam (1790), i. 341n.

Mutiny—cont.
 Haidarábád (1806), i. 171.
 Nandídúrg (1806), i. 173.
 Páliamkottá (1806), i. 174.
 The outbreak at Vellúr (1806 i. 162; its real causes, i. 18
 Wallajáhbád (1806), i. 176.
 Officers of Madras Army (180 i. 184).
 Barrackpúr (1824), i. 196.
 Asigarh (1840), i. 212n.
 Máligáon (1840), i. 212n.
 Sikandarábád (1840), i. 212n.
 Jabalpúr (Dec 1843), i. 214.
 Firúzpúr (1844), i. 203.
 Madras troops at Bombay (1 Feb 1844), i. 216.
 Panjab (1849), i. 227.
 Wazirábád (1849), i. 229.
 Govindgarh (1850), i. 230.
 Barhámpúr (27 Feb), i. 370.
 First outbreak at Lakhnao (May), iii. 243; distinct evidence of premeditation, v. 320, 335; th Maulaví prime mover in preliminary conspiracy, v. 292; published prophecy of its approach (1 Sept '56), v. 343; plot to rise i rebellion on 10 March, i. 388 this plot frustrated, i. 389; it wa a Muhammadan not a Hindú conspiracy, v. 340, 349.
 Discussion as to its cause, v. 279; its deep-seated cause, i. 260, 262, 290, 333; its real cause, v. 282; opinion of educated Hindús as to its cause, v. 282; the main centres of revolt, v. 293; effect of refusal to acknowledge right of adoption, v. 289; effect of the unjust treatment of Náná Sáhib, v. 289; effect of the unjust treatment of Ráo of Kírwí, v. 290; effect of the harsh treatment of Jhánsí, iii. 121; Sipáhís show their antagonism to the annexation of Oudh, in 1855, v. 288.
 Sir John Lawrence holds to the greased-cartridge theory, v. 280; the real action of the greased cartridges, v. 292; ignorance of

Mutiny—*cont.*

officials of its real character, v. 296; Lord Canning's early mistakes are due to ignorant official councillors, v. 299; the great effect of Sindhiá's loyalty on, v. 294; previous good faith secures Sindhiá's loyalty during, v. 294; the responsibility for rests with English Government as well as with the Court of Directors, v. 271; really ended with the Queen's famous Proclamation (1 Nov '58), v. 277.

Its encouragement and warning, vi. 168; the behaviour of the people corresponded exactly to the character of British rule, v. 295; districts sympathetically ruled were loyal, vi. 169; districts harshly ruled were disloyal, vi. 169.

Chronological list showing spread of the great Mutiny:—

Mírath (10 May), i. 438.
 Dehlí (11 May), ii. 57.
 Firúzpúr (13 May), ii. 330.
 Muzaaffarnagar (13 May), iii. 202.
 Murádábád, the first (19 May), iii. 319.
 A'ligarh (20 May), iii. 103.
 Nausháhrá (21 May), ii. 358.
 Balandshahr (21 May), iii. 103; vi. 134.
 Mainpúrí (22 May), iii. 104.
 Itáwah (23 May), iii. 107.
 Hoti-Mardán (23 May), ii. 363.
 Nasírábád (28 May), iii. 168.
 Laklnao (30 May), iii. 249.
 Mathurá (30 May), iii. 108, vi. 91.
 Hódal (31 May), iii. 109.
 Baréli (31 May), iii. 207, vi. 106.
 Sháhjahánpúr (31 May), iii. 213.
 Budáun (1 June), iii. 217.
 Murádábád (2 June), iii. 222.
 A'zamgarh (3 June), ii. 161, vi. 63.
 Nímach (3 June), iii. 169.

Mutiny—*cont.*

Saháranpúr, the first (3 June), iii. 201.
 Sítápúr (3 June), iii. 254.
 Banáras (4 June), ii. 167, iii. 8.
 Kánhpúr (4 June), ii. 232.
 Jaunpúr (5 June), ii. 178.
 Maláun (5 June), iii. 256.
 Alláhbád (6 June), ii. 188, iii. 8, vi. 70.
 Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123.
 Faizábád (7 June), iii. 268.
 Jálandhar (7 June), ii. 375.
 Lodiáná (8 June), ii. 378.
 Philúr (8 June), ii. 376,
 Daryábád (9 June), iii. 274.
 Fathpúr (9 June), ii. 275.
 Náogáon (9 June), iii. 128.
 Sikrorá (9 June), iii. 263.
 Sultánpúr (9 June), iii. 272.
 Salóní (10 June), iii. 273.
 Gondah (10 June), iii. 264.
 Lálipúr (12 June), i. 66.
 Bandah (14 June), iii. 131, vi. 81.
 Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.
 Hamírpúr (14 June), vi. 83.
 Aurangábád (15 June), v. 8.
 Fathgarh (18 June), iii. 226.
 Rohtak (June), ii. 411.
 Háthras (1 July), iii. 196.
 Indúr (1 July), iii. 142.
 Máu (1 July), iii. 156.
 Ságár (1 July), v. 68.
 Sánsí (2 July), iii. 197.
 A'gra (4 July), iii. 179.
 Jhelam (7 July), ii. 469.
 Siálkot (9 July), ii. 472.
 Saháranpúr, second (11 July), iii. 201.
 At Burhánpúr (July), v. 40.
 Dánápúr (25 July), iii. 45.
 Sigaulí (25 July), iii. 47.
 Hazáríbágh (30 July), iv. 95.
 Kolhápúr (31 July), v. 21, 26.
 Muzaaffarpúr (31 July), iii. 71.
 Near Ránchí (31 July), iv. 96.
 Chaibásá (5 Aug), iv. 96.
 Parúliá (5 Aug), iv. 96.
 Nasírábád (10 Aug), iv. 387.
 Nímach (12 Aug), iv. 388.

Mutiny—*cont.*

Deogarh (Aug), iv. 99.
 Bhágulpúr (14 Aug), iv. 94.
 Anádra (21 Aug), iv. 389.
 Erinpuram (22 Aug), iv. 391.
 Nagód (27 Aug), v. 74.
 Jabalpúr (18 Sept), v. 70.
 Deogarh (9 Oct), iv. 312.
 Kotá (15 Oct), iv. 398.
 Chitragáon (18 Nov), iv. 292, vi. 31.
 Dhákáh (20 Nov), iv. 293.
 Madáriganj (4 Dec), iv. 298.
 Jalpáguri (5 Dec), iv. 298.
 Mutineers, Lord Canning's famous Resolution with respect to treatment of, iii. 89.
 Muzaffarábád, Guláb Singh prepares to stop mutineers at (June), ii. 372n.
 Muzaffargarh, situation and description of, iii. xii.
 Muzaffarnagar, a district of Míráth division, iii. xii, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 123; rising at, provoked by Mr. Berford's pusillanimity, iii. 201; Mutiny breaks out (13 May), iii. 202; murder of Lieut. Smith at (11 June), vi. 109n; Oudh rebels congregate in (Aug '58), v. 191.
 Muzaffarpúr, capital of Tirhút, near Patná, iii. xii, 26, iv. xix; riot at, in 1855, i. 145; defenceless condition of, at end of July, iii. 70; Mr. Tayler directs officials at, to retire on Patná (31 July), iii. 70; Mr. Tayler's order is happily obeyed, iii. 71; the Hindú population protect the place after retirement of the officials, iii. 71; raided by Mehndi Husén (Aug), iv. 311.

N.

Nabhá, Native state bounding Gágón, vi. 139.
 Nabhá, Rájah of, his unfaltering faithfulness, ii. 121; safely esco siege-train from Philúr to De Force, ii. 141; supplies Continge to cover Lodiáná, ii. 378; his services in protecting the Panjab, 214.
 Nabí Bakhsh Khán, his letter to t King of Dehlí counselling mer v. 348.
 Nadaulí, point at which Gen. Penn force crossed the Ganges (Apr '5 iv. 349.
 Nadí, small stream near Bangáon, 206.
 Nadiá, a district of Bengal, vi. 3.
 Nádir Shah, his invasion of Indi i. 81.
 Nádir Sháh, of Faizábád, war Col. Goldney of coming Mutin iii. 267.
 Nádlai, a hill of Jodhpúr, vi. 159
 Nágá Hills, a district of A'sám, vi.
 Naghai, village where Kúnwar Sin checks pursuit of the English (' Apr '58), iv. 332.
 Nágal, Col. Coke marches upon (Apr '58), iv. 361.
 Nagar, town in Himalayas where M Dunlop hears of Mutiny (31 May vi. 126.
 Nagar Párkhar, a town of Sindh, v 145.
 Naghína, Rúrkí mutineers plund (20 May), vi. 105; captured a plundered by Muhammadans (Aug), vi. 111; strong rebel campment at, iv. 362; astonishin charges of Multání Cavalry at, i 363n; defeat and slaughter rebels at (21 Apr '58), iv. 362

Naghína—*cont.*

Lieut. Gostling killed in this attack, iv. 363.

Naglí, anarchical condition of (Aug), v. 325.

Nagod, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. *xii*, 60; its garrison, v. 74; Major Hampton commands at, v. 74; attempt of Jhánsí Europeans to communicate with, iii. 125; Sipáhís at, resist mutiny for a long time, iii. 131; mutiny at (27 Aug), v. 74; mutineers escort their officers to Mirzápúr (27 Aug), v. 74; Gen. Whitlock ordered to march on (17 Mar '58), v. 135; occupied by Brig. McDuff (Apr '58), v. 137.

Nágpuúr, in Central India, governed Orísá (1803), iii. *xii*, vi. 4; description of, v. 77; dependency of the Peshwá, i. 71; residence of Rájahs of, iv. 95; rich cotton-producing district, i. 62.

Rájah of, dies in 1853, i. 54; formally annexed (1854), i. 60; Col. John Low opposes annexation, i. 58; Bankha Báí threatens to burn the palace, i. 60.

Mr. Plowden, Chief Commissioner, v. 77; Mr. Plowden re-arms local force at, v. 133*n*; Residency converted into barracks (June), v. 78; refuge provided on Sítábaldí hills, v. 78; tranquillity preserved by Mr. Plowden, v. 78; intended rising communicated to Mr. Plowden (13 June), v. 78; Col. Cumberlege disarms local troops (17 June), v. 78; attempt to divert Gen. Woodburn's column to, v. 41.

Great danger of Tántiá Topí's presence in (Oct '58), v. 239; he at last enters the district (Oct '58), v. 239; the people antagonistic to Tántiá Topí, v. 240; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Nagra, one of two stations in A'zamgarh, loyally held by Asghar Alí,

Nagra—*cont.*

vi. 67; Kúnwar Singh cleverly escapes from Brig. Douglas here (18 Apr '58), iv. 333.

Nágupúrá, village forming Sir Hugh Rose's left, at attack on Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 122.

Nágúr, linked in Mandesar insurrection (Sept), v. 45.

Náhargarh, Tántiá Topí's attempt on (28 Dec '58), v. 309; Tántiá Topí driven from, by the Native garrison (5 Jan '59), v. 250.

Nainí Tál, women and children from Baréli sent to (14 May), iii. 205; officers from Baréli reach, in safety, iii. 212; Europeans from Murádábád reach, in safety (6 June), iii. 222.

Najafgarh, anarchical condition of district (Aug), v. 325; Gen. Nicholson's victory at (25 Aug), iv. 1.

Najafgarh Canal, mutineers re-establish bridge over (6 Aug), ii. 485; attack on Dehlí Ridge from (18 June), iii. 414.

Najafgarh Shíl aqueduct, at Dehlí, ii. 387.

Najibábád, abandoned by rebels, occupied by Gen. Jones (18 Apr '58), iv. 362; the hall of audience destroyed at (22 Apr '58), vi. 115; Mr. Shakespear establishes his head-quarters there (25 Apr '58), vi. 115.

Najíbábád, Nawáb of, receives overtures from Rúrkí mutineers (20 May), vi. 104; goes to steal treasure from Bijnaur just too late (21 May), vi. 106; sent to suppress some Mewátí marauders (23 May), vi. 106; returns to Bijnaur with armed Patháns (30 May), vi. 106; retires to Najíbábád, vi. 106; suddenly returns to Bijnaur (7 June), vi. 107; persuaded to keep from open revolt, vi. 108; receives charge of Bijnaur (7 June), vi. 108; proclaims himself ruler under King of Dehlí

Najíbábád—*cont.*

(10 June), vi. 109; appropriates money at Bijnaur, vi. 109.

Begins to persecute Hindús (July), vi. 110; driven from Bijnaur by Hindús (6 Aug), vi. 110; declares war on Bijnaur (23 Aug), vi. 111; captures and plunders Naghíná (23 Aug), vi. 111; captures Bijnaur, vi. 111; establishes his rule at Bijnaur (Sept), vi. 112.

Attacks and plunders Miránpúr (5 Jan '58), vi. 112; attacks Khan-kal and Hardwár (7 Jan '58), vi. 112; attempts third raid, but is defeated by Capt. H. Boisragon (9 Jan '58), vi. 112; utter downfall of his power at Bijnaur (17 Apr '58), vi. 114; condemned to transportation, vi. 115n.

Nálkéráh, point of junction of Colonels Hope and Lockhart (Aug '58), v. 229.

Nának Chand, asserts that the populace plundered Bithúr Palace before the arrival of the English, ii. 294n; accuses Náná Narain Ráo of treachery, ii. 295n.

Náná Máu ki Ghát, Tántiá Topí crosses the Ganges at (9 Dec), v. 306.

Náná Narain Ráo, resident at Káhn-púr, mistaken for Náná Sáhib, i. 423n; offers his services to the English after Havelock's victory (19 July), ii. 295; supplies the English with correspondence and proclamations of Náná Sáhib, ii. 498; accused of treachery by his own countrymen, ii. 295n.

Náná Sáhib, Dúndú Pant by name, adopted by Bájí Ráo, i. 73; succeeds Bájí Ráo in 1851, i. 73; his claim to Bájí Ráo's pension refused, i. 74; two British Commissioners support his claim, i. 74n; his claim opposed by Mr. Thomason and Lord Dalhousie, i. 70; jaghír of Bithúr granted to him, i. 74; his Memorial to the Court of Directors, rejected, i. 75; sends

Náná Sáhib—*cont.*

Azim-ullah Khán as an agent to England, i. 79.

His long course of intrigue before 1857, i. 424; visits Kalpí, Dehlí, and Lakhnão early in 1857, i. 422; his unwonted activity at beginning of Mutiny, i. 422; avoids Káhpúr because not saluted there, i. 423n; his reasons for special stay at Káhpúr, ii. 235; strangely urgent to have an interview with his friend Mr. Morland in April, i. 422; Mr. Gubbins's description of his visit to Lakhnão, i. 454; suddenly leaves Lakhnão for Káhpúr, i. 426; his correspondence falls into English hands, ii. 498.

Sir Hugh Wheeler appeals to him for help, ii. 225; at invitation of Sir Hugh Wheeler, covers the Treasury and Magazine, ii. 226; conspires with Tíká Singh at Káhpúr (1 June), ii. 231; on outbreak of Sipáhis he marches with them as far as Kaliánpúr, ii. 232; induces the troops to go back to Káhpúr, ii. 234; informs Sir Hugh Wheeler that he intends to attack intrenchments, ii. 236; assisted in siege of Káhpúr garrison by Muhammadan Nawáb, ii. 264; secures the capitulation of Káhpúr defenders, ii. 252; signs treaty of capitulation, ii. 253..

Charged with ordering massacre of Káhpúr garrison, ii. 257n; remains in cantonment during massacre at Ghaut, ii. 258; stops slaughter of women and children, but orders destruction of men, ii. 258; his order to destroy Europeans leaving Káhpúr in boats, ii. 499; orders murder of men in captured boat (30 June), ii. 263; his commendation of destruction of escaping Europeans (9 July), ii. 502.

Proclaimed Peshwá (1 July), ii. 263; translation of his procla

Náná Sáhib—*cont.*

mation (6 July), ii. 499; sends help to mutineers at Lakhnao (7 July), ii. 502; destroys fugitives from Fathgarh, ii. 266, iii. 232*n*; uses English ladies to grind corn for his household, ii. 267; his gaieties in July to drown anxiety, ii. 265.

His first defeat, ii. 268; his troops defeated at Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 271; his second defeat at Aong (15 July), ii. 278; a third time defeated, at Pándú Nadí, ii. 279; perplexed by third defeat at Pándú Nadí, ii. 279; resolves to advance to meet Havelock, ii. 279; orders the murder of women and children at the Bíbígarh (15 July), ii. 280; disputes Havelock's advance with military skill, ii. 282; outmanœuvred by Gen. Havelock, ii. 283; makes a despairing effort to close the road to Kánpúr cantonment, ii. 285; blows up the Magazine at Kánpúr, ii. 287; orders the last female captive to be murdered as he flees from Bithúr, ii. 293*n*; flies to Oudh, under pretence of, immolating himself (18 July), ii. 293; goes to Cháodrí Bhopál Singh at Fathpúr in Oudh, v. 306.

Sends Cavalry to cut off Gen. Havelock from Kánpúr (30 July), iii. 333; his boats seized by Capt. Gordon's steamer (31 July), iii. 336; commands rebels on left at Tántiá Topí's attack on Kánpúr (6 Dec), iv. 187.

Said to be in force near Kálpí (Jan '58), iv. 314; orders Tántiá Topí to attack Chirkhári (Mar '58), v. 306; destroys the public buildings of Sháhjahánpúr (29 Apr '58), iv. 365*n*; escapes from Sir Colin Campbell (30 Apr '58), iv. 365; sends troops to support attack of Maulaví on Sháhjahánpúr (13 May '58), iv. 375; his connection with the South Maráthá country, v. 19; proclaimed

Náná Sáhib—*cont.*

Peshwá in Gwáliár (1 June '58), v. 147; intriguing in north-east Oudh (Sept '58), v. 199; driven into Nipál by Lord Clyde (Dec '58), v. 204, 206.

The great injustice with which he was treated, v. 289; his dignity and rights, according to Indian ideas, v. 290; Tántiá Topí's account of Kánpúr affairs, v. 304; Tántiá Topí's assertion that he was forced into the Mutiny by the Sipáhís, ii. 234*n*, v. 305; judicial inquiry into his conduct at Kánpúr, vi. 78.

Nandidrúg, proposed rising at (1806), i. 172.

Nángarh, Mandesar rebels retreat to (25 Nov), v. 55.

Nani Nawáb, a rival of Náná Sáhib for supreme power, ii. 264; his share in the siege of the Kánpúr garrison, ii. 264.

Nannú Khán, Risáldár, sent by Ráo Sáhib to gain assistance from Mán Singh (Jan '59), v. 309.

Nanpárá, rebels driven from, by Lord Clyde (Jan '59), v. 204.

Náogáón, garrison of, iii. 127; Major Kirk commands at, iii. 127; first instigations to mutiny discouraged by Sipáhís (23 May), iii. 127; renewed instigations to mutiny (30 May), iii. 127; effect of Jhánsí rising on men at, iii. 127; effect of Jhánsí massacre on Sipáhís, iii. 128; mutiny at last breaks out (9 June), iii. 128; retreat of English fugitives from, with a few faithful Sipáhís, iii. 128; failure of mutineers to catch English fugitives, iii. 128; by a series of fortunate mistakes they ultimately reach Chhatarpúr, iii. 128, 129; they are assisted by the Rání of that place, iii. 129; nearly all the Sipáhís who accompany English fugitives desert in a few days, iii. 129; two officers return to, and re-assert British authority for a

Narwár, Rájah of—*cont.*

310; but is himself compelled to hide in Narwár, v. 258.

He is induced to surrender (2 Apr '59), v. 261; endeavours to betray his uncle Ajít Singh, v. 262; he is persuaded to betray Tántiá Topí, v. 263; leads the party which seizes the Maráthá General (7 Apr '59), v. 264; his own surrender tranquillizes the district, v. 268.

Nasírábád, military station in Rájputáná, iii. *xii*, 167; its garrison, iii. 168; mutiny at (28 May), iii. 168; officers and ladies retire from, to Bíúr, iii. 168; mutineers from, reach Dehlí (17 June), ii. 414; British troops arrive from Dísá (12 June), iii. 70; second mutiny at (10 Aug), iv. 387; effect of news of mutiny at, on Gwálíár, iii. 113; under command of Gen. Roberts (June '58), v. 222.

Nasírí Battalion, name of corps of Gurkahs, ii. 105.

Nasir-ud-daulah, the Nizám, dies 18 May), v. 81.

Nasir-ud-dín, King of Oudh, dies in 1837, i. 94*n*.

Nasir-ud-dín, a faithful trooper who kept to Capt. Conolly (Aug), iv. 411.

Nasir-ud-dín Haidar, second King of Oudh, i. 88*n*; Col. Low recommends his deposition, i. 90; builds astronomical observatory, Lakhnao, iv. *xix*; dies of either poison or drink, i. 90.

Nasratpúr, occupied by Fazal Azím, iv. 230; rebels driven from, by Gen. Franks (23 Jan '58), iv. 230.

Náthdwárá, shrine visited by Tántiá Topí (13 Aug '58), v. 225, 307.

Náthpúr, Jálpaiguri mutineers intercepted at, and driven into Nipál (Dec), iv. 299, 300.—

Natiá Nadí, a southern defence of Baréli, iv. 366.

Nationalities, effect of mixture in the Army, i. 244.

Native princes, the policy of suppressing, rampant before the Mutiny, i. 290, 333.

Natives, heroism of many among them, ii. 455*n*; many of them save European lives, ii. 52, 56, 74; heroic devotion of Native gunners at Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 437; their fears of European vengeance, ii. 474*n*; their necessary numbers in camps, ii. 455; dependence of English upon the assistance of, ii. 454; harsh treatment of, in camp, ii. 456.

Nathupúr, action with Kúñwar Singh's troops near (15 Apr '58). iv. 332.

Naugáon, a district of A'sám, vi. 3. 31.

Náurangábád, plan for finally crushing rebels in, v. 200.

Nausháhrá, Guide Corps ordered to (13 May), ii. 349; mutiny at (21 May), ii. 358; defended by Lieut. Davies from threatened attack of mutineers, ii. 363.

Nawábganj, on Faizábád road, strongly occupied by rebels (4 June '58), v. 186; gallant conduct of rebels in defence of (13 June '58), v. 187; rebels forced to retire after desperate resistance, v. 188.

Col. Evelegh starts from, to secure Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 197; plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 201.

Nawábganj, at Kánpúr, occupied by Sípáhís of Náná Sáhib, ii. 226; Náná Sáhib's position and conspiracy at, ii. 231; plunder of Treasury and Magazine at (4 June), ii. 233; position near, occupied by Gen. Havelock (18 July), ii. 293.

Nawábganj, on Kánpúr road, secured by Sir Hope Grant (4 June '58), v. 186.

Nawábganj Bara Banki, mutineers congregate there for attack on Lakhnao, iii. 283.

Nawáb Nazim of Bengal, a dissatisfied prince, i. 366; the magic of his name, i. 366; assists in preserving order (Mar), i. 373; his troops disarmed, at Barhámpúr (2 Aug), iv. 98; his loyalty and weakness, vi. 26.

Nawáda, public buildings in, destroyed by mutineers (Aug), iv. 312.

Nawár, importance and wealth of the estate, v. 232n.

Naylor, Col., leads Cavalry charge at Kankráulí (14 Aug '58), v. 226.

Názim Mír Muhammad Húsén Khán, shelters Col. Lennox and family for nine days, and sends them to Gorákhpúr, iii. 270.

Neave, Lieut., killed in attack on Gwálíár (16 June '58), v. 152.

Need, Capt., heads the pursuit from Ránód (17 Dec '58), v. 253; pursues Garhákótá rebels (13 Feb '58), v. 100.

Neill, Col. James, his birth, character, and former services, ii. 97; his character, ii. 96, iii. 334; his military capacity, iii. 365.

Reaches Calcutta (23 May), ii. 97; arrests railway-train at Haurah, ii. 99.

His Work at Banáras.—Arrives at Banáras (4 June), ii. 162; assumes military command there, ii. 169; arranges disarmament of Banáras Sipáhís, ii. 164n; his excellent conduct at Banáras mutiny, iii. 8; his account of Banáras disarmament discussion, ii. 164n, 169n; charged unfairly with Banáras executions after mutiny, ii. 177; gives command of Banáras to Gordon, and hurries on to Alláhbád, ii. 197.

He settles Alláhbád.—His arrival at Alláhbád (11 June), vi. 70; his prostration on reaching Alláhbád, ii. 198; clears the bridge at Alláhbád the day after his arrival, ii. 199; sends women

Neill, Col. James—*cont.*

and children from Alláhbád (15 June), ii. 200; statements of his Journal as to military executions at Alláhbád, ii. 202; restrains the ardour of Volunteers by threatening to hang a few, ii. 200n; detained at Alláhbád by cholera and want of supplies, ii. 206; exonerates Commissariat officers from blame, ii. 205n; effect of his action at Banáras and Alláhbád on Gházípúr, vi. 61.

His Command at Kánhpúr.—Superseded by arrival of Havelock (30 June), ii. 209, 214; anxious to recover Kánhpúr immediately, ii. 216; his minute instructions for defence of Alláhbád, ii. 296, 297; appointed Havelock's second in command (15 July), ii. 298; joins Havelock as Brigadier-General (20 July), ii. 298; sent to Kánhpúr, iii. 329; on taking command at Kánhpúr stops plundering, iii. 335; his account of Kánhpúr Magazine, ii. 233n; blames Sir Hugh Wheeler for not occupying Magazine at Kánhpúr, ii. 223n; his punishments for the massacre at Kánhpúr (20-25 July), ii. 299; his criticism on new intrenchments at Kánhpúr, ii. 305n.

Sends steamer and seizes Náná Sáhib's boats (31 July), iii. 336; his fury at retreat of Gen. Havelock, iii. 336; his extraordinary letter to Gen. Havelock (1 Aug), iii. 337 and n; his unexceptionable rejoinder to Gen. Havelock, iii. 338; successfully negotiates release of prisoners from Kálpí (4 Aug), iii. 348; sends party and recovers Nárain Ráo's two daughters (6 Aug), iii. 341; sends third steamer expedition to intercept Náná Sáhib's troops (8 Aug), iii. 342; marches troops along Bithúr road to encourage well-wishers (9 Aug), iii. 343.

His Advance to Lakhnao.—Ap-

- Neill, Col. James—*cont.*
 pointed to command right wing of relieving force, iii. 349; clears the ground of mutineers on crossing into Oudh (19 Sept), iii. 355; drives mutineers from the A'lambágh, iii. 359; refuses to charge Chárbaigh bridge without orders, iii. 361; deceived by Lieut. Havelock, charges and captures the bridge, iii. 362; killed at archway of Khás Bazaar, Lakhnao (25 Sept), iii. 364.
- Neville, Capt. R. E., killed in capture of Barodiá (30 Jan '58), v. 98.
- Newáj, a river of Jhaláwar, vi. 162.
- Newárs, a people of Nipál, iv. xvii.
- Newberry, Capt., leads attack on Shorápur, v. 87; killed in this action (8 Feb '58), v. 87.
- Newbury, Capt., killed at Nasirábád (28 May), iii. 168.
- News, the rapidity of its transmission among natives, i. 361*n.*
- Newton, Sergeant-Major, murdered at Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123.
- Niblett, Mr., Head Clerk to Collector, A'zamgarh, sheltered by Alí Baksh (3–16 June), vi. 63.
- Nicholls, Sir Jasper, his evidence as to Sipáhís' privileges (1832), i. 186*n.*
- Nicholson, Capt., of the Engineers, his services at the A'lambágh, iv. 253.
- Nicholson, Lieut., with third column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Nicholson, Major, enfilades first line of rebel defence at Lakhnao (9 Mar '58), iv. 262.
- Nicholson, Gen. Sir John, Deputy-Commissioner at Pesháwar in May, ii. 338; his personal appearance and manner, ii. 488*n.*; his character, iv. 58; his fairness and modesty, ii. 367*n.*; his out-spoken manner, ii. 486; suggests famous witty telegram to Sir J. Lawrence, ii. 347*n.*
- His early services, and imprison-
- Nicholson, Gen. Sir John—*cont.*
 ment in Afghanistan. ii. 338; attends military council at Pesháwar, ii. 344; watches the Sawád frontier, ii. 373; disarms Sipáhís on frontier of Sawád (8 June), ii. 374; returns to Pesháwar, ii. 374; strongly condemns proposed cession of Pesháwar to Dost Muhammad, ii. 459, 463; anxious for powers to inflict death by torture. ii. 301.
- Finds difficulty in raising recruits at Pesháwar, ii. 358; resolves to disarm Sipáhís at Pesháwar, ii. 358; assists at disarming troops there (22 May), ii. 360; accompanies detachment to suppress mutiny at Mardán (23 May), ii. 363; overtakes and scatters flying mutineers from Hoti-Mardán (26 May), ii. 365; admiration caused by this successful chase of mutineers, ii. 366; detects treachery of 10th Cavalry, ii. 365*n.*; intercedes for some of the mutineer prisoners, ii. 367.
- Joins with Edwardes in pressing on Sir John Lawrence the formation of a movable column, ii. 342; takes command of Panjáb Movable Column (July), ii. 385; description of his famous Movable Column, ii. 476; disarms the Natives in his Column, at Philúr (25 June), ii. 477; disarms 9th Cavalry at Amritsar (25 June), ii. 480; places his Movable Column at Amritsar (5 July), ii. 477; disarms 59th Regt. at Amritsar (9 July), ii. 478; marches on Gurdáspúr (10 July), ii. 480.
- Ordered to Dehlí, ii. 484; leads his Movable Column to Dehlí, ii. 485; reaches Dehlí Ridge (7 Aug), ii. 486; his victory at Najafgarh (25 Aug), vi. 1, ii. 492; leads first column of assault on Dehlí, iv. 19; his critical position inside Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 31; mortally wounded in attack on Láhor

- Nicholson, Gen. Sir John—*cont.*
 Gate, Dehlí, iv. 33; his death (22 Sept), iv. 58.
- Nímach, a military station in Ráj-pútáná, iii. *xii*, 167; its garrison, iii. 169; a Sipáhí's opinion there, of annexation, i. 254; mutiny at (3 June), iii. 169; fugitives from, reach Mewár, iii. 169; and proceed to Udaipúr in safety, iii. 169; mutineers from, go to Dehlí, iii. 170; effect of news of mutiny at, on Gwáliár, iii. 113.
- Attempted mutiny at (12 Aug), iv. 388; re-occupied, first by Native, afterwards by European troops, iii. 171; mutineer Brigade from, crushed by Nicholson at Najaigarh (25 Aug), ii. 493; Major Burton arrives there with Kotá Contingent (Sept), iv. 398; attacked and partly occupied by rebels (8 Nov), iv. 400; rebels from, cut off from Mandesar by Col. Durand (24 Nov), v. 54; Tántiá Topí hovers in neighbourhood of (Aug '58), v. 225.
- Nimár, a district of the Central Provinces, v. *ix*; *chapáti* distribution noticed there in January, i. 420*n*; Tántiá Topí captures some of Holkar's troops in (19 Nov '58), v. 241.
- Nimbhérá, a district of Tonk, vi. 154.
- Nija Kila, Tántiá Topí passes through, on his way to Sironj (Sep '58), v. 308.
- Nípál, situation and description of, iii. *xii*, iv. *xvii*; its points of contact with British territory, iv. 221; Henry Lawrence appointed to, i. 5; ceded districts made over to Oudh (1845), i. 86; offers the assistance of troops in June, ii. 311; Jang Bahádur places military resources of, at disposal of the English, iv. 221; second arrangement with (Nov), iv. 225; nearly 50,000 rebels driven into (Jan '59), v. 206; last fragments of the rebels driven into, v. 205; English permitted to chase rebels into, v. 205.
- Nípál, Rájah of, his name used in Dánápúr plot of 1845, i. 225.
- Nípání, a fort near Belgáon, v. 19; the Desái of, a disaffected chief tain, v. 19.
- Niráulí, strong position near Ságár, entrenched by Rájah of Bánpúr, v. 72; Col. Dalyell is repulsed there (15 Sept), v. 72.
- Nirpat Singh, his character, iv. 353; description of his fort at Ruiyá, iv. 353; his intentions, iv. 354; bravely fights Brig. Walpole's column at Ruiyá, iv. 354; repulses Brig. Walpole's attack (15 Apr '58), iv. 355; he evacuates his fort after vindicating his honour, iv. 356.
- Nisbán Singh, joins Kúnwar Singh on the Son (Aug), iv. 311.
- Niwáj, river of Gwáliár, iv. *xv*.
- Nixon, Capt., Agent at Bharatpúr, iii. 173; sent with Ját Infantry to protect A'gra, iii. 101; arrives at Mathurá with Bharatpúr army, vi. 89; puts Mathurá in state of defence, vi. 90; leaves Mathurá for Dehlí, vi. 91; his detachment of Bharatpúr troops occupies Hódal, iii. 108; and there break into mutiny (31 May), vi. 93; he makes despairing appeal to Bharatpúr troops, vi. 93; after mutiny of his troops he starts for Dehlí, vi. 93.
- Nixon, Mr., Head Clerk, assists Mr. Fraser to close Calcutta Gate of Dehlí (11 May), ii. 497.
- Nizám, the, Mr. Bushby, Resident with, v. 81; Major Davidson succeeds Mr. Bushby (16 Apr), v. 81; the succession discussed in early May, i. 428; ascends the throne (18 May), v. 80; his wisdom and fortitude, v. 89; retains Sálar Jang as minister, v. 81; adheres firmly to the English alliance, ii. 311; his troops charge

- Nizám, the—*cont.*
 some rioters (17 July), v. 83; his great difficulty in preserving order (Aug), v. 84; invites the presence of European troops (Sept), v. 84.
- Nizám Alí Khán, threatens Pilíbhít (July '58), v. 191; wounded at Sirpúrah (30 Aug '58), v. 193.
- Noákhálí, a district of Chitragáoñ, iv. *xiv*, vi. 3.
- Nonádi, scene of the destruction of Amar Singh's rear-guard (20 Oct '58), iv. 343.
- Norman, Capt., recommended for service against Dehlí, ii. 116; his description of the defences of Dehlí, ii. 392*n*; commends abandonment of attempt to surprise Dehlí (12 June), ii. 398*n*; testifies to the misinformation given to Col. Greathed before A'gra surprise (10 Oct), iv. 69*n*.
- North, Major, his description of the Bíbígarh after the massacre, ii. 299*n*.
- North-West Provinces, its extent and description, iii. 95; origin of name, vi. 38; history and condition of the people, iii. 96; its political divisions, iii. 96; policy underlying settlement of, i. 111; settlement effected under Lord Bentinck, 1833, i. 114; resumption policy applied to, i. 125; disparity in numbers between Native and European troops on outbreak of Mutiny, iii. 4.
- Nott, Gen., his opinion of the Sipáhí, i. 202; his "beautiful regiments" at Kandahar, i. 363.
- Nurganj, rebels defeated at, by Brig. Jones (6 May '58), iv. 371.
- Núriah, threatened by Alí Khán Mewatí (26 Aug '58), v. 192; Lieut. Craigie sent to protect (28 Aug '58), v. 192; rebel attack on, repulsed (29 Aug '58), v. 192; Capt. S. Browne comes to reinforce Lieut. Craigie, v. 193; and drives rebels from the place, v. 194.
- Núrkot, Siálkot mutineers reach (11 July), ii. 481.
- Núrpúr, outbreak expected at (12 May), ii. 384.
- O.
- Oakes, Capt., engineer with party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Oakes, Capt. W. H., operates energetically in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 35; conveys news of mutiny at Hazáribágh, iv. 96; aids Capt. Dalton in restoring order in Hazáribágh, iv. 96.
- O'Brien, Capt., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385; wounded at siege of Lakhnao (16 July), iii. 300.
- O'Brien, Col., appointed successor to Col. Neill at Allábád, ii. 296*n*.
- O'Brien, Col., safely conducts his boat from Faizábád to Dánápúr, iii. 269.
- O'Brien, Dr., driven from Lálitpúr by mutineers (13 June), v. 66*n*.
- Observatory on Ridge of Dehlí, ii. 390.
- O'Callaghan, Dr., his description of release of troopers from Mírath gaol, ii. 43*n*; his strictures on Col. Smyth, ii. 47*n*.
- Ochterlony, David, favours liberality to deposed princes, i. 72.
- O'Donel, Dr., sheltered, in his flight from Sultánpúr, by Rústam Sáh, iii. 272*n*.
- Ogilvie, Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii.

- Ogilvie, Surgeon—*cont.*
 386; acts as Sanitary Commissioner, iii. 386.
- Ogilvy, Capt., clammers into Sháh Najaf, iv. 137; intrenches British left in Lakhnao (20 Nov), iv. 151.
- Oldfield, Capt., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140.
- Oldfield, Ensign; accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'räh, iii. 63n.
- Olphant, Col., objects to the annexation of Satárah (1849), i. 54n.
- Ollivant, Ensign, acts as volunteer horseman at A'lígarh, vi. 138; defends a factory (June), iii. 198n.
- Olpherts, Capt. Henry, hurries with two guns to save Philúr (8 June), ii. 377; not permitted to pursue Jálardhar mutineers (9 June), ii. 381.
- Olpherts, Capt. William, proposes retreat from Banáras to Chanár, ii. 152; sweeps down Banáras Sipáhís with grape (4 June), ii. 167, 169; his justification for prompt sternness at Banáras, ii. 172.
- Joins Gen. Havelock with his half-battery (3 Aug), iii. 338; clears away mutineers on crossing into Oudh (19 Sept), iii. 355; wins the Victoria Cross (25 Sept), iii. 364; commands battery issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Commands Artillery at action of Badrúp (22 Dec), iv. 241; defeats rebel right attack on A'lambágh (12 Jan '58), iv. 243; defeats the Maulaví's attempt on Kánhpúr convoy (14 Jan '58) iv. 245; repels the Maulaví's attack on A'lambágh (15 Feb '58), iv. 247; drives rebel Cavalry from A'lambágh (16 Mar '58), iv. 280.
- Omarzai, point on Sawád frontier, ii. 373.
- Omichund, i. 6.
- Ommaney, Col., summoned to council of emergency at Láhor (12 May), ii. 321.
- Ommaney, Mr., Law Commissioner of Oudh (1856), i. 293; insultingly struck by a clod of earth (18 Apr), i. 424; becomes member of Provisional Council at Lakhnao during illness of Sir H. Lawrence (9 June), iii. 278; mortally wounded at siege of Lakhnao (7 July), iii. 300.
- Ommaney's Post, in the intrenchment at Lakhnao, iii. 298.
- Oram, Col. James, commands 22nd Madras Regt. (1820), i. 341n; his unbounded influence over his troops, i. 341n.
- Oráons, a people of Chútia Nágpúr, iv. xiii, 95.
- Orísá, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; description of, iv. xvii; last Hindú King, defeated by Kálápahár (1567), vi. 4; has nineteen Tributary Mahalls, vi. 4; subject to the Bhonslás (1803), vi. 4; added to British territory by Marquess Wellesley (1803), vi. 4; perfect tranquillity in, during Mutiny, vi. 5.
- Orr, Capt. Adolphus, Adjutant of infantry regiment under King of Oudh, iii. 257n; reports disaffection in his regiment in March, iii. 240n; escapes from his mutinous Police (12 June), iii. 279; joins in repulsing third attack on Residency, Lakhnao, iii. 310n; blown up at Lakhnao, but not hurt (18 Aug), iii. 381.
- Orr, Capt. Alexander, Superintendent of Frontier Police, under King of Oudh, iii. 257n; procures the release of Rájah Mán Singh from arrest, iii. 267; Mán Singh offers to protect his wife and children, iii. 267; induces Mán Singh to receive many ladies from Faizábád, iii. 267; escapes from Faizábád to Dánápúr, iii. 271; his services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252.
- Orr, Capt. Patrick, Assistant Commissioner at Muhamdí, iii. 256;

Orr, Capt. Patrick—*cont.*

commander of infantry regiment under King of Oudh, iii. 257*n*; removes treasure into Muhamdí fort, iii. 258; escapes from Muhamdí to the Mitaúlí Rájah, iii. 255; his account of the Aurangábád massacre, iii. 259*n*; sole survivor of Aurangábád massacre, iii. 259; joins his wife and child at Kachauna, iii. 260; compelled to live in jungles around Mitaúlí, iii. 260.

Orr, Major S., joins Col. Stuart's column with Haidarábád Contingent (28 July), v. 41; leads Haidarábád Contingent to join Col. Durand at Dhár (Oct), v. 51; attacks the right of rebel position at Dhár (22 Oct), v. 48; saves Mrs. Timmins at Mahídpúr (Nov), v. 51; catches retreating rebels at Ráwal (12 Nov), v. 51; placed in command of Mandesar (26 Nov), v. 56; specially commended by Col. Durand, v. 59.

Moves with Haidarábád Contingent from Ságár (26 Feb '58), v. 101; marches from Mandesar up A'gra road, v. 104; leads his little force to Gúnah and joins Brig. Stuart, v. 104; defeats Rájah of Bánpu'r at Kotrá (25 Apr '58), v. 121; occupies Umri at attack on Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 122; drives rebels from the woods round Kúnch, v. 123; called from Jhánsí to assist in recapture of Gwáliár (6 June '58), v. 150; moves to Paniar (8 June '58), v. 150; joins Brig. Smith at A'ntrí (14 June '58), v. 153.

Orr, Mr., murdered at Baréli (31 May), iii. 212.

Orr, Mrs., escapes from Sítápúr to the Mitaúlí Rájah, iii. 255; sent to Kachauna (1 June), iii. 258; rescued from rebel hands, by Jang Bahádur's troops (17 Mar '58), iii. 261*n*, iv. 281*n*.

Orr, Miss, feigning death, is conveyed

Orr, Miss—*cont.*

by Mán Singh to British camp at Lakhnao, iii. 261*n*.

Orr, Sergeant, works his gun effectively at Indúr Residency (1 July), iii. 147.

Osborne, Lieut. Willoughby, political officer at Réwah, v. 75; his wise conduct in that place, vi. 167; gains the cordial assistance of the Rájah of Réwah, v. 76; by great activity keeps open postal road from Calcutta to Bombay, v. 76; defeats Bundelkhand rebels at Kanchanpúr, v. 76; and again at Zorah, v. 76; storms and secures Maihar (29 Dec), v. 76; clears 36 miles of road, by several successful combats, v. 76; his capture of Jakhání, v. 134; subsequently captures Bijérághúgarh, v. 77.

O'Shaughnessy, develops electric communication in India, i. 140.

Oudh, situation, and description, ii. xvii.

Historical Details.—History of its independence, i. 81; the Subsidy, i. 82; the Nawáb of, cedes territory to the English to pay for troops (1800), i. 84; Native levies disbanded, i. 84; terms of the treaty with Lord Wellesley, i. 84; Saadat A'lí's administration, i. 85; various Governors - General remonstrate with Nawábs of, i. 83; the Nawábs of, frequently threatened with dispossession for misrule, i. 87; threatened annexation of, in 1831, i. 87; Lord W. Bentinck recommends compulsory reforms in (1833), i. 90; Col. Low recommends deposition of Nawáb (1835), i. 90.

The proposed Treaty of 1837, i. 91; flagrant breaches of the treaty by the kings of, i. 91; Court of Directors disown supposed treaty of 1837, i. 93*n*; Col. Sleeman imagines treaty of 1837 to be in force, i. 93*n*.

Royal Title conferred.—Nawáb

Oudh—*cont.*

of, created King (1845), i. 86; part of Nipál ceded to, i. 86; the Nawábs ever faithful to the English, i. 85.

Wájid A'li Sháh becomes King of (1846), i. 94; nature of the King's rule in, v. 184; condition of the country before annexation, i. 82.

Two years of grace allowed by Lord Hardinge, i. 95; Col. Sleeman's tour through (1849–50), i. 97; Col. Sleeman recommends assumption of government of, i. 99; both Col. Sleeman and Sir H. Lawrence advise Government not to touch revenue of, i. 99 and *n*; Lord Dalhousie's method of dealing with, i. 105; Lord Dalhousie's famous Minute on annexation of (18 June '55), i. 104; Court of Directors order annexation of (19 Nov '55), i. 106; Col. Outram's report upon the bad condition of, i. 102.

Annexation.—Viscount Canning approves policy of annexation, before proceeding to India, i. 279; different methods proposed for assuming government of, i. 88; final act of annexation (4 Feb '56), i. 109; Col. Outram carries out order for annexation, i. 108; passes peaceably into British possession, i. 109; annexation of, the crowning act of English usurpation, i. 425 and *n*.

The King takes up a residence at Calcutta, i. 295; the Queen-Mother, brother of the King, and Heir-Apparent, go to England, i. 295; members of Royal family deputed to agitate in England, i. 110; the dismal failure of the "mission" to England, i. 296.

Condition after Annexation.—General discontent caused by its annexation, iii. 233; the withdrawal of Sipáhís' privileges, a cause of discontent, i. 187*n*; disas-

Oudh—*cont.*

trous effects of annexation on interests of the Sipáhís, i. 254, iii. 234*n*, v. 286; the effect of its annexation on Sipáhís at Káhnpúr, v. 288.

Its condition when Lord Canning reached India, i. 290; the King suspected from the first by Lord Canning, i. 421; Mr. Jackson becomes Commissioner, and quarrels with Mr. Gubbins (1856), i. 294; gross personal wrongs committed by English officers in, i. 297; cause of the hatred felt towards the English, v. 184; the new settlement on annexation drove the people to revolt, v. 291; wholesale confiscations, after annexation, provoke disloyalty, iii. 235; irritating exactions, after annexation, spread discontent among the populace, iii. 235; Sipáhís had lost all faith in the word of the British Government, iii. 235; stung to insurrection by the tyranny of British officials, v. 207; deficient garrisoning, provokes disturbance, i. 253; constitution of Military Police of, iii. 239*n*; the mysterious *chapátis* traced to conspirators of, v. 63.

Symptoms of the Outbreak.—Sir H. Lawrence becomes Chief Commissioner (20 Mar), iii. 234; he immediately perceives discontent in, and its cause, iii. 234; he begins to remove cause of discontent, iii. 234; Sir H. Lawrence recognizes the dangerous excitement of the people in March, iii. 236; and tries to repair the faults of his predecessors, iii. 238; but fails to satisfy the late King's soldiery, iii. 238; the cartridge question first raised, in April, iii. 239; inadvertent act of surgeon in, reveals disaffection (Apr), iii. 239; Sir H. Lawrence checks, but cannot stop, mutiny, iii. 241.

The Rebellion.—Turbulent out-

Oudh—*cont.*

break at Malihábád (27 May), iii. 248; its state during June, according to Mr. Gubbins, ii. 307; by 12 June every station, except Lakhnao, had been lost, iii. 275; state of the country at the time of Havelock's first advance to Lakhnao, ii. 306.

Náná Sáhib crosses into, after his first defeats at Káñhpúr (July), v. 306; mutineers in, attempt to cross Ganges (19 Aug.), iii. 348; they cross Ganges at Kúndapati, to harass English, iii. 350; annihilation of a party of mutineers at Kúndapati (11 Sept.), iii. 351; the rebellious army attempts to dispute Havelock's passage of the Ganges (17 Sept.), iii. 354; an invading party from, defeated at Chándá (30 Oct.), iv. 224.

Jang Bahádur's troops enter (19 Feb '58), iv. 227; Gen. Franks's division enters, iv. 231; rebels try to stop Gen. Franks at Chándá, iv. 231.

The Famous Proclamation.—Lord Canning's proclamation (3 Mar '58), v. 173; Sir J. Outram condemns the proclamation (8 Mar '58), v. 175; Mr. Edmonstone's explanation of the proclamation, v. 174; Lord Canning enlarges the power of mercy under proclamation (10 Mar '58), v. 176; Movable Column in, placed under command of Gen. Walpole, iv. 329; Sir J. Outram appointed to the Supreme Council (June '58), v. 183.

Suppression of the Rebellion.—Mr. R. Montgomery created Chief Commissioner (June '58), v. 183; desultory nature of operations in (Aug '58), v. 191; peculiar position of British in, during Sept. '58, v. 199; the eastern portion completely subdued by Lord Clyde (Dec '58), v. 203; Lord Clyde clears the province, and leaves it in charge of Sir Hope

Oudh—*cont.*

Grant (Jan '59), v. 205; cause of the difficulty in tranquillizing, v. 185; becomes British by right of conquest (May '59), v. 207.

Oudh, Begam of, strength of her forces (July '58), v. 189; joins the Maulaví in attack on Sháhjahán-púr (12 May '58), iv. 375; driven into Nipál by Lord Clyde (Dec '58), v. 204.

Oudh, King of, his residence in Calcutta a source of danger, ii. 85; charged with complicity in plot to seize Calcutta on 10 March, i. 389; one of his spies arrested at Calcutta (13 June), vi. 19; his arrest at Calcutta (15 June), iii. 18.

Oudh, the Nawáb-Wazír of, his nominal vassalage to the Mughal, i. 81; engages British soldiers, i. 82.

Outram, Mr. Francis, son of Sir J. Outram, sent from A'ligarh by revolted Sipáhís, iii. 103n; volunteer horseman of A'ligarh, vi. 138; joins in brave retention of factory near A'ligarh (June), iii. 198n.

Outram, Lady, sent to A'gra unmolested by revolted Sipáhís of A'ligarh, iii. 103n.

Outram, Gen. Sir James, i. 6; his character, i. 101, iii. 349.

Appointed to Lakhnao Residency (1854), i. 100; carries out the order for annexing Oudh, i. 108; his report upon the condition of Oudh, i. 102; his disinclination to administer affairs in Oudh (1856), i. 290; warns Lord Canning before outbreak to make Al-láhábád secure, ii. 181 and n.

Recovers his health, i. 300; appointed in England to command Persian expedition, i. 310; selects Havelock for service in Persia, ii. 211; speedily ends the Persian war, i. 440; starts without orders for Calcutta (July), iii. 87; intention to employ him in Rajpútána,

Outram, Gen. Sir James—*cont.*

iii. 87 ; second thought to employ him in Central India (15 July), iii. 87.

Lands at Calcutta (1 Aug), iii. 87 ; receives command of Dánapúr and Kánhpúr divisions, iii. 88 ; appointed to chief command in Kánhpúr district (5 Aug), iii. 344 ; reaches Alláhábád (2 Sept), iii. 249 ; clears the Duáb from mutineer raids, iii. 351 ; arrives at Kánhpúr (15 Sept), iii. 349, 351 ; his great act of self-abnegation at Kánhpúr (16 Sept), iii. 352.

Advances with Gen. Havelock on Lakhnao, iii. 354 ; attacks Chárbaǵh bridge (25 Sept), iii. 361 ; assumes command of troops (27 Sept), iii. 367 ; forced to hold Residency, as relief was impossible, iv. 107 ; endeavours to extend Lakhnao intrenchment towards Kánhpúr road, iv. 112 ; his description of the mines at Lakhnao, iv. 113n ; repairs and strengthens intrenchment (Oct), iv. 113 ; misled as to amount of provisions in Lakhnao, iv. 114 ; his letter of information to relieving force of Lakhnao, iv. 407 ; sends plan of city and suggestions to the A'lambágh, iv. 115 ; supplies basis of plan for Sir Colin Campbell's advance, iv. 119n ; erects semaphore to communicate with A'lambágh, iv. 115 ; warns Kávanagh, but accepts his gallant offer (9 Nov), iv. 116 ; makes a diversion during Sir Colin Campbell's attack on Lakhnao (16 Nov), iv. 140 ; crosses under fire to meet Sir Colin Campbell (17 Nov), iv. 144 ; covers the return journey to the A'lambágh (24 Nov), iv. 155.

Left in command of A'lambágh (26 Nov), iv. 155 ; his position outside the A'lambágh (Dec), iv. 239 ; his defences at the A'lambágh, iv. 239 ; defeats first attempt

Outram, Gen. Sir James—*cont.*

of rebels on A'lambágh (22 Dec), iv. 241 ; sends strong party to Kánhpúr with convoy (8 Jan '58), iv. 242 ; rebels make determined attack on (12 Jan '58), iv. 242 ; defeats Maulaví's attempt on Jálálabád, iv. 243 ; defeats grand attack on A'lambágh (21 Feb '58), iv. 248 ; defeats last attack of rebels on A'lambágh (25 Feb '58), iv. 250 ; the great service rendered by his defence of the A'lambágh, iv. 251.

Advances with Sir Colin Campbell to final capture of Lakhnao, iv. 257 ; troops with which he crossed the Gúmtí (6 Mar '58), iv. 260 ; reaches Chinhát with his force (6 Mar '58), iv. 261 ; throws up his first batteries (8 Mar '58), iv. 261 ; begins attack from north side of Lakhnao (9 Mar '58), iv. 261 ; captures the Chákár Kothí, iv. 262 ; captures rebel first line of defence, iv. 262 ; opens fire on Hazratganj and Kaisarbágh (10 Mar '58), iv. 265 ; secures command of iron and stone bridges, Lakhnao (11 Mar '58), iv. 266 ; asks leave to cut off rebel retreat from Lakhnao, but is prevented by Sir Colin Campbell (14 Mar '58), iv. 277 ; ordered to re-cross Gúmtí and occupy the Kaisarbágh (16 Mar '58), iv. 278 ; ordered to advance through the Residency to the great Imámbárah, iv. 279 ; captures the Daulat Khána (17 Mar '58), iv. 281 ; captures Sharíf-ud-Daula's house, iv. 283 ; captures the Músábágh (19 Mar '58), iv. 283 ; pursues fugitives from Músábágh, and captures 10 guns, iv. 285.

Instructions given to him with respect to the Oudh proclamation, v. 175 ; condemns Lord Canning's Oudh proclamation, v. 175 ; his view of the Oudh proclamation

- Outram, Gen. Sir James—*cont.*
 also independently taken by Lord Ellenborough, v. 178; appointed to the Supreme Council, v. 183; his opinion as to the cause of the Mutiny, ii. 27*n.*
- Ouvry, Col., his ready dash at surprise of A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 72.
- Ouvry, Major, his gallant manœuvre with Cavalry at Balandshahr, iv. 63.
- Owen, Col., penetrates into Gwáliár with his Lancers (19 June '58), v. 158.
- Oxenham, Corporal, his heroic act to save Mr. Capper's life, iii. 288.
- Pahlawán Singh, Col.—*cont.*
 Sept), iv. 223; defeats the rebels at Kudya (19 Oct), iv. 224; and again at Chanda (30 Oct), iv. 224; returns to Gorákhpúr (6 Jan '58), iv. 226.
- Pahuúj, a river of Jaláun, v. x.
- Paiwar Pass, the route selected for British Mission to Kandahar, i. 323.
- Paklí, people of, join in hunting down mutineers (June), ii. 372.
- Páláman, a town of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. xiii; Lieut. Graham blockaded in a large house in (Nov), iv. 305; Lieut. Graham seizes Debi Bakkas Rái at (8 Dec), iv. 305; rebellion collapses on seizure of that conspirator, iv. 305; Lieut. Graham is relieved by Major Cotter, iv. 305; complete defeat of the rebels near, by Capt. Dalton (21 Jan '58), iv. 308.
- Palásí (Plassey), the famous battlefield near Santípúr, vi. 26.
- Pálí, a town of Jodhpúr, vi. 160; Jodhpúr troops entrench themselves there (28 Aug), iv. 394; defeat of the troops near (8 Sept), iv. 395.
- Pálí, near Mírzápúr, murder of Mr. Moore at, vi. 48.
- Páliamkottá, projected mutiny at, frustrated (1806), i. 174, 175.
- Palliser, Lieut., conveys treasure to A'zamgarh (3 June), ii. 160; stripped of Government treasure by A'zamgarh mutineers, ii. 162; shamefully deserted by his Irregular Horse, ii. 272*n.*; his cowardly Irregular Cavalry disbanded (13 July), ii. 278.
- Palmer, Mr. G., Joint Magistrate of Bijnaur, vi. 103; sent from Bijnaur to pursue gaol-birds (21 May), vi. 105; sent from Bijnaur to coerce marauders at Mandáwar (29 May), vi. 106; succeeds perfectly at Mandáwar, vi. 106; recalled to Bijnaur, with his troops (3 June), vi. 107.

P.

- Pabná, a district of Rájsháhí, iii. xii, vi. 3, 26.
- Padmá, main stream of the Ganges, passing through Nadiá, vi. 25.
- Page, Lieut., wounded at Bijápúr (3 Sept '58), v. 234.
- Paget, Capt., assists in capture of Nárgúnd (2 June '58), v. 171.
- Paget, Sir Edward, his unfitness for commanding an Indian army, i. 195; his prompt action at Barrack-púr (1824), i. 196*n.*
- Paháripúr, suburb near Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 390.
- Pahlawán Singh, Col., commander of Gurkhás, refuses to garrison Gorákhpúr, vi. 57; he repulses a rebel attack at Gaghá (20 Aug), vi. 59; occupies A'zamgarh, iv. 222; secures Jaunpúr, iv. 222; wins a battle at Mánduri (19 Sept), iv. 223; captures Mubárapúr (27

- Palmerston, Lord, i. 272; becomes Prime Minister (1856), i. 273; his speech on Viscount Canning's departure for India, i. 278; selects Sir Colin Campbell to chief command in India, iii. 94.
- Pálpa, Gurkhás sent from, to Górákhpúr (9 June), vi. 55.
- Paltaólí, place at which Col. Seaton took command of Rewári expedition, iv. 83.
- Paltú, a sweeper assists Capt. Holland to escape death, ii. 74n.
- Pálwál, a town of Gurgáoñ, vi. 139.
- Palwárs, a clan near A'zamgarh, attacked by Mr. Venables, vi. 66; completely crushed by Mr. H. Ross (Aug), vi. 68.
- Panah, Gen. Whitlock ordered to march on, v. 135; occupied by Gen. Whitlock (29 Mar '58), v. 135.
- Pándí, Mangal, the first mutineer of the great outbreak (from whose name the subsequent mutineers were called "Pandies"), i. 397.
- Pándú Nadí, near Kánhpúr, iv. 160; bridge on road to Kánhpúr, scene of Havelock's third victory, ii. 279.
- Pándurang, the father of Tántiá Topí, v. 304.
- Pandú Rang Ráo, grandson of Bájí Ráo, i. 73n.
- Pangásí, river of Nadiá, vi. 25.
- Panhat, the Maulaví attacks Sir Colin Campbell there (18 May '58), iv. 377.
- Panic, the first in Calcutta (May), ii. 84; in Patná (7 June), iii. 28; the second in Calcutta (14 June), iii. 16; the third in Calcutta (3 Mar '58), iv. 291.
- "Panic Sunday," the revulsion from optimism in Calcutta (14 June), iii. 16; eye-witnesses' account of, vi. 20n; pusillanimity of the higher officials, iii. 16; parts of the city completely deserted, iii. 17; Dr. Mouat's testimony, iii. 17n; the mercantile and trading communi-
- "Panic Sunday"—*cont.*
ties remain steadfast, iii. 17n; statements made are those of eye-witnesses, vi. 19n.
- Pánípat, a district of Dehlí division, vi. 38; description of district, ii. xiii, vi. 140; its occupation by Jhínd forces (May), ii. 112; Native Cavalry sent to, from Dehlí Ridge (11 July), ii. 434n.
- Panjáb, situation, ii. xvii; its description and history, i. 35; its chief strategic points, ii. 459; British Resident appointed, i. 5; description of popular government in, i. 40n.
- Council of Regency established (1847), i. 7; H. Lawrence appointed Resident, i. 7; the Mahráni's conspiracy, i. 10; she is detected and banished to Shekopúr, i. 10, 21; H. Lawrence returns to England, i. 11; Sir F. Currie becomes Resident (1848), i. 11; origin of the Multán troubles, i. 13; murder of the English Agents there, i. 14; outbreak of the second Sikh war, i. 15; attempt to corrupt British Sipáhís at Láhor (1848), i. 21; the siege of Múltán, i. 23; general war breaks out, i. 25, 96; Lord Gough takes command of troops, i. 26; forces a passage at the Chenáb, i. 26; H. Lawrence returns to the Panjáb (Dec '48), i. 28; capture of Múltán (2 Jan '49), i. 28; battle of Chilánwálá (13 Jan '49), i. 29; battle of Gujrát (21 Feb '49), i. 32; annexation of the Panjáb, i. 33.
- Board of Administration formed (1849), i. 36; duties of several members of Board of Administration, i. 38; mutiny of Bengal troops (1849), i. 227; attempts to preserve its independence, i. 2, 5; disinclination to annex, i. 2.
- Its annexation drew the European troops from other places, i. 252; the able men whom Lord

Panjáb—*cont.*

Dalhousie placed there, ii. 317; anticipated revolt of troops (1850), i. 230; the rivalry of the Lawrencees, i. 42.

Lord Canning's fears for its fidelity, ii. 314; danger arising from contiguity of Afghanistán, ii. 315; number of old Sikh forces remaining there, ii. 315*n*; unity and brotherly feeling of officers in, ii. 366; protection of treasure in, ii. 356; severity of orders against sedition, ii. 356; Sir J. Lawrence's plan for abandoning, ii. 465.

Strengthening of Police in (May), ii. 356; enlistment of Sikhs and Afghans in, ii. 355; troops sent from Sindh into, v. 3; Sir J. Lawrence's resolution to send help from, ii. 349; Guide Corps first troops despatched to Dehlí from (13 May), ii. 349.

European garrison of, in July, ii. 460; Movable Column formed for its protection, v. 210; European garrison of, after departure of Gen. Nicholson, v. 210; danger of severance of Dehlí Field Force from, ii. 426; reasons which induced Sir J. Lawrence to denude his province of Europeans, v. 209.

Projected rising at Derá Ishmáil Khán suppressed (July '58), v. 212; people of Hazárah conspire to revolt on 10 Sept., v. 211.

Panjábís, their antagonism to Púribahs, ii. 355.

Panjkauri Khán, his revelations as an orderly, i. 419*n*.

Pankabári, occupied by Mr. Yule and his Infantry (22 Dec), iv. 301.

Pannah, a state to the south of Bandalh, vi. 78.

Panú, rebels driven from Sandélá to (6 Oct '58), v. 199.

Parbatí, Ajít Singh surprised and defeated on banks of (5 Sept '58), v. 284.

Parisnáth, mountain of Chutiá Nág-púr, iv. xiii.

Parke, Brig., commands Nímach brigade (Aug '58), v. 227; takes up pursuit of Tántiá Topí at Puná (18 Aug '58), v. 227; directed to cover Indúr and Bhopál (5 Sept '58), v. 231; placed in charge of Hoshangábád (7 Nov '58), v. 242; takes up position at Chárwah (10 Nov '58), v. 242; pursues Tántiá Topí to Chhotá Udaipúr (1 Dec '58), v. 245; defeats Tántiá Topí at Chhotá Udaipúr, v. 247; marches himself 2,000 miles in this famous pursuit, v. 268.

Parker, —, Magistrate, shows courageous example during excitement at Káhpúr (May), ii. 228.

Parón, Ráo Sáhib and Tántiá Topí conducted there (Jan '58), v. 309; Tántiá Topí and Mán Singh occupy (8 Jan '59), v. 250; meeting of Tántiá Topí and Mán Singh at (25 Jan '59), v. 256.

Parry, Mr., Chairman of Court of Directors (1807), i. 183.

Parshadápúr, plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 201.

Pársháwar, *see* Pesháwar.

Partáb Singh, of Satárah, owes his throne to the British Government, i. 63.

Partábgarh, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. 163*n*, iv. xvii, vi. 158; description of the state, vi. 158; other towns of the same name, vi. 158*n*; Dalpat Singh rules loyally during Mutiny, vi. 158.

Occupied by Brig. Berkeley (Aug '58), v. 196; attacked by rebels from Mandesar (30 Nov), v. 55; the Chief drives away rebels, v. 55; Chitrágáon mutineers chased to (17 Dec), iv. 295.

Sir Colin Campbell marches from, and compels submission of Rájah of A'methí (8 Nov '58), v. 202; Tántiá Topí's defeat at (16 Dec '58), v. 309; Tántiá Topí endeavours to seize (25 Dec '58), v. 248.

- Partridge, Assist.-Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Parúliá, town of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. *xiii*; a military station, iv. 95; mutiny at (5 Aug), iv. 96.
- Párvatí, river of Gwáliár, iv. *xv*.
- Parwán, a river of Jhaláwar, vi. 162.
- Parwán-darah, Ponsonby and Fraser's famous charge at, ii. 151.
- Pasháwar, *see* Pesháwar.
- Pat, name of a desert in Sindh, vi. 144.
- Patan, Lieut. MacGregor commands Sipáhís there, v. 71; Tahsídári to which Jabalpúr Sipáhís withdraw (18 Sept), v. 70; they seize Lieut. MacGregor (19 Sept), v. 71; and Sipáhís offer to exchange him for nine Sipáhís left at Jabalpúr, v. 71; Sipáhís ultimately murder Lieut. MacGregor (26 Sept), v. 71; Tántiá Topí's defeat at (14 Aug '58), v. 307.
- Patan, Rájah of, his ill-treatment by Imám Ali (Aug '58), v. 307; his flight, v. 307.
- Paterson, Capt., heroically stands by Capt. Mackenzie in his attempt to stop mutiny at Barélí (31 May), iii. 210*n*.
- Paterson, Major, brings troops and guns into Dehlí, ii. 65; secures the Main Guard at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 65.
- Paterson, Mr., Magistrate and Collector of Gorákhpúr, vi. 52; about to take leave, but stopped on hearing of Mírath outbreak, vi. 53.
- Patháns, their eagerness to enlist under the English (June), ii. 505; placed in charge of Atak ferry, ii. 346; descendants from, reside in Eastern Bengal, vi. 4.
- Patiálá, Mahárájah of, Sir J. Lawrence advises trust in, ii. 116; acceptance of help from, authorized (May), i. 443; protects convoys of stores for Dehlí troops, ii. 384*n*; his faithfulness, ii. 121; his ser-
- Patiálá, Mahárájah of—*cont.*
vices in protecting the Panjáb, v. 214.
- Patiálí, occupied by Brig. Seaton (17 Dec), iv. 203; action fought in front of (17 Dec), iv. 204.
- Patná, a district of Western Bihár, vi. 3: its population, iii. 25; its out-lying stations, iii. 26; the wealth and isolation of the stations of, iii. 30; importance and delicate position of this district, vi. 32; Wahábís have their head-quarters at, vi. 32; treasonable conspiracy at (1845), i. 222; details of conspiracy of 1845, i. 224; the magistrate of, unwisely attempts a census (1845), i. 223; the seditious movement in (1845–46), i. 143*n*; prison disturbances at, in 1845, i. 144; conspiracy before the Mutiny at, v. 292; the conspiracy disclosed by Jámadar Moti Misr, i. 224*n*.
- Mr. W. Tayler Commissioner at, iii. 27: character of the Commissioner, iii. 27; calls a council of European residents, iii. 28; the Judge counsels flight to Dánápúr, iii. 28.
- Premonitory Symptoms.* — Evidence of the dangerous condition of the people in, iii. 31; Wáhábí conspiracy at, subsequently proved, iii. 79*n*; effect of Mírath outbreak at, iii. 28; traitorous indications among military at, iii. 29; outrageous attempts to corrupt the fidelity of the Sikhs, iii. 31; secret meetings held by inhabitants in, iii. 32; Mr. Tayler converts his house into a fortress for the station, iii. 28; conspiracy of the Station Guards, iii. 29; timidity of Judge of, iii. 28; first crisis at (7 June), iii. 28; the Judge takes refuge in opium go-down, iii. 32; coin from Chaprá and A'rah brought into (15 June), iii. 32; effect of popular action at, on Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 33.

Patná—*cont.*

Arrest of the Wáhábís.—Arrest of Wáhábí Maulaví at, 19 June, iii. 34; arrest of Maulaví Mehdí, Magistrate (20 June), iii. 35; the people of, disarmed by Mr. Tayler, iii. 35; tranquillity partly restored, iii. 35; the Judge leaves the shelter of the go-down, iii. 35; arrest of Wáris A'lí, iii. 35; implication of A'lí Karím, iii. 35; futile attempt to arrest A'lí Karím (23 June), iii. 36.

The Outbreak.—The rising at (3 July), iii. 36; murder of Dr. Lyall, iii. 36; Rattray's Sikhs suppress rising, iii. 36; arrest and execution of conspirators and rioters, iii. 37; arrest of Pír A'lí, the leader of the riot, and Shekh Ghasíta, iii. 37; trial and execution of these men, along with Wáris A'lí, iii. 37; Lútf A'lí Khán arrested, tried, released, and honoured as a martyr, iii. 37; the conspirators confess that Mr. Tayler's prudent measures had defeated them, iii. 37.

Great danger of proximity of Dánápúr Sipáhís, iii. 39; those Sipáhís at last mutiny (25 July), iii. 44; Mr. Tayler calls Patná residents to his house, iii. 48; he then sends party from, to cut off Dánápúr mutineers, iii. 48; critical position of Patná through escape of these Sipáhís, iii. 68; Mr. Tayler calls in officers and treasure from two outlying stations, iii. 70; the eccentric manner in which Mr. A. Money complied with this order, iii. 72; Mr. Halliday seizes on this order to revenge himself on Mr. Tayler, iii. 76; he dismisses Mr. Tayler from the service, iii. 77; Sir John Kaye's summary of this scandal, iii. 78n; splendid conduct of Mr. Tayler during all the crises at Patná, iii. 32; his policy saves the district, iii. 39; subsequent history has

Patná—*cont.*

proved the wisdom of each of his acts, iii. 79.

Mr. Samuells succeeds Mr. Tayler as Commissioner, iv. 311; he flatters the conspirators whom Mr. Tayler kept from mischief, iii. 37; troops are sent to protect the town after Mr. Tayler's recall, iv. 311.

Paton, Sergeant, discovers the way into Sháh Najaf, and causes its capture, iv. 137n; wins the Victoria Cross (16 Nov), iv. 137n.

Patthargarh, fort occupied, to dominate Najibábád (23 Apr '58), vi. 115.

Patwardhan, a family firmly supporting the Peshwá, v. 19.

Paul, Lieut., leads Sikhs to attack of Sikandarbágħ (16 Nov), iv. 128; his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágħ, iv. 140.

Páurí, seized by Rájah Mán Singh (2 Aug '58), v. 232; the Rájah explains his grievance to Brig. Smith (7 Aug '58), v. 232; Mán Singh's desire to re-possess, which he thinks Sindhiá unfairly withdraws from him, v. 263; Brig. Napier joins Brig. Smith and attacks the place (23 Aug '58), v. 233; Mán Singh skilfully evacuates the place, v. 233.

Peacock, Mr. Barnes, Law Member of the Supreme Council, his undesirable industry, i. 286; on interference with polygamy, i. 138n; assists the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Bill (1856), i. 349; inclined to pause before punishing disaffected Oudh regiments (11 May), i. 437.

Pearson, Cadet, escapes from mutineers at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 190n.

Pearson, Capt., sent by Sindhiá, with Artillery, to protect A'gra, iii. 101; sent with battery to pacify A'lígarh district (June), iii. 196; his perilous position in front

- Pearson, Capt.—*cont.*
 of mutinous troops at Háthras (3 July), iii. 197; commands three guns at battle of Sassiab (5 July), iii. 181; defeats Cavalry attack there, iii. 183; brings his Eurasian artillerymen into action at A'gra surprise (10 Oct), iv. 71.
- Pearson, Mr. E. S., Judge of Dhákáh, vi. 28.
- Peel, Capt. William, Captain of the *Shannon*, arrives at Calcutta (8 Aug), iii. 93; his character, iv. 90; commands the *Shannon* Brigade, iv. 91; forms Naval Brigade, and starts for Alláhábád (18 Aug), iii. 93, iv. 89.
 Advances with Col. Powell's detachment on Kánhpúr (23 Oct), iv. 102; second, afterwards first, in command at action of Kajwá (1 Nov), iv. 103; defeats the rebels at Kajwá, iv. 104; leads detachment to Kánhpúr (2 Nov), iv. 104; strength of his Naval Brigade at Lakhnão (13 Nov), iv. 121; his cool daring in attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 139; attacks the Kaisarbágh (20 Nov), iv. 151.
 Drives rebel artillery from Kánhpúr bridge of boats, iv. 183; present with Naval Brigade, at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; by a daring deed clears the bridge on Tántiá Topí's left, iv. 190.
- Created K.C.B., and Aide-de-Camp to the Queen (2 Mar '58), iv. 381; wounded at the Martinière (9 Mar '58), iv. 264; starts for Calcutta (1 Apr '58), iv. 381; dies of small-pox, at Kánhpúr (27 Apr '58), iv. 382; Lord Canning's general order on his death, iv. 382; statue to his memory in Eden Gardens, Calcutta, iv. 383.
- Peel, Sir Robert, his Liberalism, i. 270; resigns (June 1846), i. 271.
- Peile, Capt., last to leave Dehlí Cantonment (11 May), ii. 73.
- Peile, Mrs., nobly aids an officer to escape, ii. 73*n.*
- Pegu, annexation of, 1849. i. 48; difficulty in procuring reliefs for garrison of, i. 337, 339.
- Pemberton, Lieut., with second column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Penny, Col., dies of heat-apoplexy in retreat from Nasírábád (28 May), iii. 169.
- Penny, General, takes command at Dehlí, when Gen. Wilson goes to Himálayas, iv. 73; sends expedition into Rewári district (Oct), iv. 76; directs Brig. Hope Grant to proceed to A'gra, iv. 74; ordered into Rohilkhand (Apr '58), iv. 349; force with which he advanced on Rohilkhand, iv. 351; moves out from Balandshahr, iv. 351; he is deluded into false security, iv. 351; killed at the ambuscade at Kakrálá (30 Apr '58), iv. 351.
- Peráwá, a district of Tonk, vi. 154.
- Pereira, Lieut., enters Jabalpúr with Irregulars (2 Aug), v. 70.
- Perkins, Lieut., killed at battle of the Hindan (31 May), ii. 139.
- Permanent Settlement in Bengal, resumption policy with respect to, i. 123.
- Persia, sends friendly army to Herat (1852), i. 301; compelled diplomatically to acknowledge the independence of Herat, i. 302; again marches upon Herat (1855), i. 304; mistakes the issue of the Crimean War, i. 302; claims dominance at Kandahar, i. 303; Mr. Murray breaks off diplomatic relations with, i. 303; political relations with, previous to 1856, i. 300; captures Herat, i. 313; tries to influence Bokhára and Kokhand against England, i. 317,
 War with, decided on, in England, i. 305; undying hatred of Afghans against, i. 321; effect of conference with Dost Muhammad on, i. 327; effect of the war with,

Persia—*cont.*

on Indian imagination (Jan), v. 341; endeavours to stir up sedition in North-Western India, i. 354; Persians reported to be coming to Dehlí (Apr), ii. 25*n*; extravagant rumours as to their speedy coming, ii. 26.

Lord Canning's terms for making peace with, i. 319; war with, ends at moment of Indian outbreak, i. 440; Treaty with, discussed between Lords Canning and Elphinstone, i. 428; European troops from, reach Calcutta in June, ii. 101.

Persia, Sháh of, King of Dehlí asks aid from (1855), v. 339; aid believed to have been promised by (Mar), v. 339; his proposed expedition against Afghánistan, v. 341.

Peshwá, his great feudatories, i. 71; his attempts to corrupt the Native Army in Lord Hastings' time, i. 335*n*; Lord Hastings' campaign against (1818), vi. 148; Náná Sáhib, the representative of, i. 422; the family of, injured by Lord Dalhousie, i. 424.

Pesháwar, its situation, ii. xviii; its garrison, and critical condition, in May, ii. 336; Brig. Cotton commands at, ii. 340; importance of, in estimation of Herbert Edwardes, ii. 457; Sir J. Lawrence's disesteem of, ii. 349, 458; conference at, with Dost Muhammad (1 Jan '57), i. 318.

News of Mírath outbreak reaches (12 May), ii. 341; Edwardes' confidence in its continued safety, ii. 341; military conference at (13 May), ii. 344; resolutions of the military council, ii. 344; sanction of Movable Column at, ii. 344.

Sipáhí garrison at, ii. 357*n*; Sipáhís show signs of mutiny (21 May), ii. 357; resolution not to disarm the 21st Sipáhí regiment, ii. 359*n*; Sipáhí Commandants pro-

Pesháwar—*cont.*

test against disarmament, ii. 359; Sipáhís disarmed at (22 May), ii. 360; British officers insubordinately show sympathy with their Sipáhís, ii. 360; beneficial effect of disarmament on the district generally, ii. 361; desertions of disarmed Sipáhís punished heavily, ii. 362; forty mutineers blown from guns at (10 June), ii. 368; moral effect of fearful punishment at, ii. 369.

Dost Muhammad's desire to possess, i. 31, 316; its proposed cession to Dost Muhammad, ii. 458; Council held, as to cession of, to Dost Muhammad (26 July), ii. 460; its cession to Dost Muhammad opposed by Edwardes, Nicholson, and Sydney Cotton, ii. 459; Sir J. Lawrence again urges cession of, ii. 460; almost orders the cession, ii. 461; officers again energetically protest against the fatal suggestion, ii. 461; Sir J. Lawrence clings to his notion, ii. 464; Lord Canning forbids the cession, ii. 466.

Phayre, Mr., first Commissioner of Pegu, i. 48.

Phení, river of Eastern Bengal, iv. xiv.

Phillimore, Sir Robert, fellow-student with Viscount Canning, i. 268; gives anecdote of young Canning, i. 267*n*.

Phillipps, Mr., his description of proclamation of King of Dehlí at Agra, iii. 186*n*.

Philipps, Mr. Alfred, Magistrate of I'tah, reaches Budáun in search of help, iii. 216; failing to get assistance, returns to I'tah (1 June), iii. 216.

Phillipps, Mrs., with a few friends, remains in concealment for ten months, iii. 255.

Phillips, Capt., induces the Bengal Sipáhís to labour at Arakan, i. 197.

Phillips's Garden, Lakhnao, occupied as an outpost (6 Oct), iv. 112; extraordinary rescue of a soldier from rebels in, iv. 112.

Philúr, its situation, ii. xviii; its great importance, ii. 105n; its exposed condition on outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 333; Sipáhís at, charged with joining in general conspiracy, ii. 323n; bold conduct of officers in Fort (12 May), ii. 334; arrival of European troops, saves Fort, ii. 335; Gen. Anson secures protection of (13 May), ii. 104.

Siege-train prepared in seven days, and safely conveyed to Dehlí Force, ii. 141; Sipáhís of 3rd Regt., volunteer to escort siege-train, ii. 141.

Methodical arrangement of rising at, ii. 376n; mutiny at (8 June), ii. 376; mutinous Sipáhís escape from, ii. 377; Col. Nicholson disarms the Natives of his Column (25 June), ii. 477.

Phúlpúr, rebels at, driven from by Col. Rowcroft (22 Feb '58), iv. 227.

Phúlwári, Mr. Tayler sends party to cut off Dánápúr mutineers from, iii. 48.

Pigou, Mr., Collector of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.

Pílíbhít, troops' there commanded by Capt. R. Larkins, v. 192; place to which Khán Bahádur Khán fell back from Baréli (6 May '58), iv. 370; threatened by Nizám A'lí Khán (July '58), v. 191.

Pinckney, Brig., his part in the movement for finally crushing rebels (15 Oct '58), v. 201; invests south of Shankarpúr (Nov '58), v. 202.

Pindáris, Lord Hastings' campaign against, vi. 148.

Pindí, in the Panjáb, ii. 342.

Pindí, *see* Ráwalpindí.

Pindí Ghéb, Akhúnd of Sawád

Pindí Ghéb—*cont.*

writes to Chief of, about intended outbreak in India (1856), ii. 373n.

Pípliá, the zamíndárs of, punished by Major Orr (Oct), v. 51.

Pír A'lí, a bookseller of Patná, leads abortive outbreak (3 July), iii. 36; confesses conspiracy before execution, iii. 37; hanged at Patná (5 July), iii. 37.

Pirárá, in Nípál, occupied by Mr. Yule (19 Jan '58), iv. 303.

Pirthí Singh, Mahárájah of Krishnagarh, vi. 152; remains loyal during Mutiny, vi. 152.

Pirú, point of junction of Sir E. Lugard and Col. Corfield (11 May '58), iv. 337; Amar Singh defeated at (17 Oct '58), iv. 341.

Plan of—

The Panjáb, North-West Provinces, &c., ii. 1.

City of Kánhpúr, ii. 217.

City of Dehlí, ii. 384.

The House at A'rah, iii. 54.

The Intrenched Position covering the Lakhnao Residency, iii. 290.

The Operations of the British Army before Dehlí in 1857, iv. 18.

The Operations for Relief and Withdrawal of Lakhnao Garrison, iv. 120.

Sketch of the City of Kánhpúr, iv. 160.

The Operations of the British Army before Lakhnao in Mar. '58, iv. 256.

The Southern Maráthá Country, v. 14.

The Central Indian Campaign of Sir Hugh Rose, v. 162.

The final Campaign in Oudh, v. 186.

The pursuit of Tántiá Topí, v. 322.

Map of India, *in pocket*.

Plassey, the battle of, i. 146, 149; Lord Clive's promptitude wins, ii.

Plassey—*cont.*

115; the centenary of, fierce attack on Kánpúr intrenchments, ii. 249; desperate fight on Dchlí Ridge on that day, ii. 417.

Platt, Col., commands troops at Máu, iii. 137; informed by Holkar of Indúr mutiny, iii. 154; murdered at Máu (1 July), iii. 156.

Plowden, Mr. George, Chief Commissioner of Nágpúr, v. 77; his true greatness, v. 79; converts Residency into a barrack (June), v. 78; creates a refuge on Sítá-baldí hills, v. 78; is informed of intended rising at Nágpúr, v. 78; directs disarmament of local corps (17 June), v. 78; urges Woodburn's force to march on Nágpúr, iii. 161; the dangerous character of his advice, v. 58; re-arms Nágpúr local force (Oct), v. 133; preserves tranquillity at Nágpúr, v. 78.

Plowden, Mr. Trevor, Judge of Gházípúr, vi. 60.

Plunkett, Capt., his confidence in his Sipáhís, ii. 187; murdered at Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 190.

Pogson, Lieut., killed at storm of Dchlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.

Polehampton, Rev. Mr., severely wounded at siege of Lakhnao (7 July), iii. 300; dies of cholera at siege of Lakhnao (19 July), iii. 300, 386.

Polehampton, Mrs., superintends nursing at Lakhnao, iii. 327.

Pollock, General, his retributory force, i. 5; discreetly induces Sipáhís to enter Afghanistan, i. 202.

Pollock, Mr. Archibald, Joint-Magistrate at Banáras, organizes service for transmission of troops, ii. 179, vi. 39; his character, vi. 41; assumes charge of A'zamgarh district (13 Aug), vi. 68.

Polwhele, Brig., commands troops at A'gra, iii. 110; disarms the Sipáhís (31 May), iii. 110; mem-

Polwhele, Brig.—*cont.*

ber of Council during Mr. Colvin's illness there, iii. 178; advances against mutineers near A'gra, iii. 180; force with which he began the battle of Sassiah, iii. 180; his fatal mistake at Sassiah (5 July), iii. 182; removed from command at A'gra after that battle (8 Aug), iii. 191.

Ponsonby, Brig. George, commands troops at Banáras, ii. 151; allows first succours to pass on to Kánpúr, ii. 155; orders parade of Sipáhís at Banáras for disarmament (4 June), ii. 165; his illness on that day, ii. 165; resigns command to Col. Neill after disarmament, ii. 169; his narrative of disarmament at Banáras, ii. 169*n.*

Poore, Capt., killed at Bijápúr (3 Sept '58), v. 234.

Post Office, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 297.

Pott, Col., commands at Mírzápúr, vi. 46; removes temptation from Sipáhís and saves the town, vi. 47.

Potton, in Bedfordshire, where young Canning was trained, i. 267.

Powáin, the Maulaví killed at the gate of (5 June '58), iv. 380.

Powáin, Rájah of, refuses shelter to fugitives from Sháhjahánpúr, iii. 215, 257; his killing the Maulaví resented by insurgents, v. 191; attacked by, but defeats, insurgents (8 Oct '58), v. 200; relieved by De Kantzow, v. 192.

Powell, Mr., a Clerk, becomes Muhammadan to save his life, iii. 222.

Powell, Col., C.B., leads a detachment from Alláhábád (23 Oct), iv. 102; advances against mutineers at Kajwá (1 Nov), iv. 102; fights action at Kajwá, and is killed (1 Nov), iv. 103.

Power, Mr. J. N., Assistant Magistrate of Mainpúrí, conducts non-

- Power, Mr. J. N.—*cont.*
 combatants to place of safety, and returns to his post of danger, iii. 104; anxious to support De Kantzow, but restrained from doing so, iii. 105*n*; renders much service in restoring order at Kánpúr, vi. 78.
- Powlett, Capt., takes part in capture of Mess House, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 142.
- Powys, Lieut., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; he is killed there (8 June), iii. 125.
- Prangar, post to which Ajun Khán came, to communicate with disloyal Sipáhís (May), ii. 373.
- Pratt, Lieut.-Col., captures the head of iron-bridge, Lakhnao, and places battery there (11 Mar '58), iv. 266.
- Prayága, Hindu name for Alláhbád; its etymology, ii. 194*n*, vi. 69; *See* Alláhbád.
- Prendergast, Major, receives command of A'gra Volunteers, iii. 175; his heroic charge at Sassiah, iii. 183.
- Prendergast, Lieut., wounded near Bárí, in Oudh (13 Apr '58), iv. 348.
- Press, the, European and Native, identity of views of, iii. 11; Native papers show distrust of English Government, iii. 12; the Gagging Act (13 June), iii. 13.
- Prettijohn, Capt., breaks the right of Tántiá Topí before Jhánsí (1 Apr '58), v. 113; pursues rebels from Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 124; his gallant charge at Jáurá-A'lípúr (21 June '58), v. 161; his brilliant charge at Ránód (17 Dec '58), v. 253; marches with Gen. Napier's force to Ránód, v. 251*n*.
- Pribhlú Lál, assists Capt. Meade in inducing Mán Singh to betray Tántiá Topí (7 Apr '59), v. 263.
- Prichard, Lieut. Iltudus Thomas, his account of mutiny at Erinpuram, iv. 391; his description of Ajmír arsenal, iii. 165.
- Pringle, Ensign, murdered at Alláhbád (6 June), ii. 190.
- Prinsep, Mr. Thoby, his personal kindness to Dost Muhammad, i. 325.
- Prior, Brig. H., commands Nágpúr Subsidiary Force, v. 77.
- Prithí Singh, Maháráj Ráná of Jhálawar, vi. 162; his unflinching loyalty, vi. 162; saves many European lives, vi. 162; attempts to resist Tántiá Topí (21 Aug '58), v. 228; his troops desert to Tántiá Topí, v. 228; escapes at night to Máu, v. 228.
- Probyn, Capt. Dighton, heroically stands under fire with his Cavalry to divert attention from stormers at Dehlí, iv. 34; pursues mutineers at battle of Balandshahr, iv. 63; leads Cavalry charge at surprise of A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 72; defeats and chases rebels from Kanáuj (23 Oct), iv. 74.
- Probyn, Mr., sheltered by Hardéo Bakhsh at Dharmpúr, iii. 225.
- Probyn, Mr., reaches Kánpúr in safety (1 Sept), iii. 232*n*, 348.
- Probyn, Mrs., and children, sheltered for weeks at Dharmpúr, by Hardeo Bakhsh, iii. 217, 225.
- Probyn, Mr. Leslie, renders great service to Brig. Douglas in his operations in Gházipúr (Mar '58), vi. 62; his gallant destruction of boats near Sháhábád (14 Oct '58), iv. 340.
- Proclamation, the Queen's, its preparation, v. 272; text of the Queen's, v. 273; its publication in India (1 Nov '58), v. 276; its excellent effect throughout India, v. 277.
- Proctor, Lieut., murdered at Gwálliár (14 June), iii. 116*n*.
- Protected Sikh States, assist in keeping road to Dehlí open, ii. 384.
- Púch, its situation, v. xi; junction of Maj. Gall with Sir Hugh Rose there (1 May '58), v. 120.
- Púchar, Firúzsháh passes (18 Dec '58), v. 254.

Púná, dependency of the Peshwá, i. 71; its description, v. xi; arrest of a leading conspirator in (Aug), v. 22; where Brig. Parke took up pursuit of Tántíá Topí (18 Aug '58), v. 227.

Purahát, Rájah of, proclaimed ruler of tribes in Singhbhúm, iv. 306.

Púrbiah, Chief of the, joins in the plot after annexation of Oudh, i. 425n.

Púrbiah Sipáhís, their antagonism to Panjábí races, ii. 355 and n.

Purcell, Mr., and his brother, escape to larger fort at Jhánsí, iii. 123; one murdered while negotiating surrender (7 June), iii. 124.

Purcell, Mr. (the brother), murdered at Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126.

Púrdasi, Chief of the, joins in the plot after annexation of Oudh, i. 425n.

Púrí, a district of Orísá, iv. xvii, vi. 3.

Purnell, Col., clears the way for Gen. Havelock's guns to enter Residency (27 Sept), iii. 366; commands one party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145; supports Capt. Havelock in turning third line of defence in Lakhnao (14 Mar '58), iv. 274; takes charge of Sir Hope Grant's baggage (12 June '58), v. 187.

Púrná, a district of Eastern Bihár, iv. xiii, 91, vi. 3, 34; description of, iv. xvii; sailors sent from Calcutta to occupy (Nov), iv. 297; Jalpáiguri mutineers enter, but are driven out by Mr. Yule (Dec), iv. 299.

Púrvá, its situation on high road to Kánhpúr, iii. 274; Capt. Evans at, keeps open communication with Kánhpúr till surrender of Gen. Wheeler, iii. 274.

Pym, Lieut., leads Royal Marines at action at Sobanpúr (26 Dec), iv. 226; commands Marines in attack on A'mórha (9 June '58), v. 196.

Queen, the, signs the Act transferring Government of India to the Crown (2 Aug '58), v. 272: her desire to place Indians on an equality with the English, v. 272.

Queen's birthday at Calcutta, danger at celebration of (25 May), ii. 88.

Queen's Proclamation, text of, v. 273; Lord Derby prepares the first draft, v. 272; personal attention of Queen and Prince Albert to preparation of, v. 272; places at which it was read in India (1 Nov '58), v. 276; enthusiasm with which it was received, v. 277.

Q.

Raal, Mr. Thornhill and party successfully pass through in their dangerous ride, vi. 95.

Radcliffe, Lieut., killed at Lakhnao, iii. 326.

Radcliffe, Mr. F., Collector of Dhákáh, vi. 28.

Radclyffe, Capt., his heroic charge at Chinhát, iii. 285, 377.

R.

- Rághugarh, zamíndárs of, punished by Major Orr (Oct), v. 51.
- Rágújí Bhonslá, Rájah of Nágpúr, dies (1843), i. 54; sale of his cattle and effects (1854), i. 60; his elder widow dies, and adopts heir to private estate, i. 62; he owed his throne to the British Government, i. 63.
- Ragunáth, the Leper, chosen to rule in Jhánsí, i. 65.
- Ragunáth Singh, Náná Sáhib's letter of commendation to (27 June), ii. 500.
- Ráhatgarh, its situation, v. xi; the great strength of the place, v. 98; attacked by Sir Hugh Rose (24 Jan '58), v. 95; Rájah of Bánpúr attempts to relieve (28 Jan '58), v. 97; enemy escape from, at night, v. 97.
- Rái Bárélí, rebels cleared from (30 Nov '58), v. 203.
- Raikes, Mr., Judge, murdered at Barélí (31 May), iii. 212.
- Raikes, Mr. Charles, Judge of Court of Appeal, A'gra, exposes the childish routine maintained in Fort, iii. 193; his anecdotes on decline of discipline in Bengal Army, i. 199n; his description of the worn out appearance of Col. Greathed's troops on reaching A'gra, iv. 68n.
- Raikes, Mr. H. C., Deputy Collector in Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Raikes, Mr. R. C., Collector of Dhákáh, vi. 28.
- Raikes, Mrs., escapes from the murders at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 116n; superintends nursing in A'gra fort, iii. 190.
- Railways, introduced by Lord Dalhousie, i. 12; their effect on Brahmanic discontent, i. 138.
- Raines, Col., leads Infantry attack on Kotah-kí-Sarai (17 June '58), v. 153; attacks rebel right at capture of Gwáliár (19 June '58), v. 157; pushes with his troops into Gwáliár itself, v. 158.
- Raipúr, its situation, v. vi; garrison of, v. 77.
- Rajab Alí, Munshí, his character as a spy, iv. 52; arranges the capture of the King of Dehlí, iv. 52; accompanies Capt. Hodson to capture secreted princes (21 Sept), iv. 55.
- Rájahkhérá, a town of Dholpúr, vi. 154.
- Rájahpúr, a town of Bandah, vi. 79.
- Rájá Rám, conveys intelligence to Europeans in A'gra fort, iii. 186.
- Rájgarh, a town of Alwar, vi. 153; occupied by Tántiá Topí (Aug '58), v. 229; Tántiá Topí driven from (Sept '58), v. 230; Firúzsháh endeavours to join Tántiá Topí at (30 Dec '58), v. 254; roads near, cleared of marauders (Feb '59), v. 259.
- Rájghát, a gate at Dehlí, ii. 393n; revolted Sipáhís admitted there on 11 May, ii. 58.
- Rájghát, point where Oudh mutineers collected boats to cross Ganges, iii. 348.
- Rájmáhall, a town of Bhágalpúr, iv. xiii, vi. 34.
- Rájpúr, near Baksar, village plundered by defeated rebels (30 May '58), iv. 338; Tántiá Topí defeated at, with loss of his last guns (25 Nov '58), v. 244.
- Rájpúrá, visited by Tántiá Topí (26 Nov '58), v. 309; plundered by Tántiá Topí (28 Nov '58), v. 345.
- Rájpútáná, situation and extent of, iii. xii; description of, iv. xvii, vi. 149; its rulers, iii. 163; antiquity of royal houses in, i. 67.
- Karaulí succession discussion in, i. 67; Aurangzíb's war against the princes of, iii. 237; terrible disorders in, from 1805 to 1818, vi. 164; dread of annexation spreads through the district (1852), i. 70; English charged with intention to annex (1856), i. 354.
- Only 20 European soldiers to "

Rájputáná—*cont.*

guard 100,000 square miles (May), iii. 165; dangerously exposed condition of the fort of A'jmír, iii. 166; saved by promptitude of Col. Dixon, iii. 166; Col. G. Lawrence created Brigadier-General of all troops in (1 June), iii. 170; he calls troops from Dísá, iii. 166; rendered safe by Col. G. Lawrence, before the end of June, iii. 174; its calm condition during June, ii. 317.

The steady loyalty of both princes and people, vi. 164; cause of the tranquillity with which it passed through the Mutiny period, iv. 403; confidence of princes and people in the English, iv. 385; experience of British rule in, vi. 149; British justice secures loyalty of the people, vi. 165.

Mutiny at Erinpuram (22 Aug), iv. 391; rebellion at A'wah (29 Aug), iv. 395; mutiny at Kotá (23 Oct), iv. 398; attack on Nímach by rebels (8 Nov), iv. 400.

Bombay troops arrive in (Jan '58), iv. 400; order completely restored (Apr '58), iv. 403; military command of, given to Gen. Michel (Aug '58), v. 229; Tántiá Topí re-enters (2 Dec '58), v. 247. Rájputs, object to General Service in British Army, i. 345*n.*

Rájsháhí, a division of the Lower Provinces, vi. 3; divisions of, iii. xii.

Raleigh, Cornet, murdered at Lakhnao (30 May), iii. 251.

Rámbakhsh, rebel leader in Oudh (July '58), v. 189.

Rám Bakhsh, Pay-Hawaldar, his account of the retirement of faithful Sípáhís from Kánpúr, ii. 246*n.* Rám Chand, created chief of Jhánsí, and afterwards Rájah, i. 65; his uncle, a leper, chosen to succeed him, i. 65.

Rám Chand Ráo, Subahdár of Jhánsí, accepts British protection, iii. 119.

Rámchandar Pant, Subahdár, manages Bái Ráo's estate, i. 73; his son resides at Kánpúr, i. 423*n.*

Ramchandra Bápújí, Minister of Dhár, antagonistic to the English, v. 46; raises mercenary troops (June), v. 47.

Rám Chandra Ráo, guardian to the ruler of Kírwí, v. 138; his frank and open loyalty, v. 303; his loyalty to the British Government, v. 139; saves the life of Mr. Cockerell (June), v. 303.

Rámdiál, an escaped prisoner, murders his creditor at Bhojpúr (10 May), ii. 129*n.*

Rámdrúg, the Rájah of Nárgúnd's half-brother at (May '58), v. 167*n.*

Rámgangá, stream near Murádábád, iii. 219; near Fatbgarh, rebels destroy bridge near (Jan '58), iv. 218; Rohilkhand rebels cross, to annoy the English (24 Jan '58), iv. 219; rebels threaten Fathgarh from, iv. 350.

Rámgangá, the Eastern, description of course of river, iv. xvii.

Rámgangá, the Western, description of course of river, iv. xviii.

Rámgarh, a town of Alwar, vi. 153; mutineers from battalion of, threaten road to Alláhábád, iv. 88; mutineers from, elude columns of search (Sept), iv. 99; but they are defeated at Chatrá (2 Oct), iv. 100.

Rámgarh, Rájah of, his firm loyalty, vi. 35; loyally assists in restoring order in Chútiá Nágpúr, iv. 96.

Rámgarh Ghát, a ferry crossed by Chitrágáo mutineers (Nov), iv. 294.

Rám Ghulám Singh, owner of the fort of Rámpúr Kasiá, v. 201; his fort captured by Brig. Wetherall (3 Nov '58), v. 202.

Rámkót, Zamíndár of, assists party of fugitives to Lakhnao, iii. 255.

Rámmohan Rái, envoy to England of Dehlí Emperor (1838), ii. 8; fails as an envoy, ii. 9.

- Rámnagar, an important town near Banáras, vi. 39 ; battle of (22 Nov '48), i. 26 ; many missionaries from Banáras fly to (4 June), ii. 172 ; occupied by Sir Hope Grant (19 Apr '58), iv. 348.
- Rámnarain Pándí, his gallantry at Lakhnau, iv. 111*n.*
- Rámparshád Singh, Bábuí, captured by rebels at Suráon (July '58), v. 195.
- Rámpúr, fanatics from, threaten Murádábád (21 May), iii. 219 ; they are there attacked and dispersed (21 May), iii. 220 ; Amar Singh's men defeated at (9 Sept '58), iv. 340 ; Firúzsháh captures convoy near (20 Dec '58), v. 254.
- Rámpúr, Nawáb of, his territory, iv. xviii ; his steady loyalty to the British, iv. 364 ; sends news to Murádábád of mutiny at Baréli (2 June), iii. 221.
- Rámpúr Kasiá, description of this stronghold, v. 201 ; Oudh rebels congregate in (Sept '58), v. 191 ; captured by Brig. Wetherall (3 Nov '58), v. 202.
- Rámpúrá, in Oudh, occupied by Gen. Franks (19 Feb '58), iv. 231.
- Rámpurah, a district of Tonk, vi. 154.
- Rám Ráo, a Pandit who accompanied Tántiá Topí when he left the army (Feb '59), v. 310.
- Rám Ráo Govind, appointed Prime Minister of Gwáliár by rebels (1 June '58), v. 147 ; joins Tántiá Topí at Gwáliár, v. 307 ; burns the body of Rání of Jhánsí (16 June '58), v. 306.
- Ramsay, Brig., in command of the Gwáliár Contingent, iii. 112 ; recalls ladies to Gwáliár Cantonment after they had retired for safety (28 May), iii. 112.
- Ramsay, Capt., with third column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Ramsay, Major, Resident at Khatmandu, sends Gurkhás from Pálpa to Gorákhpúr (9 June), vi. 55.
- Rámshai Lála, mutinous Native officer, i. 421*n.*
- Rám Singh, Mahárájah of Jaipúr, boldly loyal to the British cause, iii. 171, vi. 158 ; places all the forces of Jaipúr at the service of the British, vi. 158 ; labours earnestly for the British cause, vi. 159 ; carries Jaipúr through the Mutiny, vi. 159 ; rewarded for his fidelity, vi. 159.
- Rám Singh, Maháráo of Kotá, iv. 397, vi. 161 ; makes foolish communication to his troops, causing mutiny (14 Oct), iv. 398 ; reports mutiny at Kotá, and pleads powerlessness (16 Oct), iv. 399 ; humours mutinous troops at Kotá, but sends for assistance (Nov '58), iv. 402 ; released from his troops by Rájáh of Karaulí (Dec), iv. 402 ; fails to establish his loyalty, vi. 162 ; his salute reduced as mark of disfavour, iv. 399, vi. 162 ; salute restored after his death, vi. 162.
- Rám Singh, Ráo Rájáh of Búndí, vi. 161 ; indisposed to help the British, vi. 161 ; shuts his gates on Tántiá Topí, v. 223, vi. 161 ; his disloyalty forgiven (1860), vi. 161.
- Ramú, in Burma, British troops defeated at (1824), i. 194.
- Ráná Kíká, his defeat at Gogúndah (1576), vi. 155.
- Ráná Sarúp Singh, his firm loyalty to the English, iii. 374.
- Ránchí, large town of Chutiá Nág-púr, iv. xiii, 95 ; mutiny near (31 July), iv. 96 ; mutineers at, threaten road to Alláhábád, iv. 88.
- Rangpúr, a district of Rájsháhí, iii. xii, iv. xiv, vi. 3, 26 ; Indian Naval Brigade sent from Calcutta, to operate near (26 Nov), iv. 294 ; seamen from Calcutta arrive (15 Dec), iv. 300 ; the Collector conveys Government treasure into the jungle to save it from mutineers, iv. 298.
- Rangu Bápují, agent for Satárah family, resident in England, i.

Rangu Bápújí—*cont.*

79; returns from England a rebel, i. 425.

Ranguún, troops required for (1824), i. 193; Native guards handle greased cartridges without complaint in 1853, i. 380; 38th Bengal Regt. refuse to go to (1856), i. 388; English troops brought from, to disband Barhámpúr mutineers (Mar), i. 387; Queen's Proclamation published at (1 Nov '58), v. 276.

Rániganj, terminus of railway from Calcutta in 1857, ii. 101, iv. 85; a wing of 2nd Grenadiers stationed there (Jan '57), i. 363; incendiary fires break out (Jan), i. 365; Sir Colin Campbell organizes a bullock train at, iv. 87; guarded by Sikh soldiers, vi. 15.

Ranjít Singh, i. 2; character of his rule in the Panjáb, i. 39; Sikh States wrested from, ii. 121; the King of Dehli's letter to, v. 334.

Ranjít Singh, becomes Maháráwal of Jaisalmír (1856), vi. 151; remains loyal, vi. 151.

Ránód, Firúzsháh arrives at (17 Dec '58), v. 251; he is driven from the place with great loss by Major Prettijohn, v. 253.

Ráo, village between Indúr and Máu, iii. 155.

Ráo Bhara, the King of Dehli's letter to, v. 333.

Ráo Bhowání Singh, cousin of Rájah of Mainpúrí, stands by the English, iii. 104; bravely assists De Kantzow, and leads Sipáhís from Mainpúrí treasury, iii. 105.

Ráo Daisal, of Kachh, loyal to the British, vi. 168.

Ráo Ragunáth Ráo, created Rájah of Jhánsí (1835), iii. 119.

Ráo Sáhib, nephew of Nána Sáhib, assists in rebellion, ii. 236; orders Tántiá Topí to Kalpí (July), v. 111; commands Nána Sáhib's troops at Pándú Nadí (15 July), ii. 279; goes to Cháodrá Bhopál

Ráo Sáhib—*cont.*

Singh at Fathpúr in Oudh, v. 361; again orders Tántiá Topí to Kalpí (Jan '58), v. 306; comes to Kalpí (Mar '58), v. 306; places Tántiá Topí's army at service of Ráni of Jhánsí (6 Apr '58), v. 307; sends Tántiá Topí again to fight the English (9 Apr '58), v. 120; his defeat at Kalpí (May '58), v. 307; flies to Gópálpur after defeat in Galáulí, v. 143.

Named Governor of Gwália by rebels (1 June '58), v. 147; retreats from Jáfurá Alipúr with Tántiá Topí (22 June '58), v. 221; demands a fine of 25 lakhs from Rána of Jhálíwar (21 Aug '58), v. 228; suggests the seizure of Indúr (26 Aug '58), v. 228; orders Tántiá Topí to Chandéri (Sept '58), v. 308; marches on Tál Bahat (2d Sept '58), v. 235; rejoins Tántiá Topí at Sultánpúr (11 Oct '58), v. 305; his fight at Jaklásun (12 Oct '58), v. 308; marches to Sindwáhi, v. 237; joins Tántiá Topí at Lálitpúr, after defeat at Sindwáhi (20 Oct '58), v. 237; encamps at Kajúriá, v. 308; escapes from the defeat at Kurai (25 Oct '58), v. 238; alarm caused by his presence in Nágpúr (27 Oct '58), v. 239.

Sends for Máu Singh (Jan '59), v. 309; conducted by Máu Singh to Paron, v. 309; almost captured at Devású (16 Jan '59), v. 256; quarrels with Tántiá Topí (26 Jan '59), v. 310; moves his remaining troops from Sikár to Kusháni (10 Feb '59), v. 257; defeated at Kusháni flees to Chhatarbjúj pass (15 Feb '59), v. 257; flies to Partábgarh (20 Feb '59), v. 257.

His army melts away by desertion and surrenders, v. 257; wanders from place to place till 1862, v. 257; arrested in Panjáb and hanged at Kánhpúr (20 Aug '62), v. 258.

- Ráptí, description of course of river, iv. *xviii*, 226*n*.
- Rasúlábád, head-quarters of Firúzsháh (Aug '58), v. 197.
- Ratanbhúr, a celebrated fort of Jai-púr, vi. 158.
- Ratan Mán Singh, arranges with English to attack Dhákah mutineers (21 Jan '58), iv. 303.
- Ratan Singh, Rájah of Bikánír, his death (1852), vi. 150.
- Rátgarh, rebels from, defeated at Madánpúr (Jan '58), v. 74.
- Ráth, a town of Hamírpúr, vi. 83.
- Ratlam, a State of Western Málwá, v. x.
- Ratnaghári, perilous landing of troops near, vi. 172.
- Rattray, Capt., his Sikhs, near Patná, iii. 29; angry reception of his Sikhs at Patná (7 June), iii. 31; with his Sikhs, suppresses rising at Patná (3 July), iii. 36; sent to protect Gayá (Sept), iv. 312; urged by Mr. A. Money, attacks Cavalry, who wheel round and sack Gayá (8 Sept), iv. 312; intrenched at Dehrí (24 Sept), iv. 99; keeps order in Chútiá Nágpúr with his Sikhs (Oct), iv. 100; defeats a body of rebels at Akbarpúr (7 Oct), iv. 312; overtakes and fights rebels at Danchua (6 Nov), iv. 312.
- Ráví, river of the Panjáb, iv. *xvii*.
- Ráví Varmá, Rájah of Kochin, his perfect loyalty, vi. 168.
- Ráwal, Major Orr catches retreating rebels at (12 Nov), v. 51; desperate fight at, v. 51.
- Ráwalpindí, situation, and description, ii. *xviii*; troops refuse reduced pay at (July '49); i. 227; discontent of troops subsides spontaneously (1849), i. 228.
- Sir J. Lawrence hears of Mírath outbreak while at, i. 451; councils of war at, during May, ii. 347; Guide Corps arrive at (18 May), ii. 350; Col. Benson counsels disbanding troops, i. 228; Lord Dal-
- Ráwalpindí—cont.
- housie and Sir C. Napier counsel patience, i. 228; disarmament of Sipáhís at (7 July), ii. 478; Nicholson advises abandonment of, in preference to Pesháwar, ii. 465; Mr. Forsyth hears of treacherous correspondence with Akhúnd of Sawád at, ii. 373*n*; Hazárah conspirators arrested at (Aug), v. 211. Raynor, Lieut., heroically aids in defence of Dehlí Magazine (11 May), ii. 66; escapes from explosion of that Magazine to Mírath, ii. 68.
- Read, Lieut., killed in attack on Jíran (23 Oct), iv. 400.
- Reade, Mr. E. A., senior member of Board of Revenue at A'gra, iii. 178; his character, iii. 178; Sir H. Lawrence tells him of the dangerous condition of the Sipáhís, i. 331; ascertains dislike of Rájpúts to enlist for General Service, i. 345*n*; gives testimony as to prophecy of English downfall, i. 356*n*; member of Council during Mr. Colvin's illness in fort, iii. 178; saves Revenue accounts of A'gra (6 July), iii. 186; becomes senior civil officer at A'gra (9 Sept), iv. 66; offers to subordinate himself to military chief, iv. 66; has obstacles to defence of fort removed (19 Sept), iv. 67; his energy and devotion at A'gra, v. 217.
- Redan, at Lakhnao, mutineers make ineffectual attempt to storm (20 July), iii. 302; attack on, repulsed, iii. 380.
- Redmond, Capt., defends Firúzpúr Magazine against attack of mutineers (13 May), ii. 330.
- "Red Pamphlet," its description of "Panic Sunday" at Calcutta, iii. 16; the officials exposed still writhe under its true statements, vi. 7*n*; first tells the true story of the rising at A'zamgarh, vi. 63; gives date for attack on Káhnpúr intrenchments, ii. 237*n*; the author's estimate of Gen. Anson,

"Red Pamphlet"—*cont.*

ii. 124*n*; the author of, cited, and his forecasts verified by the future, ii. 92 and *n*.

Reed, Gen., senior military officer in the Panjáb, ii. 345; his character, ii. 344; military conference held at his house in Pesháwar (13 May), ii. 344; invested with command of Panjáb forces, and reason why, ii. 344; goes to Ráwlpindí, ii. 346; holds court-martial on disarmed Sipáhís who desert (28 May), ii. 362.

Goes to Dehlí Ridge (14 June), ii. 385, 399; his high opinion of Sir H. Barnard, ii. 428; holds Council of War at Dehlí, ii. 399; delays to execute Col. Baird Smith's plan for assaulting Dehlí, ii. 432; his reasons for postponing attack on Dehlí, ii. 402; his account of attempted attack on rear of Dehlí Ridge (4 July), ii. 426.

Assumes command of Dehlí Field Force (5 July), ii. 431; his description of the Cavalry attack on Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 438*n*; his account of the flight of the Carabiniers in that action, ii. 437*n*; resigns command of Dehlí Field Force (17 July), ii. 441.

Regency, Council of, in the Panjáb, i. 5; placed under Sir H. Lawrence, i. 7.

Reid, Capt., Deputy Commissioner of Faizábád, iii. 265; induces Mán Singh to receive many ladies from that town, iii. 267; escapes from Faizábád to Dánápiúr, iii. 271.

Reid, Capt., sends small force from Rúrkí to stop Bijnaur raiders (8 Jan '58), vi. 112.

Reid, Major Charles, commands Gurkhás at Dehrá Dún, vi. 116; marches from Dehrá Dún to Mírath (19 May), vi. 117; march of his Gurkhás to Mírath, ii. 133; reinforces Col. Wilson on the Hindan (1 June), ii. 140.

Establishes himself at Hindu

Reid, Major Charles—*cont.*

Ráo's House on the Ridge at Dehlí (8 June), ii. 145*n*; his arrangement of troops on right of Ridge, ii. 410*n*; repulses attack on Hindu Ráo's House (12 June), ii. 410; defeats sortie from Dehlí (17 June), ii. 405*n*; leads successful attack on mutineers at Dehlí, ii. 412; his description of attack on Dehlí Ridge (23 June), ii. 418*n*; repulses twentieth attack on Hindu Ráo's House (14 July), ii. 440; destruction of his pencil notes on meritorious officers, iv. 12*n*.

Commands abandonment of attempt to surprise Dehlí on 12 June, ii. 398*n*; urges Gen. Wilson to hold on to Dehlí, after first assault, iv. 40*n*; his account of the desertion of Native Cavalry from Ridge, ii. 411*n*; constructs light battery at Sámi' House (6 Sept.), iv. 8.

Commands fourth column, at assault of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 19; varies Gen. Wilson's arrangements for fourth assaulting column, iv. 20*n*; receives four guns, but gunners for only one, iv. 27; committed to attack by precipitancy of Jammú troops, iv. 28; wounded in head at assault of Dehlí, iv. 29; his former services, and stubborn defence of the Ridge, iv. 21.

Reid, Mr. H. M., Magistrate of Báleshwar, vi. 5.

Remmington, Capt., commands light battery at Sámi' House, Dehlí, iv. 8; placed in command of Artillery in Lieut.-Col. Greathed's column, iv. 61; takes part in battle at Balandshahr (28 Sept), iv. 63; greatly distinguished at Lakhnau (18 Nov), iv. 150; present with his guns at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; distinguishes himself at Sheorájpúr (8 Dec), iv. 195; arrives at A'lambágh with his battery (20 Feb '58), iv. 248; present with

- Rommington, Capt.—*cont.*
battery at attack on Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Renaud, Major, starts from Alláh-ábád with troops for Kánhpúr (30 June), ii. 207, 214; severe punishments inflicted on his march to Kánhpúr, ii. 215*n*; his advance column halted at Lohanga (1 July), ii. 269; hears of the loss of Kánhpúr (3 July), ii. 215; tries to capture Fathpúr before overtaken by Havelock (12 July), ii. 271*n*; mortally wounded at battle of Aong (15 July), ii. 278.
- Renfray, Lieut., killed at storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
- Renny, Col., station ball given to him at Láhor (12 May), ii. 323; bravely assists in securing Láhor and surrounding country, ii. 325, 327.
- Renny, Lieut., his courageous act on roof of Magazine, Dehlí (16 Sept), iv. 42; receives the Victoria Cross, iv. 42*n*.
- Renny, Major, heroic devotion of his Native gunners, ii. 437; his gallantry at Dehlí Ridge (9 July), ii. 438*n*.
- Rent-Free Tenures, policy with respect to, i. 121.
- Re-organization of Army (6 May 1824) promotes discontent, i. 193.
- Residency, the, Lakhnao, evacuation of (20–22 Nov), iv. 151; subsequently re-captured by Gen. Sir J. Outram in about half an hour (16 Mar '58), iv. 279. *See* Lakhnao.
- Resumption, discussion of policy of, i. 122; its disastrous results, i. 124; as applied to N. W. Prov., i. 125.
- Reveley, Capt., murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 71.
- Revenue Department, its operation creates universal apprehension, i. 121–128.
- Rewá, arrest of treasonable messenger sent there (25 Apr), iii. 135.
- Rewah, its description, v. xi, 75; loyalty of Rájah of, vi. 167; Lieut. Osborne chief political officer at, v. 75; the Rájah places his troops at the service of the English (8 June), v. 76; troops of Rájah sent to co-operate with English, v. 76.
- Rékawántá, Native state of Bombay Presidency, v. 1.
- Rewári, a town of Gurgáon, vi. 139.
- Rewári district, overrun by Jodhpúr mutineers (Oct), iv. 76; Brig. Showers tranquillizes, iv. 76.
- Rhotásgarh, mutineers of Chútiá Nágpúr congregate at (Sept), iv. 99.
- Ricc, Capt. W., sent from Guínah, to intercept Firúzsháh (20 Dec '58), v. 254; reaches Baród (22 Dec '58), v. 254; catches Firúzsháh at Sarpiúr, and drives him onwards, v. 254.
- Rich, Major, marches with Gen. Napier's force to Ránód (Dec '58), v. 251*n*.
- Richards, Mr., Naval Cadet, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 91*n*.
- Richardson, Major J. F., his former services, iv. 302; selected to command Yeomanry Corps. vi. 22; joins Mr. Yule, with his Yeomanry Cavalry (11 Jan '58), iv. 302, vi. 34; watches right bank of Kusí to catch Dhákah mutineers (14 Jan '58), iv. 303; Dhákah mutineers elude him, and escape into Oudh (19 Jan '58), iv. 304; hurries to Darbangáh, to protect Tirhút (20 Jan '58), iv. 304; charges with Yeomanry, and routs rebel force at A'mórha (5 Mar '58), iv. 317; commands part of force attacking A'mórha (June '58), v. 196; leads his Yeomanry Corps to good service in Gorákhpúr and A'zamgarh, vi. 23.
- Richardson, Mr., killed by a prisoner with brass lotah (1834), i. 144*n*.
- Ricketts, Henry, a Bengal civilian of high repute, i. 291; engaged on

- Ricketts, Henry—*cont.*
 devising scheme for retrenchment of official salaries, i. 291; recommended as Chief Commissioner of Oudh (1856), i. 291.—
- Ricketts, Mr., a young civilian, explains inconsistencies in conduct of Sipáhís, ii. 141*n*; his account of the methodical revolt of Sipáhís at Jálundhar (8 June), ii. 376*n*; his efforts to save Lodiáná, ii. 378; commands Native Contingent at Lodiáná, ii. 378; fights a battle with the Jálundhar mutineers, near Lodiáná, ii. 279; urges Brig. Johnstone to move forward to that place (9 June), ii. 381; his account of the second escape of the Jálundhar mutineers, ii. 381*n*; reason he assigns for speedy evacuation of the town by mutineers, ii. 382*n*; disarms the town of Lodiáná (10–15 June), ii. 383; preserves the military road to Dehlí, ii. 384.
- Ricketts Mr., murdered at Sháh-jahánpúr (31 May), iii. 213.
- Riddell, Col., commands Infantry at battle of Sassiáh (5 July), iii. 181; ordered to co-operate in recapture of Gwálíár, v. 150; scatters party of rebels escaping from Kálpí (25 May '58), v. 148*n*.
- Ridge, the, at Dehlí, its description, ii. 388; twenty-six attacks on, repulsed by Major Reid, iv. 21; arrival of siege-train at (6 Sept.), iv. 7. *See* Dehlí.
- Riley, Mr., attempts to blow up Kánhpúr Magazine (June), ii. 233*n*.
- Ripley, Col., on hearing disturbance, instantly marches his men from the Ridge into Dehlí, ii. 64; murdered by his own men at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 64.
- Ritchie, Lieut., murdered near Móhadaba (June), iii. 269.
- Ritchie, Mr. William, Advocate-General, serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Roberts, Capt., leads detachment and
- Roberts, Capt.—*cont.*
 restores order near Narsingpúr (Nov), v. 73.
- Roberts, Lieut., his distinguished conduct at battle near Balandshahr (28 Sept), iv. 64; takes part in capture of Mess-House, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 142; wins the Victoria Cross at Kálí Nadí bridge (2 Jan '58), iv. 214.
- Roberts, Maj.-Gen. H. G., commands Bombay troops sent into Rájpútáná (Mar '58), iv. 401; his excellent Intelligence Department, v. 225*n*; marches on Kotá, iv. 402; drives the rebels from Kotá (29 Mar '58), iv. 403; marches on Nasírábád (Apr '58), iv. 403; detaches part of his force to operate with Sir Hugh Rose (May '58), v. 143; holds command in Nasírábád (June '58), v. 222; starts from Nasírábád to attack Tántiá Topí (28 June '58), v. 222; secures Jaipúr before the arrival of Tántiá Topí (30 June '58), v. 222; defeats that leader at Sán-ganír (7 Aug '58), v. 224; pursues Tántiá Topí to Kankráuli (13 Aug '58), v. 225; defeats him again at Kankráuli (14 Aug '58), v. 226; at Puná, leaves the pursuit of Tántiá Topí to Brig. Parke (18 Aug '58), v. 227; transferred to Gujrát division, v. 229; cuts Tántiá Topí off from Gujrát (Nov '58), v. 241.
- Roberts, Mr., summoned to Council of Emergency at Láhor (12 May), ii. 321; present at disarming of Láhor Sipáhís, ii. 324.
- Robertson, Capt., conducts Engineering stores from Rúrki to Dehlí (3 July), ii. 424.
- Robertson, Major, drives Dhár rebels into their fort with loss of their guns (22 Oct), v. 48; commands Cavalry at action of Badrúp (22 Dec), iv. 241.
 Sent in pursuit of rebels from Kálpí (24 May '58), v. 148; pur-

- Robertson, Major—*cont.*
 sues rebels to Mohárar, then hears of their capture of Gwálíár (3 June '58), v. 148; joined by Brig. Stuart for an attack on Gwálíár (6 June '58), v. 149; sent in pursuit of Mán Singh (23 Aug '58), v. 233; surprises and defeats Ajít Singh at Bijápúr (3 Sept '58), v. 234; marches from Bijápúr to Gúnah, v. 235; his splendid services in Central India, v. 59.
- Robertson, Major, commands one boat escaping from Fathgarh, iii. 230; his boat grounds on sandbank at Singhirámpúr, iii. 230; while grounded his boat attacked by Sipáhís, iii. 230; he is wounded, and his boat-party dispersed, iii. 231; carried wounded to Kalhúr, and there dies, iii. 231*n.*
- Robertson, Mr., Judge, murdered at Baréli (31 May), iii. 212.
- Robertson, Mr. Dundas, Assistant Magistrate at Saháranpúr, vi. 120; his energy and coolness, iii. 200; disperses threatening villagers, and preserves authority around Saháranpúr, iii. 201; scours the district (June), vi. 118.
- Robertson, Mr. J. C., Assistant Superintendent of Dehrá Dúín, vi. 116.
- Robertson, Mr. Thomas Campbell, Lieut.-Governor of North-West Provinces, i. 120; his description of settlement operations in his province, i. 116; supports claims of Tálukdárs, i. 118; grants Badáwar Jaghir to adopted son of Rájah, i. 126.
- Robinson, Capt., leads escaladers at storming of Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115.
- Robinson, Mr. F. H., his apt citation of native opinion of settlement operations, i. 119.
- Roche, Mr., Postmaster, negotiates Kánpúr capitulation, ii. 252.
- Rocke, Major, cuts off Tántiá Topí from Nímach (Dec '58), v. 247; stops Tántiá Topí's advance on Udaipúr (12 Dec '58), v. 248; occupies Partábgarh (25 Dec '58), v. 249; too weak to stop Tántiá Topí, v. 249.
- Rolland, Major, commands Sipáhís at Kolhápúr, v. 25.
- Rolleston, Capt., takes command of Mess-House, Lakhnao (18 Nov), iv. 143.
- Rohillas, their massacre, i. 82; their obstinate defence of Gorariá (25 Nov), v. 55.
- Rohilkhand, a division of the North-West Provinces, vi. 103; description of, iv. *xviii*; description of Tarai of, iv. 360*n.*; rebellion breaks out in (May), iii. 206.
- Khán Bahádúr Khán, proclaimed Viceroy of (31 May), iii. 212; passes completely under Khán Bahádúr Khán's rule, iii. 223; fearfully disorganized condition of, under that would-be ruler, iii. 223; the peasantry wish for the return of the English, iii. 224; progress of rebellion in, during June, iii. 198; effect of news of rising at, on Gwálíár, iii. 113; mutineers from, attack Dehlí Ridge (4 July), ii. 425; strength of mutineers reaching Dehlí from, ii. 425*n.*
- Sir Colin Campbell's plan for the attack of, iv. 349; placed under military command of Brig. Walpole (10 May '58), iv. 376; Gen. Hope Grant's movements in, iv. 347; Brig. Seaton prevents irruption from, near Fathgarh, iv. 350; Gen. Penny's column in, iv. 351; Gen. Walpole's disastrous march through, iv. 352; Brig. Coke's skilful operations in, iv. 358; the Maulavi's clever tactics displayed in, iv. 347; the Maulavi driven from (24 May '58), iv. 378; disturbed state of the border during July and Aug. '58, v. 191.

- Rohní, Major Macdonald commands at, iii. 24; attempt to assassinate Cavalry officers at (12 June), iii. 24; the murderers are seized and hanged in face of the Regiment, iii. 25; mutiny at, postponed, in consequence of Major Macdonald's courage, iii. 25; Major Macdonald's description of the hanging scene at, iii. 25n.
- Rohri, a district of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Rohtak, a district of Dehlí division, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 140; 60th Sipáhí Regiment rebels at (June), ii. 441; tranquillized by Van Cortlandt (Sept), iv. 75; Játs sent from, to join Meade's Horse (Jan '58), v. 218.
- Rondu, place on the Upper Indus, v. 2.
- Roome, Lieut., drives in the extreme left of rebels at Gwálíár (19 June '58), v. 157.
- Roper, Lieut., killed in storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
- Roro, a river of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. xii.
- Rose, Capt., goes to Udaipúr to ask help for fugitives, iii. 169.
- Rose, Lieut., greatly distinguishes himself at attack on Gwálíár (16 June '58), v. 152; induces Lieut. Waller to join in his attempt to capture Gwálíár fort (20 June '58), v. 159; captures the fort of Gwálíár, but is killed, v. 160; opinions of Sir Hugh Rose, and Brig. Stuart, of his gallant conduct, v. 160n.
- Rose, Mr. John, of Satárah, Lord Elphinstone's great confidence in him, v. 300.
- Rose, Maj.-Gen. Sir Hugh, K.C.B., arrives at Indúr (16 Dec), v. 92; his high character, and previous services, v. 92; his boldness and prudence in Turkey (1853), v. 92; his bravery in the Crimea (1854), v. 93.
- Appointed to command Málwá force (Sept), v. 93; takes com-
- Rose, Maj.-Gen.—*cont.*
mand of Central India Field Force (17 Dec), v. 94; starts from Máu (6 Jan '58), v. 95; arrives at Sihor (8 Jan '58), v. 95; attacks Ráhatgarh (24 Jan '58), v. 95; captures Ráhatgarh town, and drives rebels into fort (25 Jan '58), v. 96; effects breach in Ráhatgarh fort (28 Jan '58), v. 97; defeats attempt to relieve that place, v. 97; the rebels evacuate Ráhatgarh, v. 97; they are chased to the banks of the Biná, v. 98; Sir Hugh attacks their strong position at Barodiá, v. 98; and drives Rájah of Bánpúr and the Ráhatgarh fugitives from Barodiá (30 Jan '58), v. 98.
- He relieves Ságár (3 Feb '58), v. 99; destroys Sanoda fort (8 Feb '58), v. 99; invests Garhákótá (11 Feb '58), v. 99; drives rebels from Basári, v. 100; captures Garhákótá (12 Feb '58), v. 100; destroys western face of Garhákótá (14 Feb '58), v. 100; returns to Ságár, refits his army (Feb. '58), v. 101.
- Again moves forward from Ságár (26 Feb '58), v. 101; captures fort of Barodiá (27 Feb '58), v. 101; avoids the strong pass of Málthon (3 Mar '58), v. 102; stoutly resisted, but forces Madanpúr pass, v. 102; drives rebels from Madanpúr town into jungle (3 Mar '58), v. 103; important results of capture of Madanpúr, v. 103.
- Marches on Jhánsí (19 Mar '58), v. 106; he is ordered to march away from Jhánsí (20 Mar '58), v. 107; authorized to disobey the order of Government by Sir R. Hamilton, v. 108; he arrives before Jhánsí, v. 106; finds the neighbourhood stripped of resources by the clever Rání, v. 110; he completely invests the place, v. 110; begins the siege (22

Rose, Maj.-Gen.—*cont.*

Mar '58), v. 110; effects a breach (29 Mar '58), v. 111; Tántiá Topí advances to relieve Jhánsí, v. 111; Sir Hugh attacks him while still pressing the siege, v. 112; completely defeats Tántiá Topí, v. 113; captures every gun from that leader (1 Apr '58), v. 114; storms Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115; arrangements for the storming, v. 115; desperate resistance to the right attack, v. 116; heavy loss in scaling the wall, v. 117; capture of the wall and streets, v. 117; fearful struggle at the Ráni's palace, v. 118; great slaughter of rebels in and near the town, v. 118; complete capture of the place (5 Apr '58), v. 119; the British loss in effecting this capture, v. 119; he leaves Col. Liddell in command there (22 Apr '58), v. 120.

Captures Lohári fort (5 May '58), v. 121; pursues Tántiá Topí to the strong position of Kúnch, v. 121; disconcerts rebels at Kúnch by a flank march (6 May '58), v. 122; drives Tántiá Topí from Kúnch, v. 123; hurries from Kúnch to Gúláulí (15 May '58), v. 125; effects a junction with Col. Maxwell, v. 125; plan of Sipáhís to drive him from Kálpi, v. 127; repulses Sipáhí attack, and captures Kálpi (22 May '58), v. 129; sends columns in pursuit of rebels from thence (24 May '58), v. 148.

Triumphantly completes the plan of Sir Robert Hamilton, v. 130; clears the way for Gen. Whitlock to reap the reward, v. 137; not permitted to share in the prize-money resulting from his campaign, v. 141; resigns command through ill-health (3 June '58), v. 149; sends Gen. Stuart to drive Tántiá Topí from Gwáliár, v. 149.

Hears of capture of Gwáliár,

Rose, Maj.-Gen.—*cont.*

and resumes command of army (4 June '58), v. 149; reprimanded by Sir Colin Campbell for violating etiquette by resuming command unbidden, v. 150n; overtakes Brig. Stuart at Indúrkí (12 June '58), v. 151; he is joined by Brig.-Gen. R. Napier (16 June '58), v. 151; reaches Bahádurpúr, v. 151; arrives at Gwáliár (16 June '58), v. 151; attacks the Morár Cantonment and drives rebels into the town, v. 152; desperate fight at nullah outside the town, v. 152; the fight at Kotah-kí-Sarai (17 June '58), v. 154; death of the heroic Ráni of Jhánsí, v. 154; receives reinforcements and marches to unite with Brig. Smith (18 June '58), v. 156; captures town of Gwáliár (19 June '58), v. 158; the fort captured by sudden daring of Lieut. Rose, v. 160; his commendation of Lieut. Rose for this deed, v. 160n.

Leaves the command of Central India Army to Brig. Napier (29 June '58), v. 221; his farewell order to the Central India Field Force, v. 162n; takes command of Bombay Army (20 June '58), v. 162; covers Khándesh from Tántiá Topí (Nov '58), v. 241.

Recapitulation of his victories in Central India, v. 162; the secret of his great success, v. 131. Ross, Mr., driven from Balandshahr by Sipáhís (21 May), vi. 135; returns to Balandshahr (25 May), vi. 135.

Ross, Mr. A., Magistrate and Collector of Gházípúr, vi. 60; takes the lead at Gházípúr, vi. 60; his character, and Mr. F. Gubbins' commendation of him vi. 60; appoints a few Native constables to accompany Mr. Venables back to A'zamgarh, vi. 64; sends treasure by steamer to Banáras (10 June), vi. 61; proclaims martial law (10

- Ross, Mr. A.—*cont.*
June), vi. 61; secures the tranquillity of Gházípúr (Aug '57-Mar '58), vi. 62.
- Ross, Mr. Hercules, assists in permanently tranquillizing A'zamgarh, vi. 68.
- Rosser, Capt., offers to pursue Mírath mutineers, but is not authorized to do so, ii. 50 and *n.*
- Rothney, Capt., with second column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Rotton, Mr., his account of death of Capt. Knox (12 June), ii. 409*n.*
- Rotton, Rev. Mr., warned of coming Mutiny at Mírath (10 May), ii. 41; accuses mutineers of poisoning water for English troops (31 May), ii. 139.
- Routine, its disastrous effects in troublous times, i. 374; destroys effect of punishment at Barrack-púr, i. 403*n.*; its paralyzing effect on relief of Dehlí, ii. 110.
- Rowcroft, Col., formation of his column in Bihár (Nov), iv. 312; sent with troops from Tírhút to Gorákhpúr, iv. 225; his camp at Mirwá (Dee), iv. 225; drives rebels from Sobanpúr (26 Dee), iv. 226; ordered to march to Burhat Ghát, on the Ghághrá (28 Dec), iv. 226; proceeds in boats towards Gorákhpúr, iv. 227; he is joined by a body of Gurkhás (20 Feb '58), iv. 227; drives the rebels from Phúlpúr, iv. 227; forms bridge of boats for Nipálese troops, iv. 227; left in command of Gorákhpúr, iv. 227; defeats rebels at that place, iv. 316.
 Occupies ground near A'mórha (4 Mar '58), iv. 316; is attacked by rebels, iv. 316; defeats rebels and drives them back to their intrenchment at Belwá (5 Mar '58), iv. 317; defeats rebels again near A'mórha (17 and 25 Apr '58), iv. 317; falls back from A'mórha on Captainganj, v. 196; defeats Muhammad Husén at Harhá (18 June '58), v. 196; occupies Hír in Gorákhpúr (July '58), v. 197; marches from Hír against Tulsípúr (16 Dec '58), v. 204; defeats rebels at Tulsípúr, v. 204.
- Rowcroft, Major, discovers conspiracy at Patná (1845), i. 222; crushes plot at Patná (1845), i. 225; attempt to poison, after suppression of Patná plot, i. 226*n.*
- Rubhu Lál, witnesses Tántiá Topí's deposition, v. 311.
- Ruiyá, a small mud-fort, occupied by Nirpat Singh, iv. 353; the Chief intends to evacuate, after a show of resistance, iv. 354; the place is foolishly attacked by Brig. Walpole (15 Apr '58), iv. 354; the Chief perceives Gen. Walpole's blundering, and makes a determined resistance, iv. 354; Gen. Walpole's attack on, repulsed, iv. 355; Col. Adrian Hope killed during attack, iv. 356; upwards of a hundred men and many officers uselessly sacrificed in this miserable blunder, iv. 357; Nirpat Singh marches out at night, having vindicated his honour, iv. 356.
- Rupell, Mr. K. II.. Judge of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.
- Rúp Singh, escapes from Gwálíár (Jan '58), v. 214; occupies Ajítmal (July '58), v. 215; defeated, but collects fresh followers, v. 215; seizes Barhí and levies exactions (Aug '58), v. 215; driven from Barhí by Lieut. Forbes, v. 215; reappears on the Kuári (Oct '58), v. 216; finally defeated by Capt. Allan at Kuári (Oct '58), v. 216.
- Rúrkí, its situation, ii. *xviii*: dangerous insecurity of Saháranpúr near, iii. 199; column starts from, to attack Rohilkhand (Apr '58), iv. 349; Sappers and Miners from, start for Mírath (14 May), ii. 131; measures for the defence

Rúrkí—*cont.*

of (16 May), ii. 132 ; Sappers from, mutiny at Mírath (15 May), ii. 134 ; Sappers from, try to establish themselves at Bijnaur (20 May), vi. 104 ; and proceed to Murádábád (21 May), vi. 105 ; stripped of their plunder at Murádábád by other Sipáhís, vi. 105n ; Major Baird Smith fortifies (June), vi. 121 ; Mr. Shakespear and party arrive at, from Bijnaur (11 June), vi. 109 ; small force sent from, to stop Bijnaur raiders (8 Jan '58), vi. 112.

Russell, Brig., commands fifth Infantry brigade at Lakhnao, iv. 122 ; attacks Hospital in front of British left (18 Nov), iv. 148 ; wounded in the course of this attack, iv. 149.

Russell, Capt., Engineer with party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.

Russell, Capt. C. W., killed at battle of Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 146n.

Russell, Dr., his description of the plunder of the Kaisarbágh, iv. 275 ; his description of the feeling at Lakhnao caused by the Oudh proclamation, iv. 286.

Russell, Lieut., of the Artillery, prepares to blow up Fort of Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 192.

Russell, Lieut., with Cavalry, chases enemy from field at Gangarí (Dec), iv. 203.

Russell, Lord John, becomes Foreign Secretary, i. 273n ; becomes Prime Minister, i. 271.

Russell, William, his account of Renaud's march to relieve Kánhpúr, ii. 215n.

Russelpúr, near Alláhábád, cleared of insurgents by Col. Neill (18 June), ii. 201.

Russia, strange stories circulated concerning, during Crimean War, i. 251 ; Persia coquettes with

Russia—*cont.*

(1854), i. 302 ; charged by the Afghans with instigating the seizure of Herat, i. 328n ; Indians ascribe a desire to attack Hindustan to, v. 342 ; extravagant rumours as to speedy coming of Russians to India (Apr), ii. 26.

Rústam Sáh, saves the lives of five English officers, iii. 272 and n.

S.

Saadat A'li, rules Oudh (1800), i. 83 ; character of his administration there, i. 85.

Saadat Alí II., builds the Bágsháh Manzil, Lakhnao, iv. xvi ; builds part of Motí Mahall, in that town, iv. xvii.

Saadat Khán, incites Holkar's troops to mutiny, iii. 144 ; the question of his position and influence at Indúr, iii. 144n ; wounded by Col. Travers (1 July), iii. 146 ; tells Holkar himself that he is attacking the Residency, iii. 152 ; his imprisonment and release, iii. 153 ; occupies Residency with his family (3 July), iii. 153.

Sabáthú, Gen. Anson orders troops from, to Ambálah (13 May), ii. 104.

Sabí, a river of Jaipúr, vi. 158.

Sabzimandi, suburb near Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 144, 390 ; desperate attack on Dehlí Ridge from (23 June), ii. 417 ; attacked by Gen. Chamberlain (9 July), ii. 438 ; last attack from, on Dehlí Ridge (18 July), ii. 446.

Sadá-Shéo Pant, Dádá, grandson of Bái Ráo, i. 73*n*.
 Sadiá, most easterly point of Lower Provinces, vi. 2.
 Sádi k Khán, his buildings at Dhol-púr, iii. xi.
 Sadik Khán, the mysterious Persian agent in Dehlí, v. 344.
 Saduzai Family, at Lodiáná, contribute to disorder there (9 June), ii. 380
 Ságár, situation and description of, iii. xiii, v. xi; station for Native troops, iii. 136; its garrison, v. 65; Brig. Sage commands at, v. 65; superstition there, about *chaptás*, i. 420*n*; effect on Indúr of state of troops at, iii. 141.
 Brig. Sage sends doubtful Sipáhís against rebel Rájah (June), v. 65; the Sipáhís resolve to retain the fort and treasury (12 June), v. 66; the detachment sent from, is halted at Málthon, for reinforcements (16 June), v. 67; the detachment from, openly transfers itself to service of Rájah of Bánpúr, v. 67; commotion and threatened mutiny in the town (18 June), v. 67; Brig. Sage transfers treasure to fort (27 June), v. 67; he also gains possession of the fort (30 June), v. 68.
 The anticipated mutiny breaks out (1 July), v. 68; the 31st N.I. remains loyal, v. 68; fight between loyal and disloyal Sipáhís (7 July), v. 68; fort fully provisioned and armed (July), v. 69; the surrounding country passes into rebel hands, v. 70; Rájah of Bánpúr entrenches himself near (Sept), v. 72; Col. Dalyell attempts to drive away Rájah of Bánpúr, but is himself killed (15 Sept), v. 72; the fort is beleaguered for eight months (June-Jan '58), v. 98; relieved by Sir Hugh Rose (3 Feb '58), v. 99; entered by Gen. Whitlock, who increases its safety (5 Mar '58), v. 134.

Ságár and Narbadá territories, description of, v. 60; historical sketch of, v. 60; united to North-West Provinces, v. 61; Mr. Colvin proposes violent changes in the administration of, v. 61; Capt. Ternan induces him to abstain from irritation, v. 61; restored to order by Lord Ellenborough, v. 60.
 Sage, Brig., commands at Ságár, v. 65; sends a detachment of doubtful Sipáhís against a rebel Rájah (June), v. 65; sends more Sipáhís to reinforce detachment (19 June), v. 67; transfers treasure to fort of Ságár (27 June), v. 67; gains possession of Ságár fort (30 June), v. 68; receives adhesion of many loyal Sipáhís (7 July), v. 69; fully provisions and arms Ságár fort, and drills volunteers, v. 69; holds the fort against leaguer of the rebels, for eight months, v. 98.
 Sago's House, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 297; mine exploded, and assault delivered there (10 Aug), iii. 307.
 Sahar, village visited by Mr. Thornhill during his dangerous ride to A'gra, vi. 94.
 Saháranpiúr, a district of Mírath division, iii. xiii, vi. 38; description of district, vi. 120; population, iii. 198; garrison, and European population, iii. 199; its important position, and dangerously defenceless condition, iii. 199; dangerous state of fort of, on outbreak of mutiny, iii. 199.
 Mr. Spankie resolves to hold station, but to send away women and children (May), iii. 200; Mr. Robertson, with assistance of landholders, disperses threatening villagers, iii. 200; its disturbed condition (June), vi. 118; partial mutiny at (3 June), iii. 201; second partial mutiny at (11 July), iii. 201; Native Cavalry sent to, from Dehlí Ridge (11 July), ii.

- Saháranpúr—*cont.*
 434*n*; authority preserved in, till the end, iii. 200.
- Saháwar, occupied by Brig. Seaton (16 Dec), iv. 203.
- Sáhibí, a river of Rohtak, vi. 140.
- Sáh Mall, Zamíndár of Bájrúl, plunders district round Dehlí (July), vi. 129; his attempted attack on Déolah, vi. 129; evacuates Basáud on approach of Mr. Dunlop's force, vi. 130; almost captures Mr. Dunlop, vi. 131; he is defeated and slain at Barot, vi. 131; his death materially affects tranquillization of district near Dehlí, vi. 131.
- Sahson, town near which Rúp Singh was finally defeated (Oct '58), v. 216.
- Sái, river near Sultánpúr, v. 190; intercepting road to Lakhnao, iii. 339; Gen. Havelock crosses with his troops (22 Sept), iii. 357.
- St. George, Capt., of the Fusiliers, killed near Chákár Kothí (9 Mar '58), iv. 262.
- St. George, Lieut., B.A., commands guns during attack on 'Bijnaur raiders (9 Jan '58), vi. 112.
- Saidábád, toll-house on road to, plundered, ii. 199*n*.
- Saidarábád, near Alláhábád, cleared of insurgents by Col. Neill (18 June), ii. 201.
- Saiad Mír Khán Sáhib, an Afghan, his faithfulness and bravery at Mírath, ii. 52*n*, 496.
- Sai'ud Muhammad, ruler of Herat, sinks under Persian influence, i. 301; killed at Herat insurrection (1855), i. 303.
- Sai'ud Muhamámad, son of the last-named, i. 327.
- Saifúlla Khán, commands Karaulí matchlockmen at A'gra, iii. 177; places his levies four miles to west of A'gra (2 July), iii. 177; ordered to occupy magazine with his men (4 July), iii. 178; reports disaffection of his troops, iii. 178;
- Saifúlla Khán—*cont.*
 ordered to return to Karaulí (5 July), iii. 179.
- Sálar Jang, Minister of the Nizám, his character and opinions, v. 81; his wisdom and fortitude, v. 89; holds firmly to the English alliance, ii. 311; stops attempted rising at Haidarábád (June), v. 82; warns Maj. Davidson of intended rising (16 July), v. 82; firmly suppresses the insurrection, v. 82; his firmness checks all seditious aspirations, v. 83; his great difficulty in preserving order, v. 84; complete success of his policy, v. 85.
- Salder, Mr., murdered at Kotá (15 Oct), iv. 398.
- Sale, Capt., driven from Lálítpúr by mutineers (13 June), v. 66*n*.
- Sale, Lady, her account of Vincent Eyre's heroic devotion, iii. 61*n*.
- Salia Dahár, scene of final crush of Amar Singh's force (24 Nov '58), iv. 345.
- Salkeld, Lieut., with third column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; chosen to blow in Kashmír Gate, iv. 22; wounded while accomplishing that object (14 Sept), iv. 25; dies of the wound he received, iv. 26*n*, 38.
- Salmon, Lieut., sent with Gwáliár troops to pacify A'lígarh district, iii. 196; dismissed by his mutinous men at Háthras (3 July), iii. 197.
- Salmon, Lieut., R.N., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n*.
- Salomar, Tántiá Topí marches on (10 Dec '58), v. 309.
- Salóní, its situation and garrison, iii. 273; Capt. L. Barrow, Deputy Commissioner of, iii. 273; mutiny at (10 June), iii. 273; officers escape from station to the noble-hearted Rájah Hanmant Singh, of Kálá Kankar, iii. 273; he conducts them in safety to Alláhábád, iii. 273.

- Salúmba, seized by Tántiá Topí, and requisitioned (12 Dec '58), v. 248.
- Salisbury, Capt., offers to cross Gúmtí into rebel works (9 Mar '58), iv. 263; greatly distinguishes himself at capture of great Imámbahar (16 Mar '58), iv. 280.
- Sambalpúr, conferred on descendants of ancient rulers by the British, i. 70; continued to Native Rájahs till death of Narain Singh, i. 70; annexed in 1849, i. 70; Capt. Leigh chief civil authority in, iv. 306; mutinous disposition shows itself (Sept), iv. 306; two detachments of troops are brought from Katak, iv. 307; Shergatí pass stormed and captured, iv. 307; the murder of Dr. Moore, iv. 307; fresh troops are called for, and local levies are sent from Orísá, iv. 308; disorder combatted with energy (Oct), iv. 307; fever prevails in the district (Dec), iv. 307; Capt. Wood arrives with fresh troops (29 Dec), iv. 308; insurrectionists defeated, and several leaders captured or slain (30 Dec), iv. 308; leader of the revolt escapes capture, iv. 308.
- Sambhú Singh, succeeds to the throne of Udaipúr, vi. 156.
- Sámi' House, on Dehlí Ridge, construction of battery at (6 Sept), iv. 8.
- Samptar, a state of Central India, no disturbance in, vi. 167.
- Samuellis, Mr., succeeds Mr. Tayler as Commissioner in Western Bihár, iv. 311; he flatters the conspirators whom Mr. W. Tayler kept from mischief, iii. 37; unpatriotic conduct, iv. 310.
- Samwell, Lieut., killed in gallant charge at Ráwal (12 Nov), v. 52.
- Sánand Khán, leader of rebel forces in Jaipúr, iv. 77; his military incompetence gives the position of Nárnúl to the English, iv. 78; seeks to re-occupy his abandoned position, iv. 79; his complete defeat, iv. 81.
- Sandéla, village not far from Lakhnao, iii. 249; dangerous Sipáhís marched to, from Lakhnao, iii. 249; the Chaudhári of, defeated with loss of his camp (11 Mar '58), iv. 266; captured by Mr. Kavanagh and Capt. Dawson (30 July '58), v. 198; Harichand advances to recapture (3 Oct '58), v. 199; Major Maynard advances to, and drives off Harichand (6 Oct '58), v. 199.
- Sanders, Capt., commands at the Financial Garrison, Lakhnao, iii. 297; mutineers make a sudden rush on his post, but are repulsed (10 Aug), iii. 307.
- Sanders, Mr., his evidence as to revenues of King of Dehlí, ii. 9*n.*
- Sandford, Capt., commands Guides in Rewári expedition (Oct), iv. 76.
- Sandford, Major, killed near Bádhsháhbág (10 Mar '58), iv. 265.
- Sánganír, Tántiá Topí is defeated near (7 Aug '58), v. 224.
- Sánglí, state in Southern Marathá country, v. 14; its description, v. xi.
- Sangrámpúr, Madras column occupies (25 Sept), v. 71.
- Sankhula, place at which Chitrágáo mutineers were stopped (2 Dec), iv. 294.
- Sanoda, small fort destroyed by Sir Hugh Rose (8 Feb '58), v. 99.
- Sánsí, mutiny at (2 July), iii. 197; English officers bravely ride with their mutinous troops to Háthras, iii. 197; officers at last compelled to leave their troops, iii. 197.
- Santáliá, district of Bhágalpúr, iv. 91.
- Santál insurrection, Gen. Lloyd selected to suppress (1853), iii. 26.
- Santál Pargannahs, a district of Bhágalpúr, iv. xiii, vi. 3, 34.
- Santáls, their method of shooting burning arrows, i. 365.

- Santípúr, a station of Nadiá, vi. 26.
- Saokars of Lakhnao, join Náná Sáhib's plot after annexation of Oudh, i. 425n.
- Sapte, Mr. Brande, Magistrate of Bulandshahr, attempts to carry treasure to Mírath (21 May), vi. 135; attacked by Gujars and compelled to fly, vi. 134; returns to Bulandshahr and restores authority (25 May), vi. 135; moves to Biláspúr and relieves Mr. Skinner (25 May), vi. 135; his brush with the rebels at Galautí (28 May), vi. 136; compelled again to take refuge in Mírath (30 May), vi. 136.
- Becomes District Officer of Mírath (Apr '58), vi. 137; tries to release a Christian girl, who will not be released (June), vi. 136; joins the Volunteer Horse, vi. 136; made Companion of the Bath, vi. 137.
- Sarai Ghát, bathing-place on the Ganges, 21 miles from Kánpúr, iv. 161.
- Sáran, a district of Patná division, iii. 26, vi. 3; prison disturbances at, in 1845, i. 144; abandoned by European officials, iii. 70.
- Saraswati, a river disappearing in sands at Sirhind, vi. 69.
- Saráun, near Alláhábád, occupied by rebels (Dec), iv. 229; occupied by Gen. Franks (Jan '58), iv. 231.
- Sarayan, a rivulet near Sítápúr, iii. 255.
- Sarázan River, situation of, iii. xii.
- Sardá, river west of Bahráich, iii. 261.
- Sárgú, river of Gházípúr district, iv. xv.
- Sargujá, small state of Chutiá Nág-púr, vi. 45.
- Sarmathurá, spot at which Tántiá Topí stopped his advance on Bharatpúr (22 June '58), v. 221.
- Sarpúr, Firúzsháh's army scattered there, by Capt. Rice (22 Dec '58), v. 254.
- Sarsána, village from which Lord Mark Kerr relieved A'zamgarh (5 Apr '58), iv. 322.
- Sarúndá, a Tributary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.
- Sariúp Singh, Maháráná of Udaipúr, vi. 155; at variance with his subjects, iii. 173; his firm loyalty to the English, iii. 374; his active assistance, vi. 156; places his entire army at disposal of the British, vi. 156; shows great kindness to Nímach fugitives, vi. 156; succeeded by his son Sambhu Singh (1861), vi. 156.
- Sásaram, place to which Kúnwar Singh first retreated (12 Aug), iii. 86; Lieut. Stanton protects (Oct), iv. 312; troops sent from, to relieve Pálámáu (27 Nov), iv. 305; Col. Corfield fights his way from, to Jagdíspúr (5 May '58), iv. 336.
- Sassiah, near A'gra, battle of (5 July), iii. 181; Brig. Polwhele's fatal mistake at, iii. 182; weakness of English Artillery fire, iii. 182; the Artillery officers urge a general advance, iii. 182; the General waits till every shot has been fired away, iii. 182; Capt. Prendergast's brave charge with 18 Volunteer horsemen, iii. 183; the Infantry advance and capture the village, iii. 183; retreat compulsory for lack of ammunition, iii. 184; defeat of Brig. Polwhele by over-caution, iii. 184.
- Satárah, its situation, v. xii; its limited extent, i. 62; dependency of the Peshwá, i. 71; annexed by "right of lapse," (1849), i. 51; Sir George Clerk objects to annexation of, i. 52; Col. John Low dissents from annexation, i. 58; nobles and people object to annexation, i. 58n.
- Satárah, Rájah of, injured by Lord Dalhousie, i. 424; supposed to be in league with Náná Sáhib, ii. 310.

- Satí Chaorá Ghát, scene of the massacre of Kánhpúr garrison, ii. 254, v. 265n.
- Sátkhírá, a subdivision of 24 Par-ganahs, vi. 25.
- Satlaj, river of the Panjáb, iv. xvii; invasion from beyond, i. 94; Sikhs cross, to attack Hindustan (1845), i. 222.
- Satwarpúr, Amar Singh driven into (9 May '58), iv. 337.
- Saunders, Charles, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39.
- Saunders, Mr., destroys Government paper at Murádábád (2 June), iii. 221; saves Native treasurer from the mutineers, iii. 222.
- Saunders, Mr., his evidence as to the status of the King of Dehlí, v. 323.
- Saunders, Mr. Pat., brave volunteer horseman of A lígarh, vi. 138; joins in stubborn retention of factory near A lígarh (June), iii. 198n.
- Saváda Kotí, the quarters of Náná Sáhib during siege of Kánhpúr, ii. 253.
- Sávanúr, state in Southern Maráthá country, v. xii, 14.
- Saven, a river of Bhopál, v. xii.
- Saviell, Mr., murdered at Kotá (15 Oct), iv. 398.
- Sawád, mutineers from Hoti-Mardán fly to (25 May), ii. 364.
- Sawád, the Akhúnd of, has knowledge of intended outbreak in India (1856), ii. 373n; in communication with disloyal Sipáhís (May), ii. 373.
- Sáwan Mall, shot at Múltán (Sept 1844), i. 13.
- Sáwant, rebels from, give much trouble along Goa frontier (1858), v. 172; they are ultimately driven to surrender to the Portuguese (20 Nov '58), v. 172.
- Sáwantwári, Native state of Bombay Presidency, v. 1; the deposed princes generously assist the British, vi. 168.
- Scamp, Midshipman, his good service in Dánápúr, vi. 172.
- Schalch, Mr. P. H., Collector in Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Schilling, Mr., commands the Thag gaol post at Lakhnao, iii. 298.
- Schneider, Capt., commands local corps at Kolhápúr, v. 25.
- Schwabbe, Rev. Mr., driven mad, by heat and exertion, v. 131n.
- Scott, Capt., accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63n.
- Scott, Capt., enters Náogáon, and re-asserts British authority for a few hours (12 June), iii. 129.
- Scott, Major, Artillery officer, heroically fights mutineers at Dehlí with Artillery only (18 June), ii. 414n; assists in attack on Sabzimandi (9 July), ii. 438; nearly killed by a shell on Dehlí Ridge, ii. 449n; commands No. 3 battery at the siege, iv. 16; leads his field battery into Dehlí after stormers (14 Sept), iv. 36.
- Scott, Mr., escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123; murdered at Jhánsí (7 June), iii. 124.
- Scott, Sergeant, bravely remains at Mainpúr during mutiny, iii. 104.
- Scott, Surgeon, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.
- Scratchley, Lieut., blows up house at Itáwah, held by fanatics (29 Dec), iv. 201.
- Scudamore, Major, conducts feigned attack on Málthon pass (3 Mar '58), v. 102; leads a small column to hem in Tántiá Topí (Jan '59), v. 255n.
- Scully, Conductor, fires the train, and blows up Dehlí Magazine, ii. 68; killed in explosion of the Magazine (11 May), ii. 68.
- Scully, Mrs., her visit to Dehlí Royal Family in April, ii. 25n.
- Seaton, Col., killed at Dehlí (23 July), ii. 447.
- Seaton, Lieut.-Col. Thomas, C.B., his Sipáhís rebel at Rohtak (June), ii. 411; takes command of Rewári

- Seaton, Lieut.-Col.—*cont.*
 expedition and leads it to Dehlí, iv. 83; composition of his force, iv. 201; leads his force from Dehlí (6 Dec), iv. 201; marches to relieve Alígarh, iv. 201; attacked by rebels near Gangarí, iv. 202; defeats rebels at Kásganj, iv. 202; occupies Saháwar (16 Dec), iv. 203; fights his way into Patiálí (17 Dec) iv. 204; conducts his convoy to I'tah (24 Dec), iv. 206; attacks and defeats Rájah of Mainpurí (27 Dec), iv. 206; ordered to await the junction of Col. Walpole at Mainpurí, iv. 200; placid in command of Fathgarh (Jan '58), iv. 218.
 Passes under command of Col. Walpole (3 Jan '58), iv. 209; threatened by rebels from Rám-gangá (Jan-Mar '58), iv. 350; joined by Col. Walpole's force (3 Feb '58), iv. 201; he is left with his few men at Fathgarh (23 Feb '58), iv. 220; attacks and defeats rebels at Kankar (7 Apr '58), iv. 351.
 Appointed to command of Sháh-jahánpur (25 May '58), iv. 378; defeats rebels near Sháhjahánpur (8 Oct '58), v. 200.
 His opinion of Capt. Hodson, iv. 207.
 Sebastopol, i. 302.
 Sehwán, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.
 Selimgarh, Pathán Fort at Dehlí, ii. 393; its gallant capture by Lieut. Aikman (20 Sept), iv. 47.
 Seoráj Singh, his gallantry at Lakhnao, iv. 111n; severely wounded at Lakhnao (20 June), iv. 111n.
 Serampore, *sée* Srirámpúr.
 Seringapatam, i. 155n.
 Serwá, the pass at which the rebels lost their last guns and became powerless (May '59), v. 206.
 Seths, the rich bankers of Mathurá, their hearty loyalty, vi. 96; provide every means for escape of Mr. Thornhill and others (July), vi.
 Seths—*cont.*
 99; defeat attempt to murder Mr. Thornhill and Mr. Joyce, vi. 102n.
 Seton, Mr., his deference to the Royal Family at Dehlí (1806), ii. 5.
 Seton-Karr, Mr. George Berkeley, Collector and Magistrate of Belgáón, his character, v. 14; Lord Elphinstone's great confidence in him, v. 300; his efforts to tranquillize Maráthá country (1856), v. 17; his opinion of resumption policy, applied to Maráthá country, i. 128n.
 He improves defences of Belgáón (May), v. 18; arrests a seditious emissary at Belgáón (June), v. 19; asks for and obtains enlarged powers (July), v. 21; skilfully prevents outbreak in Belgáón, v. 21; sends the disaffected Tákur Singh to Badámí (2 Aug), v. 22; has a conspirator blown from a gun (13 Aug), v. 22; begins to disarm his district (24 Aug), v. 23; gradually disarms people of Belgáón (Apr '58), v. 166.
 Applies for assistance, and is relieved of political functions (Apr '58), v. 164; his removal from political charge, causes the rebellion of the Chief of Nárgúnd (27 May '58), v. 167; greatly commended by Lord Elphinstone and the Indian Government, v. 24n; dies unrewarded, v. 24n.
 "Settlement," its theory and practice, i. 113.
 Sewell, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
 Seymour, H. D., his account of military executions at Alláhábád (June), ii. 203n.
 Seymour, Major, greatly distinguishes himself at Paní (7 Oct '58), v. 200.
 Shabkhadr, Sipáhís at, disarmed (8 June), ii. 374.
 Shádatganj, strong post at Lakhnao, which the Maulaví obstinately defends (21 Mar '58), iv. 286.

- Shankah Sháh—*cont.*
 sons, blown from guns at Jabalpúr (18 Sept), v. 70.
- Sharf-úddaulah, ordered by Náná Sáhib to supply mutineers at Lakhnao (7 July), ii. 502; capture of (17 Mar '58), iv. 282.
- Shawe, Mr. A. G., Judge of Dhákah, vi. 28.
- Shekhopúr, Dhulip Singh's mother banished to, i. 10.
- Shekh Paltí, seizes the mutinous Mangal Pándí, i. 396.
- Shéo Charn Dás, his evidence as to the Kánpúr rising, ii. 232n.
- Sheo Ghulám, Rájah Dubé, watches English interests after the outbreak, at Jaunpúr, vi. 51.
- Sheolí, village near Kánpúr, iv. 161.
- Sheopur Ghát, Kuñwar Singh crosses the Ganges at (20 Apr '58), iv. 334.
- Sheorájpúr, village near Kánpúr, iv. 161; mutineers at, ask Náná Sáhib to head them (July), v. 306; Tántiá Topí loses 15 guns to Brig. Hope Grant near (8 Dec), iv. 195; Tántiá Topí's defeat at (9 Dec), v. 306.
- Shéo Ráo Bháo, Maráthá ruler at Jhánsí, i. 64.
- Shéo Singh, Maháráo of Sirohí, vi. 163; his friendly disposition, and its reward, vi. 163.
- Shepherd, Lieut., killed at Lakhnao, iii. 326, 384.
- Shepherd, Mr., objects to the annexation of Satárah, i. 54.
- Shér, regiment of Nipalese so named, their action at Mándurí (19 Sept), iv. 222.
- Sherer, Lieut.-Col. G. M., commands Native Infantry at Jalpaiguri, iii. 91; detects treason among his Sipáhís (July), iii. 92; arrests and condemns four Sipáhís, iii. 92; ordered to dismiss four Sipáhís, blows them from guns (1 Aug), iii. 92, iv. 300; effect of blowing mutineers from guns, vi. 28; strengthened by troops from Darjiling (Dec), iv. 300; carries Jalpaiguri through the Mutiny, vi. 27; isolated condition of his district preserves tranquillity, vi. 27; created K.C.S.I., iii. 93n.
- Sherer, Lieut., drives Chitrágáoñ mutineers from Látú (18 Dec), iv. 296.
- Sherer, Mr., Magistrate of Fathpúr, vi. 76; gives account of massacre of Mr. Tucker, ii. 276; his description of the flight from Fathpúr (9 June), ii. 275n; quits Fathpúr (9 June), vi. 76; reaches Bandah, and thence proceeds to Alláhbád, vi. 76.
- Accompanies Havelock on his march to Kánpúr, ii. 277; his account of the desolation on the march from Alláhbád (July), ii. 277; his account of Náná Sáhib's flight from Bithúr, ii. 293n; his account of garrison at Kánpúr, ii. 218; his account of massacre at Kánpúr, ii. 281n; number of those who fell in defence of Kánpúr, ii. 268n; proclaims the restoration of law at Kánpúr (18 July), ii. 294.
- Chief civil officer at Kánpúr (Aug), iii. 348; attempts to resume magisterial functions in the town, vi. 76; his able service in restoring order at Kánpúr, vi. 78.
- Shergarh, a town of Mathurá, vi. 85.
- Shergáti, storm and capture of pass at (5 Nov), iv. 307; pass, forced by Major Bates (7 Jan '58), iv. 308.
- Shergháti, Sir Colin Campbell nearly captured by mutineers at, iv. 101.
- Sherkot, Chaudhári of, driven from Bijnaur by Mahmúd Khán (July), vi. 110.
- Sherriff, Lieut., defeats party of rebels at Bhijalpúr (May '58), v. 148n.
- Sher Sháh, defeats Emperor Humáyun at Kanauj (1540), iv. xvi.

- Sher Singh, his sister, wife to Mahárájah of Láhor (1848), i. 22; of doubtful loyalty, sent with troops against Multán, i. 22; traitorously joins Mulráj, i. 23; marches to join his father at Hazárah, i. 24; reinforced by Dost Muhammad (1849), i. 31; surrenders to the English (14 Mar '49), i. 32.
- Shesh-Mahall, a strong building at Lakhnão, iv. 255.
- Shiels, Mr., murdered at Aurangábád (5 June), iii. 264*n*.
- Shikárpúr, a town of Sindh, vi. 144; 64th Regt. mutiny at (1844), i. 208, 210; mutiny ultimately subdued by Gen. Hunter, i. 211.
- Shirreff, Major, murdered at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.
- Shorápiúr, Rájah inclined to murder English Agent (Jan '58), v. 86; hemmed in by Major Davidson, v. 86; exceptional for disloyalty in the Dakhan, vi. 168; recent history of Rájah of, v. 85; the Rájah becomes rebellious to mend his shattered fortunes, v. 86; Capt. Wyndham advances to attack, v. 87; Rájah tries to lead Capt. Wyndham into an ambuscade (7 Feb '58), v. 87; he falls upon Capt. Wyndham at night, v. 87; he is defeated, v. 87; the Rájah runs away to Haidarábád (8 Feb '58), v. 88; Rájah caught in Haidarábád bázár, v. 88; Rájah condemned to death, reprieved, but shoots himself, v. 88.
- Shore, Mr. R. N., Magistrate of Katak, vi. 5.
- Shore, Rev. John, tutor to young Canning, i. 267.
- Shore, Sir John, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, i. 267; remonstrates with Nawáb of Oudh, i. 83.
- Shortt, Brig.-Gen., commands at Bombay, his character, v. 30; his confidence in the Sipáhís, v. 32; wishes to distribute Bombay Police at the Muharram (Sept), v. 32; his order disobeyed by Mr. Shortt, Brig.-Gen.—*cont.*
- Forjett, v. 32; Mr. Forjett's disobedience saves Bombay, v. 34; convinced by Mr. Forjett of the disloyalty of Sipáhís, v. 36.
- Showers, Brigadier, leads night attack at Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 143; leads flank attack on rebels from Hindu Ráo's House (14 July), ii. 440; drives rebels from Ludlow Castle (23 July), ii. 446; attacks and captures Ludlow Castle battery (12 Aug), ii. 489.
- Leads column to west of Dehlí, to tranquillize district, iv. 75; returns to Dehlí with captured guns and booty (19 Oct), iv. 76.
- Sent to command at A'gra (Mar '58), v. 216; surprizes rebels at Kachruí, and captures ringleaders (20 Mar '58), v. 216; covers Bharatpúr from anticipated attack of Tántiá Topí (19 June '58), v. 219; foils Tántiá Topí's attempt on Bharatpúr (22 June '58), v. 221; takes position at Kúshalgarh (Jan '59), v. 255.
- Showers, Capt. Lionel, Agent at Udaipúr, at Mount Abu when Mutiny breaks out, vi. 155; ordered to hasten to his post, but delays (19 May), iii. 173; hurries, with help from Udaipúr, to Nímach fugitives (6 June), iii. 169; rescues fugitives from Nímach, vi. 156; supplies accurate information of Tántiá Topí (18 Aug '58), v. 227.
- Removed from political employ for repeated acts of disobedience, iii. 173 and *n*; order of Governor-General dismissing him from political employ, iii. 174*n*; again trusted, and again fails (1864), iii. 174*n*.
- Mr. A. J. Lawrence's exposure of his pretences, iii. 375; opinion of the *Pioneer* newspaper, as to his conduct in 1857, iii. 373; Lord Mayo refuses to have him in Legislative Council, iii. 375; his at-

- Showers, Capt. Lionel—*cont.*
tempt to rehabilitate his reputation exploded, iii. 371.
- Shute, Capt., leads sortie from Brigade Mess, Lakhnao (29 Sept), iv. 110; commands one party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Siálkot, its situation, ii. *xviii*; its garrison, ii. 472; stripped of European troops, ii. 471; Sípáhís apparently contented in early May, i. 427; telegram to, authorizing Sípáhís to grease their own cartridges (27 Jan), i. 378; mutiny at (9 July), ii. 472; personal servants join with mutineers against Europeans, ii. 474; Europeans seek refuge in Fort during mutiny (9 July), ii. 473; two British officers invited by mutineers to lead them to Dehlí, ii. 473; boy McDouglas rides 80 miles to summon Nicholson to suppress mutineers, ii. 479n.
- Sibbald, Brigadier, commands troops at Baréli, iii. 202; murdered at Baréli (31 May), iii. 208.
- Síbságár, a district of A'sám, vi. 3, 31.
- Sidi Kambar, sent by the King of Dehlí to Persia, soliciting aid (1855), v. 338.
- Sidonia Ghát, Brig. Horsford crosses Ráptí into Nipál at (Jan '59), v. 206.
- Sigaulí, situation and garrison of, iii. 26; Major Holmes, proclaims martial law in, iii. 47; mutiny at (25 July), iii. 47; murder of Maj. Holmes and his wife, iii. 47; effect of the mutiny at, on Gorákhpúr, vi. 57; Gurkhás from, assist in driving rebels from Sobanpúr (26 Dec), iv. 225.
- Sihor, its situation, v. *xii*; station of Bhopál Contingent, iii. 136; the only place to which Col. Durand's escort will go, iii. 159; Col. Durand and party reach, safely (4 July), iii. 160; Col. Durand leaves Sihor—*cont.*
his party, and hurries to Hoshangábád, iii. 161.
- Sijistán, Muín-uddín Chishti of, his mausoleum, iii. x.
- Sikandarábád, mutiny of troops at (1840), i. 212n; near Mírath, sacked by Gújars (May), iv. 62, vi. 135; entered by Col. Greathead's force (26 Sept), iv. 62.
- Sikandarbágh, its position at Lakhnao, iii. 247; attack on (16 Nov), iv. 127; heroic storm of the fort, iv. 129; Ensign Cooper the first man to enter, iv. 129; slaughter of entire garrison (16 Nov), iv. 133; causes for the difficulty in its capture (Mar '58), iv. 409; occupied without opposition (11 Mar '58), iv. 267.
- Sikandar Bégam, the loyal lady-ruler of Bhopál, vi. 166; informs the English of intended outbreak (April), vi. 166; shelters English fugitives (July), vi. 166; supplies the Central India Field Force, vi. 166; rewards conferred on her, for loyalty, vi. 167n.
- Sikandarpúr, Kúnwar Singh retreats to (18 Apr '58), iv. 333.
- Sikandrá, occupied by Brig. Carthew (Jan '58), iv. 314; occupied by Gen. Franks (21 Jan '58), iv. 230.
- Sikandrah, Mr. Thornhill's critical position in, near A'gra, vi. 101; Mr. Thornhill escapes the rebel army at, by accident, vi. 102n.
- Sikar, the remnants of Tántiá Topí's army completely defeated at (21 Jan '59), v. 256.
- Sikhs:—
- Historical Details.*—Send emissaries to incite the mutineers at Firúzpúr (1844), i. 204; called prime movers in Dánápúr plot of 1845, i. 225; cross the Satlaj (1845); i. 222; first war with, i. 94; first occupation of their country (1845), i. 2; opportunity for preserving their independence offered, i. 2.

Sikhs—*cont.*

Plan the ejection of the English (1848), i. 22 ; rise against the English, i. 25 ; outbreak of the second Sikh war (1848), i. 15 ; invite Afghan co-operation, i. 25 ; second attempt to preserve independence of, i. 5 ; surrender after the battle of Gujrát (Mar 1849), i. 32 ; annexation of their country, i. 96 ; unjust treatment of Dhulíp Singh, v. 290n ; victory over, its great moral effect over Hindustan, i. 226 ; effect of their increased enlistment on Sipáhís (1856), i. 345.

Conduct during the Mutiny.—A Sikh police-officer reveals a general conspiracy among Panjáb Sipáhís (May), ii. 323n ; Sirdárs who are prisoners at Banáras offer their services as body-guard to Commissioner, ii. 154 ; view with alarm and jealousy the revival of Muhammadan power in Northern India, ii. 316 ; their prophecy of the sack of Dehlí, ii. 355 ; they long for the plunder of Dehlí, ii. 355 ; their loyalty, and its importance, ii. 166 ; the unfaltering faithfulness of Patiálá, Nabhá, and Jhínd, ii. 121.

Enlisted freely by Sir J. Lawrence, ii. 355 ; fear of their outbreak at Banáras (4 June), ii. 173 ; they fire at their officers and are scattered by grape-shot, ii. 168 ; those at Jaunpúr revolt in consequence of Banáras disarmament (5 June), ii. 178 ; the formation of, into separate regiments, suggested by a Sikh at Calcutta (4 June), ii. 356n, vi. 15 ; Capt. Rattray's regiment of, iii. 29 ; nine from a mutinous regiment, ride to Mírath and help the English (June), vi. 127 ; prove troublesome at Alláhábád (14 June), ii. 200.

Sikh Square, Lakhnao, mine sprung and assault delivered at (18 Aug), iii. 309.

Sikh States, the Protected, assist in keeping road to Dehlí open, ii. 384.

Síkrí, a criminal Gujár village, destroyed by Mr. Dunlop (9 July), vi. 129.

Sikroli, name of English quarter of Banáras, ii. 151.

Sikrorá, station of Bahráich, iii. 261 ; its garrison, iii. 261 ; mutiny at (9 June), iii. 263 ; raid made on by Gujádar Singh (Apr '59), v. 206.

Silhat, a district of Dhákah, iv. xv, vi. 3, 28 ; description of, iv. xviii ; district to which Chitrágáo mutineers fled (Dec), iv. 295 ; remains tranquil, and supplies Infantry to put down Mutiny, vi. 31.

Siliguri, occupied by Mr. Yule, and his Infantry (22 Dec), iv. 301.

Simlah, i. 228 ; Gen. Anson receives news of Mutiny at, ii. 103 ; shameful panic at (16-18 May), ii. 108.

Simmons, Major, killed in sortie from Redan, Lakhnao (29 Sept), ii. 110.

Simons, Capt., mortally wounded at Chinhat, iii. 326, 384.

Simpson, Col., commands troops at Alláhábád, ii. 182 ; his great trust in his Sipáhís, ii. 182 ; warned of mutinous disposition of his troops, ii. 186 ; disarms Sipáhís at Fort of Alláhábád (6 June), ii. 191 ; escapes from mutineers to Fort, ii. 189 ; his opinion of Brig. Cartthew's critical position at the Theatre, Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 178n.

Simpson, Major, his excellent service in Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. 304, vi. 35.

Simpson, Quartermaster-Sergeant, wins the Victoria Cross at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 356.

Simrí, fort captured by Brig. Eglegh (9 Nov '58), v. 203.

Simrol Pass, Col. Durand desires to retreat from Indúr by, iii. 159 ; occupied by Holkar's mutinous troops, iii. 159 ; Col. Durand "

- Simrol Pass—*cont.*
crosses with Bombay column (1 Aug), iii. 162.
- Simson, Mr. Robert, an Under-Secretary, serves in Calcutta Volunteers), vi. 18.
- Simson, Mr., arrives at A'zamgarh, *en route* for Nipál (18 July), vi. 66.
- Sína Ghát, point at which Brig. Douglas crossed the Ganges (25 Apr '58), iv. 336.
- Sind, river of Gwáliár, iv. xv; one boundary of Sindhiá territory, iii. 135.
- Sindh, description of district, vi. 144; war with Amirs of (1843), i. 94, 202; annexation of, i. 203; the difficulty in garrisoning (1844), i. 212; Sipáhí feeling as to its annexation, i. 254; troops for garrison called from Madras, i. 215.
- Sir C. Napier's wise administration of (1845), vi. 142; effect of annexation of, on Bengal Army, i. 203; increase of compensation-money granted in (1845), i. 231n; the just complaint of the Sipáhís in, v. 283.
- Mr. Frere's active rule in (1857), vi. 143; troops sent to Panjáb from (May), i. 442, v. 3; all local disturbances suppressed in, during Mutiny, vi. 147; causes of its tranquillity during the Mutiny, vi. 142.
- Sindh Amírs, their retainers a danger to Damdamah, iii. 9.
- Sindhiá, Mahárájah Jaiají Ráo, description of his territory, iii. 135; under care of Central Indian Agency, iii. 135; his visit to Calcutta (Mar), vi. 12; proposes to entertain English officers at Calcutta on 10 March, i. 388; generous treatment of, secures his fidelity, iii. 100; previous good faith secures his loyalty during the Mutiny, v. 294; his conspicuous loyalty, vi. 148; his many temptations during 1857-58, v. 144; his fidelity relied on, from the first, i. 443; the great importance of his loyalty, v. 294.
- Accurately gauges the gravity of the crisis, iii. 100; places his Contingent at the service of the English, iii. 111; sends support to Mr. Colvin, iii. 101; sends his body-guard to protect Agra, iii. 111; warns his Political Agent that his own Contingent will surely mutiny, iii. 101; advises removal of ladies and children from Gwáliár Cantonment, iii. 112; threatens to dethrone him for not turning against the English (Sept), v. 146.
- Pledges himself to restrain revolted Sipáhís, iii. 116; holds mutinous troops at Gwáliár for two months, iv. 66; his joy at the capture of Dehlí causes his troops to mutiny, iv. 105; mutiny of his troops (22 Sept), ii. 309.
- Supplies Sir Hugh Rose before Jhánsí (Mar '58), v. 110; his loss of command over his people, v. 217; marches against Tántiá Topí at Morár (1 June '58), v. 146; his defeat by Tántiá Topí (1 June '58), v. 307; his troops go over to the rebels, v. 147; flies from Gwáliár to Dholpúr, v. 219; he is honourably escorted into A'gra, v. 219; effect of his defeat on A'gra, v. 219; he returns to Gwáliár (18 June '58), v. 219; quarrels with Mán Singh (2 Aug '58), v. 231.
- Sindh Ságár Duáb, situation of, i. 20, iii. xii.
- Sindwáhá, Ráo Sálib defeated at (15 Oct '58), v. 237.
- Singár, hill to which Chitrágáon mutineers went (Dec), iv. 295.
- Singhbhúm, a district of Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. xiii, vi. 4; petty insurrection at, iv. 306; insurrection in, suppressed by Capt. Hale, iv. 306; order restored in, by Col. Forster (Jan '58), iv. 308.

Singhirámpúr, boats escaping from Fathgarh attacked there by villagers, iii. 230.
 Singhpúr, owner of, captured and hanged (Nov), v. 74.
 Singhura pass, stormed by Capt. Shakespear (9 Jan '58), iv. 308.
 Singramáu, occupied by Gen. Franks (16 Feb '58), iv. 231.
 Singráulí, Rájah of, his enmity to the English, vi. 49.
 Singrí, a river in the Central Provinces, near Narsinhpúr, v. xi, 62.
 Sioni, district of Ságár and Narbadá territories, v. 60.
 Sipáhí Army, its history, i. 147, 148; its fidelity, i. 148; number of the troops, i. 250; its constitution, i. 149, 244, 245; its first mutiny in Bengal (1764), i. 150; its second mutiny, a year afterwards, i. 150; 24 Sipáhís blown from guns, i. 150; mutiny of the British officers (1766), i. 152; English officers gradually supplant Native officers, i. 153; influence of caste in, i. 154, 242; reorganization of the Sipáhí Army (1796), i. 156; irritating changes in dress, equipment, and drill (1805), i. 158; grievances of, i. 160; mutiny in Madras (1806), i. 162; mutiny threatened in Haidarábád, Nandidrúg, and Páliamkottá, i. 172; renewed confidence and comradeship between officers and men, i. 188; centralization saps the kindly influence of the English officer, i. 189; gradual estrangement between officers and men, i. 190; incitement to general mutiny (1822), i. 191; reorganization of the entire Army (6 May 1824), i. 193; troops refuse to cross the sea to Burmah, i. 195; the Half-Batta order (1830), i. 198; abolition of corporal punishment (1832), i. 199; great deterioration of the troops, i. 200; revival of corporal punishment (1842), i. 199; the Panjáb mutinies, i. 203; Madras

Sipáhí Army—*cont*
 mutinies, i. 213; solid foundation for Sipáhí discontent, i. 217, 221; the Patná Conspiracy (1845), i. 222; Panjáb mutinies after annexation (1849), i. 227; contest between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, i. 232; its disastrous effect on the Army, i. 234; effect of the Crimean War on, i. 251; effect of the annexation of Oudh on, i. 253; general deterioration of, i. 255; various attempts to corrupt the Army, i. 257.

Sipáhís, their good social position in India, i. 185; general character of, i. 239; D'Arcy Todd's opinion of them, v. 283; defects of system regulating, i. 241-249; their discipline undermined by introduction of the British system, v. 284; could at any time claim their discharge, v. 315; systematic attempts to corrupt, i. 258.

Volunteer for Mauritius and Java (1811), i. 338; their conduct in Afghanistan (1848), v. 283; their unjust treatment in Sindh (1843), v. 283; their conduct in the Panjáb campaigns, v. 284; failure of attempt to send them to Burmah destroys all discipline (1852), v. 286; handle greased cartridges, in 1853, without complaint, i. 380; the 38th Regt. refuse to serve in Burmah (1856), i. 338; General Order requiring foreign service (25 July '56), i. 343; their feeling as to the General Enlistment Order, i. 344, 346.

Their views of annexation, i. 254, 255*n*; show their antagonism to annexation of Oudh, at Kánhpúr (1855), v. 288; their privileges in Oudh before annexation, i. 255; effect of annexation of Oudh upon, v. 286; establish superstitious relations with the King of Dehlí, v. 346; the real bearing of the greased cartridges "

Sipáhís—*cont.*

on their revolt, v. 292; why both Hindú and Muhammadan were at one, iii. 237; the action of the British Government in Oudh had shattered their faith in the English, iii. 235; Lord Canning's opinion of their faithfulness, i. 334; Sir H. Lawrence's opinion of their dangerous condition (Feb '57), i. 331.

Their belief in a wish to destroy caste, i. 257; Gen. Hearsey addresses a convincing argument to them, at Barrackpúr, i. 386; disbelieve even Gen. Hearsey's assurances at Barrackpúr, i. 395; revolt at Mírath, 10 May, and seize Dehlí, 11 May, ii. 43, ii. 57; 2nd Grenadiers prime agents in first outbreak, i. 389.

Inconsistencies in their conduct, ii. 141*n*; denounce an agent at Alláhábád for tampering with their fidelity (24 May), ii. 184; those at Alláhábád ask to be led against Dehlí, ii. 185; those of the 6th Regt. from Alláhábád refuse to murder the women at Kánpúr, ii. 281*n*; rob the Treasury at Alláhábád, and disband themselves (6 June), ii. 194; offer commands in their army to two British officers, at Siálkot, ii. 473; rise at A'zamgarh for plunder only (3 June), ii. 161; spare the house and furniture of one European at Bíjagárh, iv. 65; some faithful among them aid in defence of Kánpúr, ii. 245; General Proclamation to (May), i. 447.

Síprá, river near Mehídpúr, v. xi.
Síprí, outpost of Gwáliár Contingent, iii. 112; under command of Brig. Smith (July '58), v. 222; roads near, cleared of marauders (Feb '59), v. 259.

Síprí, river of Gwáliár, iv. xv.

Siráju 'd-daulah, i. 75, 154.

Siraúlí, occupied by rebels (Mar '58), iv. 315; Col. Christie drives the rebels from, iv. 315.

Sirdár Khán, mutinous native officer, i. 421*n*.

Sirdárpúr, a station for Bhil troops, iii. 138; plundered by mercenaries from Dhár and Amjhéra (July), v. 47.

Sirdár Singh, Mahárána of Udaipúr, dies in 1842, vi. 155.

Sirdár Singh becomes Rájah of Bikánír (1852), vi. 150; remains loyal, vi. 150; renders real assistance during Mutiny, vi. 151; rewarded for his loyalty, vi. 151.

Sirdhána, visited by Mr. Dunlop's force, vi. 132.

Sirgújá, a Tributary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.

Sirhind, point where river Saraswati disappears in the sand, vi. 69; cause of unpreparedness at, ii. 79.

Sirimuthiá, point at which Tántiá Topí entered Tonk (July '58), v. 307.

Sirmúr Battalion, name of corps of Gurkhás, ii. 104.

Siro, name for Upper Sindh, vi. 144*n*.

Sirohí, a state of Rájpútáná, iii. x, 163*n*, iv. xvii, vi. 162; description of the state, vi. 162; under British management at time of Mutiny, vi. 163; Shéo Singh, Maháráo of, vi. 163; friendly disposition of Máháráo rewarded, vi. 163.

Sironj, a district of Tonk, vi. 154; occupied by Tántiá Topí (Sept '58), v. 230; Tántiá Topí refits his army at (15-23 Sept '58), v. 235; Firúzsháh captures convoy near (20 Dec '58), v. 254; the irreconcilables of Ráo Sáhib's force hide themselves in jungles of (Feb '59), v. 257.

Sirpúrah, rebels defeated at Núriah, fall back on (29 Aug '58), v. 192; rebel position captured by Capt. Browne (30 Aug '58), v. 193.

Sírsá, occupied by Brig. Walpole (22 Apr '58), iv. 357.

Sírsimáo, Capt. Meade reaches (3 Mar '59), v. 259.

- Sirsul, Tháñadár of, urged by Náná Sáhib to destroy Europeans, ii. 503.
- Sítábaldí, hilly ridge near Nágpúr, iii. *xii*, v. 77; Rájah of Nágpúr's cattle sold at, i. 60.
- Sítákund, mutineers from Chitrágáon make for (18 Nov), iv. 292.
- Sítámáu, a state of Western Málwá, v. *x*.
- Sítápúr, situation of, iii. *xiii*, 252; its garrison, iii, 239, 252; burning of Military Police lines at (27 May), iii. 253; defences of Mr. Christian's house at, iii. 254; Mr. Christian sends conveyance to Muhamdí for fugitives, iii. 259; Sipáhís reject commissariat flour at (2 June), iii. 253; Sipáhís from, restrained from violence by Capt. Orr, iii. 259.
- Open mutiny at (3 June), iii. 254; Sipáhís from, massacre Muhamdí fugitives (5 June), iii. 259; mutineers from, corrupt Fathgarh garrison, iii. 225; plan for finally crushing rebels in (15 Oct '58), v. 200.
- Sitwell, Lieut., crosses under fire to meet Sir Colin Campbell (17 Nov), iv. 144.
- Sivají, founder of the Maráthá empire, i. 51.
- Siwálik Range, situation and description, vi. 116 and *n.*
- Skeene, Capt. Alexander, Political Agent at Jhánsí, iii. 121, v. 61; escapes to larger fort at Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123; accepts delusive terms of Rání of Jhánsí, iii. 122, 125; murdered at Jhánsí (8 June), iii. 126.
- Skinner, Mr. R. M., Judge of Nadiá, vi. 25; fortifies himself in his house at Biláspúr (May), vi. 135; relieved by Mr. Sapte's arrival (25 May), vi. 135.
- Slade, Capt., wounded near Lakhnao (19 Mar '58), iv. 284.
- Sleeman, Col. Sir W. H., Resident at Lakhnao, his character, i. 96;
- Sleeman, Col. Sir W. H.—*cont.*
his opinion on the bonds of discipline in the Bengal Army, i. 245; on promotion in the Army, i. 246, 247*n*; relates superstitions of Metcalfe House, Dehlí, ii. 409*n*; succeeds in pacifying Ságár and Narbadá territories (1844), v. 61.
- His Tour through Oudh (1849–50), i. 97; on behaviour of British officers to Tálukdárs, i. 121; his opinion of the Oudh kings, i. 88*n*; recommends assumption of government of Cudh, i. 99; cites an imaginary treaty with Oudh, i. 93*n*; protests against a policy of annexation, i. 98 and *n*; dies on homeward voyage (1854), i. 100.
- Smalley, Mrs., dies of sunstroke in escaping from Náogáon (17 June), iii. 129.
- Smith, Brig., ordered to co-operate from Rájpútáná in re-capture of Gwáliár (6 June '58), v. 150; moves from Chandéri to Kotah-kí-Sarai (8 June '58), v. 150; reaches A'ntrí (14 June '58), v. 153; captures Kotah-kí-Sarai (17 June '58), v. 154; crosses the Umrah, near Gwáliár, v. 154; reinforced by Col. Robertson (18 June '58), v. 155; resumes attack, and captures the Phúlbágh (19 June '58), v. 159; his brigade broken up (20 June '58), v. 163.
- Sent to hold Siprí (July '58), v. 222; hears the grievance of Mán Singh (7 Aug '58), v. 232; cannot entertain it, v. 232; advances against Mán Singh at Páurí, v. 232; advances to Sironj in pursuit of Tántiá Topí (5 Sept '58), v. 231; watches left bank of the Betwá (Oct '58), v. 237; chases Firúzsháh to Indragarh (Jan '59), v. 255.
- Smith, Capt., arrests conspirator, and suppresses projected rising at Dérá Ishmáil Khán (July '58), v. 213; marches with Gen. Napier's force to Ránód (Dec '58), v. 251*n.*

- Smith, Capt., leads storming party at Thána Bhawan (16 Sept), vi. 124; present with his battery at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188.
- Smith, Capt., murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 64, 71.
- Smith, Capt., sheltered, in his flight from Sultánpúr, by Rústam Sáh (June), iii. 272n.
- Smith, Col., assists Clive to suppress mutiny in 1766, i. 152.
- Smith, Col., secures the fort at Láhor (13 May), ii. 326.
- Smith, Col., commands troops at Fathgarh, iii. 224; tries to secure treasure at Fathgarh (4 June), iii. 225; sends non-combatants from Fathgarh to Kánpúr, iii. 225; his Sipáhís give up to him treasonable letter and protest loyalty (16 June), iii. 225; destroys boat-bridge at Fathgarh (17 June), iii. 225; tries to make fort at Fathgarh defensible (18 June), iii. 226; mutiny breaks out, iii. 226; by delay of mutineers provisions fort of Fathgarh (19–24 June), iii. 227; mutineers begin attack on fort (25 June), iii. 227; defeats many attacks on Fathgarh fort, iii. 228.
- Attempts to convey his party away from Fathgarh in boats (3 July), iii. 229; commands one boat escaping from Fathgarh, iii. 230; many in his boats killed and wounded by Singhirámpúr villagers, iii. 231; his boat reaches Kúsúmkhor, and his party is kindly treated, iii. 231; his entire party destroyed near Kánpúr, iii. 232.
- Smith, Lieut., his murder at Muza�arnagar (11 June), vi. 109n.
- Smith, Major Baird, his character, iv. 3; his wound and two diseases, iv. 3; reports bone-dust scare (Apr), i. 418n.
- Commands at Rúrki on outbreak of Mutiny, ii. 131, vi. 121; his measures for defence of Rúrki (1 May), ii. 132; saves Rúrki from mutiny, ii. 133; fortifies Rúrki (June), vi. 121.
- Improvises Pioneers and Engineer stores and hurries to Dehlí (3 July), ii. 423; his description of water-supply at Dehlí Ridge, ii. 387n; explains Gen. Anson's first plan for conquering the outbreak, ii. 112n; recommends assault of Dehlí (4 July), ii. 431; earnestly deprecates proposed retirement from Dehlí (17 July), ii. 444; convinces Brig. Wilson of necessity for regular siege of Dehlí (17 July), ii. 445; directed to prepare plan of attack on Dehlí (20 Aug), iv. 4; his plan, iv. 6; counsels immediate action against Dehlí, iv. 4; Gen. Wilson's letter to him, iv. 2n; advises assault (18 Sept), iv. 18.
- His description of the defences of Dehlí, ii. 392n; his commendation of the artillery attack on Dehlí, iv. 16n; urges Gen. Wilson to persevere in capture of Dehlí, iv. 39; decides Gen. Wilson to hold on to Dehlí (15 Sept), iv. 40.
- His good opinion of Sir H. Barnard, ii. 428; his good opinion of Gen. Nicholson, ii. 488; his high appreciation of Mr. Spankie's services, vi. 122.
- His description of Ghází-ud-dín Nagar, ii. 137n.
- Smith, Major Percy, of the Queen's Bays, killed near the Gúmtí (6 Mar '58), iv. 261.
- Smith, Mr., a clerk, murdered at Shájhahánpúr (31 May), iii. 213.
- Smith, Mr. Vernon, Lord Canning's letter to him about the Persian war (1856), i. 304; his description of first defensive arrangements, i. 443n; Lord Canning's letter to, as to impossibility of disarming Si-páhís in Bengal, ii. 98; ceases to

- Smith, Mr. Vernon—*cont.*
 be President of Board of Control (15 Mar '58), v. 177.
- Smith, Sergeant, one of explosion party at Kashmír Gate, Dehlí, iv. 22; receives the Victoria Cross, iv. 26*n.*
- Smyth, Col. Carmichael, his character, ii. 32; visits Masúrí and hears of coming Mutiny, ii. 32; visits Hardwár and hears of the coming Mutiny, ii. 32; examined at court-martial of the 85 troopers, ii. 36; his account of what he did on 10 May, ii. 48; blamed for not hastening to his regiment on its revolt, ii. 47.
- Reproved by Gen. Hewitt for holding fatal parade of 24 April, ii. 33; believed to have saved the Empire by prematurely discovering the plot, ii. 81.
- Sneyd, Capt., drives crowd of mutineers from church at Sháhjahán-púr, by approaching with a gun (31 May), iii. 214.
- Sobanpúr, rebel encampment at (Dec), iv. 225; rebels driven from (26 Dec), iv. 226.
- Soláná, a Rájput village of Mírath, v. x, vi. 132; people of, defeat rebellious Dháulána folk, vi. 133; people of, receive Dháulána land as recompense for loyalty, vi. 133.
- Sóm, a river of Dungapúr, vi. 156.
- Somerset, Col., in temporary command of column at Máu (Nov '58), v. 247; cuts off Tántiá Topí from Máu (Dec '58), v. 247; advances from Ratlam, to destroy Tántiá Topí (11 Dec '58), v. 248; overtakes and defeats Tántiá Topí at Barod (2 Jan '59), v. 250; drives Ráo Sáhib from Chhatarbjúj Pass (15 Feb '59), v. 257.
- Somerset, Sir Henry, Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, v. 9; diverts Gen. Woodburn's column to Au-rangábád (15 June), v. 9; persuades Lord Elphinstone to allow delay of Bombay column, v. 11.
- Somnát, famous Proclamation regarding gates of, i. 220.
- Són, river near Patná, iii. 26; description of course of river, iv. xviii; Dánápiúr mutineers assisted across, by Kúnwar Singh's men, iii. 52; Amar Singh's boats on, destroyed (20 Sept '58), iv. 340.
- Sonár, river near Ságár, v. 73, 99.
- Sonár, valley in Nipál, Brig. Horsford takes guns from fugitive rebels in (Jan '59), v. 206.
- Sonpiúr, town of Tirhút, iv. xix; Native Cavalry sent to, from Dehlí Ridge, ii. 434*n.*
- Sophia, Princess, i. 265.
- Soppett, Lieut., successfully defeats third assault on Lakhnao (18 Aug), iii. 310*n.*; blown up at Lakhnao, but not hurt (18 Aug), iii. 381.
- Sorad I'sau A'lí, his immediate execution (17 June), ii. 202*n.*
- Sotheby, Capt., R.N., commands the Pearl Brigade, iv. 91; arrives at Calcutta (11 Aug), iii. 93; with part of Naval Brigade, protects Patná, iv. 312; operates with Col. Rowcroft on the Gandak (Dec), iv. 225; captures the fort of Chándí-púr (17 Feb '58), iv. 316; takes part in the battle of A'mórha (5 Mar '58), iv. 317; falls back from A'mórha on Captainganj (Apr '58), v. 196.
- Souter, Mr. Frank, captures the Chief of Nárgúnd (3 June '58), v. 171.
- Spankie, Mr. Robert, chief civil officer at Saháranpúr, vi. 120; his bravery and prudence, iii. 200; helps Major Baird Smith to hold his position at Rúrkí, vi. 120; Major Baird Smith's high appreciation of his services, vi. 122; saves Masúrí from attack and massacre, vi. 122; carries his district through the crisis, vi. 123; inflicts punishment by regular courts, vi. 125; thanked, but un-rewarded, vi. 121.
- Speke, Capt. hurries from Hima-

- Speke, Capt.—*cont.*
 layas to Karnál (10 June), vi. 126 ; struck down in attack on Láhor Gate, Dehlí, iv. 33, vi. 125n ; killed in storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
- Spence, Private, dies in heroic act of gallantry (15 Apr '58), iv. 355.
- Spons, Ensign, accidentally killed in attack on Bálábét (23 June), v. 67n.
- Spottiswoode, Capt., killed at Nasír-ábád (28 May), iii. 168.
- Spottiswoode, Col., his account of disarmament at Banáras, ii. 170n ; ordered to fire Native Lines at Banáras (4 June), ii. 169 ; induces his Sipáhís at Banáras to lay down their arms, ii. 166.
- Spottiswoode, Col. Henry, commits suicide at Mardán, on ascertaining the faithlessness of his Sipáhís (24 May), ii. 364.
- Spring, Capt., murdered at Jhélum (8 July), ii. 424n, 470.
- Spurgin, Capt., sent with detachment up Ganges to relieve Kánhpúr (30 June), ii. 207, 305.
- Srirámpúr, situation, and description, ii. xviii; Baptist College at, assisted by Lord Canning, i. 348 ; order to bring troops from (18 June), vi. 19.
- Stack, Lieut., his convoy plundered by Firúzsháh (20 Dec '58), v. 254.
- Stafford, Capt., leads Hariána Field Force to Kanáund (15 Nov), iv. 77.
- Stalker, General, appointed in India to command Persian expedition, i. 309.
- Standen, Lieut., commands some Native Infantry at Jabalpúr (Nov), v. 133.
- Stanton, Lieut., protects Sásarám (Oct), iv. 312 ; operates energetically in Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. 304 ; his excellent service in that district, vi. 35.
- Stanton, Rev., Assistant Clerk, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Staples, Capt., murdered by his Sipáhís (7 July), iii. 249.
- Steel, Capt., commands Sipáhís at Gorákhpúr, vi. 54 ; dissuades Sipáhís from first attempt to plunder Gorákhpúr treasury (8 June), vi. 55.
- Steevens, Capt., killed at battle of Chinhát (29 June), iii. 377.
- Stephenson, Macdonald, predicts extensive railway communication in India, i. 140.
- Stephenson, Major, brings fresh troops to Alláhbád (12 June), ii. 199 ; carries the bridge at Pándú Nadí (15 July), ii. 279 ; recovers much artillery at Bithír Palace (19 July), ii. 295 ; leads sortie from Lakhnao intrenchment (27 Sept), iv. 109 ; killed at Lakhnao (5 Oct), iv. 112.
- Sterling, Major, leads final charge on guns at capture of Kánhpúr (16 July), ii. 286 : dies fighting bravely at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 177.
- Sterling, Subaltern, his skilful marksmanship at Kánhpúr, ii. 242.
- Steuart, Brig. C., C.B., commands one brigade of Central India Field Force (Dec), v. 94 ; commands reserve for escaladers at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115 ; tries, but fails, to cut off retreating rebels from Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 123 ; falls sick after battle of Kúnch, v. 130n.
- Stevens, Capt., drives Chitrágáo mutineers into jungle (12 Jan '58), iv. 296 ; again attacks Chitrágáo mutineers, and captures all their arms (22 Jan '58), iv. 296.
- Steward, Adjutant, murdered at Alláhbád (6 June), ii. 190.
- Stewart, Capt., tries to silence rebel guns with musketry, at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 174 ; wounded in this encounter, iv. 176.
- Stewart, Capt. W. D., captures two guns in attack on Lakhnao (16

- Stewart, Capt. W. D.—*cont.*
 Nov), iv. 133; elected by his comrades for the Victoria Cross, iv. 132*n*; wins the Victoria Cross for bravery at the Barracks, iv. 139.
- Stewart, Capt. William, murdered at Gwáliár (14 June), iii. 115.
- Stewart, Lieut., wounded at Bijápúr (3 Sept '58), v. 234; severely wounded at Shorápúr (8 Feb '58), v. 87.
- Stewart, Mrs. Capt., murdered at Gwáliár with her son (14 June), iii. 115.
- Stirling, Lieut., Royal Marines, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n*.
- Stisted, Brig., drives rebels from village of Badrúp (22 Dec), iv. 241; commands a brigade at attack on Barélí (5 May '58), iv. 367.
- Stockley, Col., takes command of troops at Indúr Residency, iii. 138.
- Stoequeler, Mr. J. H. asserts that, in 1845, at Dánápúr, the outbreak of 1857 was threatened, i. 226*n*.
- Stokes, Major, operates in Balandshahr district with Pathán horse, vi. 137.
- Strachey, Major John, Commandant of Calcutta Infantry Volunteers, vi. 17; transferred from Calcutta to Central Provinces, vi. 17.
- Stribbling, Quartermaster, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Stroyan, Mr., murdered near Sultán-púr (9 June), iii. 272.
- Strutt, Lieut., his distinguished services in Central India, v. 59; his good artillery practice at Mandesar (20 Nov), v. 54*n*; fires a true shot into Garhákotá, which disheartens rebels (12 Feb '58), v. 100.
- Stuart, Col. S., takes command of Bombay Column (8 July), iii. 161, v. 12; advances with troops to A'sírgarh, iii. 161; Col. Durand.
- Stuart, Col. S.—*cont.*
 joins his column at that place, v. 12; Capt. Orr joins him with Haidarábád Contingent (28 July), v. 41; crosses Simrol Pass, and enters Máu (1 Aug). v. 41; arrives with column at Máu (2 Aug), iii. 162.
- Commands one brigade of Central India Field Force (Dec), v. 94; marches against Chandéri (5 Mar '58), v. 105; clears neighbourhood of the town, v. 105; storms and captures Chandéri (17 Mar '58), v. 106; scatters the right of Tántiá Topí before Jhánsí (1 Apr '58), v. 114; his devoted bravery at Kálpí (22 May '58), v. 128; marches to Atakóna (3 June '58), v. 149.
- Sent to drive Tántiá Topí from Gwáliár (4 June '58), v. 149; overtaken by Sir Hugh Rose at Indúrkí (12 June '58), v. 151; drives in rebel left at capture of Gwáliár (19 June '58), v. 157; his commendation of Lieut. Rose, capturer of Gwáliár fort, v. 160*n*.
- Stuart, Hon. Charlotte, becomes the wife of Viscount Canning, i. 270.
- Stuart, Major, leads escalade of rocket-tower at Jhánsí (3 Apr '58), v. 115; captures rocket-tower at Jhánsí, v. 116.
- Súbranrekhá River, situation of, iii. xi; river on which Gwáliár stands, iv. xiv.
- Suburbs, near Ridge of Dehlí, the key of English position, ii. 390.
- Suchandí, a village near Kánpúr iv. 60.
- Sudhainan Singh, Tálukdár of Oudh, slain in attack on English, ii. 501.
- Sulaimán Kararání, defeats the last Hindú King of Orísá (1567), vi. 4.
- Sullivan, Private, one of four survivors from Kánpúr massacre, ii. 262.
- Sultánpúr, situation of, iii. xiii, 271; its garrison, iii. 239; mutiny at (9 June), iii. 272; Col. Fisher

Sultánpúr—cont.

murdered at (9 June), iii. 272; Lieut. Tucker allowed to attend to him unmolested, iii. 272; mutineers from, march to Lakhnão, iii. 272.

Occupied by Jang Bahádúr (8 Mar '58), iv. 228; occupied by Sir E. Lugard (5 Apr '58), iv. 329.

Oudh insurgents collect at (July '58), v. 189; Oudh rebels resolve to dispute advance of English at (24 Aug '58), v. 190; rebels compelled to abandon (28 Aug '58), v. 190.

Occupied by Brig. Berkeley (Aug '58), v. 196; Tántiá Topí goes there (11 Oct '58), v. 308.

Sultánpúr, Názim of, plunders district near Jaunpúr (Dec), iv. 229. Sundarban, a district of the Presidency division, vi. 6; meaning of the word, vi. 6n.

Suráhí, rebels from Madanpúr driven to (3 Mar '58), v. 103; fort abandoned by rebels (4 Mar '58), v. 103.

Súrajghát, Rohilkhand rebels cross Ganges near (25 Jan '58), iv. 219. Súraj-ul-Mulk, former minister of Haidarábád, v. 81.

Suráón, rebels seize Bábú Rámprashád Singh in (July '58), v. 195.

Súrandar Sáhí, leader of the revolt in Sambalpúr (Dec), iv. 308; hides and escapes capture (30 Dec), iv. 308.

Súrat, linked in Mandesar insurrection (Sept), v. 45.

Surát Singh, Sirdár, a political prisoner at Banáras, vi. 43; tranquillizes his enraged countrymen at Banáras (4 June), ii. 173; saves the lives of the English at Banáras, vi. 44; his great services at Banáras, vi. 43; honoured and rewarded by Government, vi. 44.

Surmá, a river of Silhat, iv. xviii.

Súsnír, occupied by Col. Lockhart (Aug '58), v. 229.

Sutiá, village near Shamsábád, where an action was fought (27 Jan '58), iv. 219.

Sutherland, Major, sent to guard the road to Bombay (20 Nov '58), v. 242; marches through Thán to Jilwánah (23 Nov '58), v. 243; hastily returns to Thán, and pursues Tántiá Topí (25 Nov '58), v. 243; catches Tántiá Topí at Rájpúr, and captures his guns, v. 244; the daring nature of this attack, v. 267.

Sweeny, Lieut., I.N., his dangerous service in landing troops near Karáchí, vi. 172; specially thanked by Lord Elphinstone, vi. 172.

Sweetenham, Lieut., one of five who charged successfully hundreds of armed villagers, iii. 230n.

Sydenham, Capt., tells the Nizám that he cannot trust Sipáhís, i. 171.

Sykes, Col., re-inspires Gen. Outram with health, i. 310.

Sylhet, see Silhat.

T.

Tafúzul Husén Khán, Nawáb of Farrukhábád, vi. 102; assumes sway at Fathgarh, iii. 232; brutally murders prisoners from Maj. Robertson's boat, iii. 232; pardoned by unauthorized action of a subordinate official, iii. 232; lives in contempt and disgust, iii. 232.

Taimor, Sáwant rebels transported to, by Portuguese (20 Nov '58), v. 172.

Taimur, House of, *see* Bahádur Sháh; Dehlí; Sháh A'lám.
 Tait, Mr., one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
 Tájpiúr, Chaudhárí of, gives help to Bijnaur (23 May), vi. 104.
 Taká Rám, a skilful Gurkhá, killed at Dehlí (9 June), ii. 413n.
 Takí Beg, Mirzá, his treasonable knowledge, at Pesháwar, v. 347.
 Takht Singh, Mahárájah of Jodhpúr, vi. 160; his loyalty at Jodhpúr, vi. 160; loyal to English for personal reasons, iii. 172.
 Tál-Bahat, its situation, v. xii; almost impregnable fortress abandoned by rebels (5 Mar '58), v. 103; Ráo Sáhib marches on (26 Sept '58), v. 235.
 Talakwárá, situation of, iii. xii.
 Talingás, a people, some of whom dwell in Orísá, vi. 4.
 Táliwári, suburb near Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 390.
 Tálukdár, explanation of the term, i. 115.
 Tálukdárs, opinions of various officers on dealing with their claims, i. 118-120.
 Tamlík, a salt station of Midnapúr, vi. 6.
 Tándá, on the Ghághrá, Oudh insurgents collect at (July '58), v. 189.
 Tandy, Lieut., with third column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19; killed in storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
 Tandy, Mr. O'B., brave volunteer horseman of A'lígarh, vi. 138; joins in the retention of factory near there (June), iii. 198n; killed in a skirmish at A'lígarh, vi. 138.
 Tanjúr, Rájah of, title and pension abolished by Lord Dalhousie (1855), i. 80;
 Tántiá Topí, his parentage, v. 304; his character as a soldier, v. 266; one of the three capable rebel leaders, iv. 105; extraordinary marches in his pursuit, v. 267.

His Accounts of various Episodes.—His version of the Kánhpúr outbreak, ii. 234n; his account of preliminary arrangements at Kánhpúr, ii. 226; present at massacre of Kánhpúr garrison, ii. 256; charged with inciting the massacres of Kánhpúr, v. 265n; his account of the massacre of the garrison, ii. 257n; his account of the boat massacre, v. 305; judicial inquiry into his conduct at Kánhpúr, vi. 78.

His first Operations.—Leads Sheorájpúr mutineers to Bithúr, and is defeated (July), v. 306; goes to Cháodrí Bhopál Singh at Fathpúr in Oudh, v. 306; his account of the battle of Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 273n; he is joined by Gwáliár Contingent (22 Sept), iv. 105; his first act is to threaten Kánhpúr (Oct), iv. 105.

His Attack on Kánhpúr.—Prepares to attack Kánhpúr, iv. 160; brings the Gwáliár Contingent to Kálpi (9 Nov), v. 306; crosses the Jamnah to march on Kánhpúr, iv. 161; occupies country to west of that town (10 Nov), iv. 161; marches to attack the city itself (25 Nov), iv. 165; discovers Gen. Windham's weakness, and resolves to crush him, iv. 167; his bold scheme for recovering Kánhpúr, iv. 167; attacks Gen. Windham with artillery only (27 Nov), iv. 168, v. 306; drives Gen. Windham back on Brick Kilns, iv. 169; defeats Gen. Windham's left, and compels withdrawal of right, iv. 170; gets behind English and attempts to reach intrenchment, iv. 170; drives Gen. Windham back into the Kánhpúr intrenchment (28 Nov), iv. 181.

His strong position in Kánhpúr city (30 Nov), iv. 184; he resolves to hold Kánhpúr city, against Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 184; annoys the English by artillery fire (1-5 Dec), iv. 185; his complete defeat

Tántiá Topí—*cont.*

at Kánhpúr (6 Dec), v. 306; defeated by Sir Colin Campbell, but allowed to escape by Gen. Mansfield, iv. 193.

Overtaken by Brig. Hope Grant, loses fifteen guns (8 Dec), iv. 195; fights again at Sheorájpúr (9 Dec), v. 306; crosses the Ganges at Náná Máu kí Ghát, v. 306; moves with his defeated troops to Kherá (10 Dec), v. 306; he is ordered to take charge of Kalpí (Jan '58), v. 306.

The Chirkhári Episode.—Ordered by Náná Sáhib to attack Chirkhári, v. 306; besieges Rájah of Chirkhári (Mar '58), v. 107; captures Chirkhári, v. 111, 306; joined by Mán Singh at Barna Ságár, v. 306.

His Jhánsí Campaign.—Ordered to assist Ráni of Jhánsí, v. 306; marches to relieve Jhánsí, v. 111; he is completely defeated by Sir Hugh Rose (1 Apr '58), v. 113, 306; and retreats from Jhánsí through Bhánderí and Kúnch, v. 306; retreats towards Kalpí, v. 114; gets the remnant of his army across the Betwá, v. 114.

Takes up a strong position at Kúnch (20 Apr '58), v. 120; disconcerted at Kúnch by flank march of Sir Hugh Rose (6 May '58), v. 122; his defeat at Kúnch, v. 307; withdraws his troops from Kúnch with much skill, v. 123; flies from Kúnch to Chirkí (6 May '58), v. 123, 307; his admirable method of retreat, v. 124; concentrates at Gopálpúr, v. 307.

The Seizure of Gwáliár.—Placed at service of Ráni of Jhánsí, v. 307; hurries to the energetic Ráni at Gopálpúr, v. 143; marches on Gwáliár by her advice (30 May '58), v. 144; his successful attack on Gwáliár, v. 307; Sindhiá marches out, to drive him from Gwáliár, v. 146; Sindhiá's troops

Tántiá Topí—*cont.*

join him, and he enters Gwáliár (1 June '58), v. 147; appointed to command troops inside Gwáliár (June '58), v. 147; but is defeated and driven from the place, v. 160.

His Rájputáná Operations.—His retreat on Jáurá-Alipúr (19 June '58), v. 307; his description of the battle at Jáurá-A'lipúr, v. 162n; retreats on Jaipúr from Jáurá-A'lipúr (22 June '58), v. 221; forestalled at Jaipúr by Gen. Roberts, turns towards Tonk (30 June '58), v. 222.

His retreat into Tonk (July '58), v. 307; joined by Tonk soldiers with Artillery, v. 223; marches from Tonk to Madhupúrá and Indragarh, v. 223; retreats from Indragarh to Kotrá (11 Aug '58), v. 307; shut out of Búndí, v. 223; crosses from Búndí towards Nasírábád, v. 223; takes up a position near Sánganír, v. 223; skilfully retires from Sánganír (7 Aug '58), v. 224; falls back on Kotrá, v. 225; and from thence on Kankráulí (13 Aug '58), v. 225; his troops refuse to march without rest, v. 225; he is defeated at Kankráulí (14 Aug '58), v. 226; hurries from Kankráulí to the Chambal (15 Aug '58), v. 226; worships at the shrine of Náthdwárá, v. 225; his defeat near Náthdwárá, v. 307; crosses the Chambal and escapes (18 Aug '58), v. 227.

Hurries from the Chambal to Jhálrá Patan (20 Aug '58), v. 227; his account of the capture of Jhálrá Patan, v. 307; his advance on Bhilwárá, v. 307; marches towards Rájgarh (26 Aug '58), v. 228; his account of the battle at that town (Sept '58), v. 230n; driven from Rájgarh, v. 230, 308; moves from thence to Sironj, v. 230; his march to Sironj, v. 308;

Tántiá Topí—*cont.*

refits at Sironj (15–23 Sept '58), v. 235.

Passes through Nijsa Kila, v. 308; storms and plunders I'ságárh (25 Sept '58), v. 235, 308; divides his force there, v. 235; marches from I'ságárh to Chandéri (26 Sept '58), v. 235; attempts Chandéri, v. 308; repulsed at that place turns to Mangráulí, v. 236; defeated at Mangráulí (9 Oct '58), v. 236; his account of the battle of Mangráulí, v. 308; retreats from thence to Jakláun (10 Oct '58), v. 237, 308; passes through the Jakláun jungles to Itáwah and Kurai, v. 238; goes to Sultánpúr (11 Oct '58), v. 308; his defeat near Kajúriá (? Korai) (25 Oct '58), v. 308; escapes from Kurai with the loss of half his army (25 Oct '58), v. 238.

His Attempt on Central India.—Boldly resolves to march southwards and raise the Maráthá country, v. 238; crosses the Narbadá (Oct '58), v. 308; destroys Government stores at Kandulá, v. 308; attacked at Bagrod (26 Oct '58), v. 238; enters Nágpúr territory, at Hoshangábád (27 Oct '58), v. 239; alarm caused by his presence in Nágpúr, v. 239; penetrates Nágpúr as far as Multái (Nov '58), v. 241.

Enters Holkar's possessions (18 Nov '58), v. 241; reaches Kargún, and captures some of Holkar's troops (19 Nov '58), v. 241; reaches Thán, and plunders English convoy at (23 Nov '58), v. 241; again defeated, near the Narbadá (24 Nov '58), v. 309; plunders Chiklá (26 Nov '58), v. 245, 309; reaches Rájpúrá, v. 309; levies contribution from the Chief of Rájpúrá (26 Nov '58), v. 245, 309; overtaken and defeated at Rájpúr (25 Nov '58), v. 244; at last succeeds in recrossing

Tántia Topí—*cont.*

the Narbadá (26 Nov '58), v. 244, 309.

Re-attempts Rájpútáná.—Hurries towards Barodah (27 Nov '58), v. 245; enters Chhotá Udaipúr (29 Nov '58), v. 245; defeated at Chhotá Udaipúr (1 Dec '58), v. 247, 309; retreats from that town to Déogarh Bárí, v. 309; flies into Bánszárá (2 Dec '58), v. 247, 309; reaches Déogarh Bárí almost destitute of troops (8 Dec '58), v. 248.

Final Pursuit.—Gets supplies from Kaisar Singh (10 Dec '58), v. 309; enters town of Bánszárá, v. 248; seizes and supplies himself at Salúmba (12 Dec '58), v. 248, 309; his advance on Udaipúr stopped by Major Rocke, v. 248; retires to jungles near Bhilwárá and contemplates surrender (13 Dec '58), v. 248, 309; moves towards Partábgarh, v. 248; his defeat at Partábgarh (16 Dec '58), v. 309; forces his way past Maj. Rocke at Partábgarh (25 Dec '58), v. 249; marches to Zírápúr, south of Gwálíár, v. 249, 309; flies from Zírápúr to Barod (2 Jan '59), v. 249; defeated by Col. Somerset there (2 Jan '59), v. 250, 309; flies from Barod to Náhargarh (5 Jan '59), v. 250, 309.

He is joined by Mán Singh (6 Jan '59), v. 250; marches with Mán Singh to Parón, v. 250, 309; Mán Singh leaves him (12 Jan '59), v. 250; marches from Parón to Kilwári, v. 309; arrives at Indragarh (13 Jan '59), v. 250, 309; joined by Firúzsháh at Indragarh (15 Jan '59), v. 254; hurries from Indragarh to Dewásá, v. 255, 309; almost captured at Dewásá (16 Jan '59), v. 256; escapes from Dewásá into Márwár (17 Jan '59), v. 256, 309; reaches Sikar (21 Jan '59), v. 256; the remnants of his army completely defeated there,

Tántiá Topí—*cont.*

v. 256; the defeated troops surrender to Rájah of Bikánír (25 Jan '59), v. 256.

He quarrels with Ráo Sáhib (26 Jan '59), v. 310; abandons Ráo Sáhib and the few remaining troops, v. 256, 310; rides to Parón and meets Mán Singh, v. 256; hides in Narwár (Feb '59), v. 258.

Plans for effecting his capture, v. 258; loses Náná Sáhib's seal, and has another made (Mar '59), v. 310; trusts Mán Singh even after his surrender, v. 264; communicates with Mán Singh after his surrender, v. 310; he is seized by party led by Mán Singh (7 Apr '59), v. 264; his own account of his capture, v. 310; he is carried to Sípri and tried by court-martial, v. 264; his voluntary deposition at his trial, v. 304; his straightforward defence, v. 264; condemned and hanged at Sípri (18 Apr '59), v. 265; the justice or injustice of his sentence discussed, v. 265.

Tarái Pargannahs, a district of Rohilkhand, iv. xviii; its description, iv. 360*n.*

Tárá Kothí, the, Lakhnao, observatory for stars, iv. xix; occupied by Gen. Outram (26 Sept), iv. 108.

Táráwálí Kothí, same as Tárá Kothí, *q.v.*

Tattah, or Thathah, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.

Tayler, Mr. Skipwith, repulses mutinous Cavalry at Gayá (8 Sept), iv. 312.

Tayler, Mr. William, Commissioner of Patná, his character, iii. 27; the great difficulty and responsibility of his position, iii. 33; reports to Lieut.-Gov. Halliday that Muslims were expecting attempts at forcible conversion (1856), i. 347.

Effect of Mírath outbreak on, iii. 28; summons council at Patná, and receives support of Europeans, iii. 28; the guards at his house

Tayler, Mr. William—*cont.*

prove traitorous, iii. 29; he summons Sikhs to Patná, iii. 29; his conduct during the first crisis (7 June), iii. 28.

Arrests the Wáhábí Maulavís (19 June), iii. 34; arrests a native magistrate of Patná (20 June), iii. 35; disarms the people of Patná, iii. 35; orders the arrest of A'li Karím (23 June), iii. 35; his splendid conduct during crises at Patná, iii. 32.

His view of the mutual dependence of Patná and Dánápúr, iii. 33; urges Gen. Lloyd to disarm Dánápúr Sípahís, iii. 33; suppresses rising at Patná (3 July), iii. 36; approves of Major Holmes's vigorous measures at Sigaulí, iii. 47; on outbreak of Sigaulí mutiny, withdraws his troops from Phúlwári, iii. 48; begs Gen. Lloyd to pursue mutineers, iii. 50; hears that Gen. Lloyd proposes to intrench Dánápúr (26 July), iii. 49*n.*; detaches small party to intercept Dánápúr mutineers, iii. 48; urges, and at last induces, Gen. Lloyd to do something to check mutineers, iii. 51; his just appreciation of the danger to Bihár of the defeat of Capt. Dunbar's troops, iii. 69.

Makes the defence of A'rah possible by his prescience, iii. 53; his letter to Mr. Bax (30 July), iii. 78*n.*; he and Major Eyre save Bihár, iii. 68.

Directs officials at Gayá and Muzaffarpúr to retire on Patná, iii. 70; the best effects of his policy frustrated by the blundering of Mr. Money, iii. 75; his policy compared with that of Mr. Halliday, iii. 39; his great services at Patná, vi. 33.

Becomes the victim of Mr. Halliday's revenge, iii. 76; dismissed from the service through the machinations of Mr. Halliday, iii. 77; Mr. Halliday driven to

- Tayler, Mr. William—*cont.*
 suppression and fabrication in order to make out a case against him, iii. 77 ; Mr. Halliday's mendacious account of his proceedings, iii. 77*n* ; the charge of cruelty against him exploded, vi. 33*n* ; unpatriotic conduct of his successors in authority in Bihár, iv. 310.
- Subsequent justification by events of all Mr. Tayler's acts at Patná, iii. 79 ; Members of Council, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors admit that Mr. Tayler of Patná was unjustly condemned, iii. 80 ; his treatment compared with that of M. Dupleix in France, iii. 81 ; history and posterity will ever hold him to be the saviour of Bengal, vi. 33.
- Taylor, Capt. Alexander, breaks the bridge at Nausháhrá, and cuts off escaping mutineers (22 May), ii. 363 ; assists in preparing plan for attack on Dehlí (20 Aug), iv. 5 ; his plan for attack of Dehlí, iv. 6 ; traces No. 1 battery, Dehlí (7 Sept), iv. 8 ; carries a sap to the Burn bastion (18 Sept), iv. 45.
- Taylor, Col. Meadows, gives account of Rájah of Shorápur, v. 85*n*.
- Taylor, Ensign, murdered at Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123.
- Taylor, Mr., Joint-Magistrate, his account of discontent at Banáras during May, ii. 150*n* ; his official report of disarmament of Banáras Sipáhís, ii. 164*n* ; his Narrative of Banáras mutiny, ii. 174*n* ; his official account of the disorder in A'zamgáirh, vi. 65.
- Taylor, Mr. P., Judge of Bardwán, vi. 6.
- Taylor, Mr. R. J., Judge of Jaunpúr, vi. 50 ; explains the reasons for the outbreak at that town (5 June), vi. 50.
- Taylor, Mr. W. T., Collector of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.
- Teheran, British Mission at, disliked by Persia (1853), i. 302 ; Mr. Murray hauls down British flag at (1855), i. 303.
- Tehrí, its description, v. *xii* ; European fugitives from Lálítpúr sent to fort of (June), v. 67 ; Rájah of, supplies Sir Hugh Rose before Jhánsí (Mar '58), v. 110.
- Teignmouth, Lord, Governor-General of India, i. 267.
- Tej Singh, Rájah of Mainpurí, tries to stop the march of Brig. Seaton (25 Dec), iv. 206 ; defeated by Brig. Seaton at Karaulí (27 Dec), iv. 206 ; incites Rohilkhand rebels to invade the Duáb (Mar '58), iv. 350.
- Tej Singh, a Sikh chief, his fort at Siálkot, ii. 473.
- Telegraphs, their effect on Brahmanic discontent, i. 138.
- Teliágarhí, strong fort of Rájmahall, once the key of Bengal, vi. 34.
- Templer, Capt., marches with Gen. Napier's force to Ránód (Dec '58), v. 251*n*.
- Temple, Mr. Richard, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39 ; his despatch on the sentence on the King of Dehlí (29 Apr '58), v. 350.
- Tenasserim Provinces, general service regiments raised for service in (1850), v. 285.
- Tennant, Capt., suggests the issue of paper money at Dehrá Dún, vi. 119.
- Tennant, Lieut. with fourth column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.
- Ternan, Capt. A. H., Deputy Commissioner of Narsinlpúr, v. 61 ; induces Mr. Colvin to abstain from changing procedure in Ságár (1855), v. 61 ; ordered to degrade the inoffensive Rájah of Dilhérí, v. 64 ; endeavours to save the Dilhérí family from ruin, v. 64.
- 'Chapátis sent for circulation brought to him (Jan), v. 62 ; reports his opinion of the mysterious *chapátis* to Major Erskine, v. 63 ;

- Ternan, Capt. A. H. his opinion of the *chapatis* ridiculed by his superiors, v. 63; he is warned by friendly Natives to fly from Narsinhpúr, v. 64; Dilhéri men, in gratitude for his kindness, protect and serve him through the Mutiny, v. 65.
- Moves into district and restores order (Nov), v. 73; rapidly marches on Singhpúr, captures, and hangs owner, v. 73; kills the rebel Ganjan Singh in single combat, v. 73; destroys rebels at Chirápúr (Dec), v. 74; defeats invading rebels at Madanpúr (Jan '58), v. 74; clears Narsinhpúr of rebels, v. 74.
- Téz Alí Khán, escapes with officers from Faizábád, iii. 269; reaches Captainganj in safety, iii. 269.
- Tezpúr, chief town of Durang, A'sám, vi. 31.
- Thákur Nárain, warns Col. Goldney of coming mutiny, iii. 267.
- Thákur Singh, a disaffected officer at Belgáon, v. 22; sent with his company of Sipáhís to Badámí (2 Aug), v. 22.
- Thackeray, Lieut., with reserve column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.
- Thackwell, General, his first operation on the Chenáb, i. 27.
- Thag gaol, a post at Lakhnao, iii. 298.
- Thán, Tántiá Topí plunders an English convoy at (23 Nov, '58), v. 241; Major Sutherland marches through, v. 242.
- Tháná Bhawan, people of, capture Shámlí, and massacre defenders, vi. 124; stormed and captured, but stormers driven out again (16 Sept), vi. 124; captured by Mr. Dunlop (18 Sept), vi. 125, 133.
- Thánah, roads near, cleared of marauders (Feb '59), v. 259.
- Tháneswar, its unprotected condition in May, ii. 121n.
- Thar, name of a desert in Sindh, vi. 144.
- Thathah, or Tattah, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Thauba-Bazaar, at Dehlí, the Muhammadans of, admit insurgents to city, ii. 58.
- Thomas, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Thomas, Lieut., murdered near Mohádaba (June), iii. 269.
- Thomason, Lieut., joins in attack on Bijnaur raiders (9 Jan '58), vi. 112.
- Thomason, Mr., Deputy Commissioner at Muhamdí, iii. 256; sends conveyances to Powáin for Mr. Jenkins's party, iii. 215, 257; warned by Mr. Jenkins of coming outbreak, iii. 257; removes treasure into Muhamdí fort, iii. 258; murdered at Aurangábád (5 June), iii. 260n.
- Thomason, Mr. James, becomes Lieut.-Gov. North-West Provinces (1844), i. 119; his administration of those Provinces, iii. 96; disgraces Rájah of Dilhéri merely to discourage large landholders (1855), v. 64; deprives Rájah of Mainpúrī of much of his Tálukdarí, i. 119; advises rejection of Náná Sáhib's claim, i. 74; charged by Col. Sleeman with habitually insulting Native gentry, i. 121; his policy of dealing directly with the people, i. 111; his unfortunate land settlement, vi. 50; his revenue system, one cause of the Mutiny, vi. 167; his tomb at Bárclí, destroyed by Khán Bahádur Khán, iii. 212.
- Thompson, Capt., conducts Mr. Money and treasure from Gayá to Calcutta, iii. 75n.
- Thompson, Capt., pursues rebels from Morár into Gwáliár (16 June '58), v. 152.
- Thompson, Mr., Gunner, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90n.
- Thompson, Mr. Apothecary, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 386.

- Thompson, Mr. Fendall, his official account of Alláhbád during May, ii. 184; his official account of the rising in the Dúáb (June), ii. 196.
- Thompson, Mr. George, a lecturer, becomes envoy for Dehlí Emperor (1838), ii. 8.
- Thomson, Capt., commands Cavalry at Salóní, iii. 273; ten of his Salóní Sipáhís remain faithful, and never leave him, iii. 273.
- Thomson, Capt. Mowbray, his account of garrison at Kánhpúr (June), ii. 218; his date for attack on Kánhpúr intrenchments, ii. 236n; his account of Sipáhí scare at Kánhpúr, ii. 249n; his brilliant services at Kánhpúr, ii. 241; his story of the escape from Kánhpúr, ii. 259n; lands from escaping boat to drive away pursuers, ii. 261; ultimately escapes from general massacre, ii. 262.
- Thomson, Col., requires 16 days to collect supplies for march on Dehlí, ii. 117.
- Thomson, Private, wins Victoria Cross at Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 355.
- Thornhill, Mr., C.S., twice wounded in pursuit of mutineers (12 June), iii. 281, 386.
- Thornhill, Mr., his account of massacre of Kánhpúr, ii. 281n.
- Thornhill, Mr., officer of Oudh Commission, at Sítápúr, iii. 252; murdered at Sítápúr (3 June), iii. 255.
- Thornhill, Mrs., murdered at Sítápúr (3 June), iii. 255.
- Thornhill, Mr. Mark, Magistrate and Collector of Mathurá, vi. 85; sees the *chapáti*s in circulation (Jan), vi. 86.
- Goes to A'gra for change of air (May), vi. 87; at A'gra hears of Mírath mutiny (12 May), vi. 87; returns at once to Mathurá, vi. 87; hears particulars of the Mírath and Dehlí revolt, vi. 88; sends all ladies to A'gra, vi. 87.
- Hears at Mathurá of approach of mutineers, vi. 87; finds that his clerks and assistants know more about the outbreak than he does, vi. 89; wishes to send treasure to A'gra, vi. 90; Mr. Colvin will not allow treasure to be sent to him, vi. 91.
- Hears of Mathurá mutiny, at Chatá (30 May), vi. 91; sends warning to Capt. Nixon of mutiny at Mathurá, vi. 92; villagers at Chatá swarm round him at night, vi. 92; villagers of Chatá offer to defend him (30 May), vi. 92; hears of approach of mutineers to Chatá (31 May), vi. 93; meets Capt. Nixon, and Bhartpúr troops mutiny while they are together, vi. 93; proceeds, by circuitous route, from Chatá to A'gra, vi. 91; his dangerous and fatiguing ride with his clerk, vi. 91; incidents in his dangerous ride from Chatá to A'gra, vi. 93; Cavalry party from Mathurá tries to intercept him, vi. 94; romantic adventure at Raal, vi. 95; ultimately reaches A'gra in safety (1 June), vi. 95.
- Hears at A'gra that Mathurá is free from Sipáhís, vi. 96; asks European troops with which to return to Mathurá, vi. 96; allowed to enlist volunteers for his return to Mathurá, vi. 96; starts from A'gra with eight volunteers, vi. 96; at Farah sends his volunteers back, and proceeds to Mathurá with his clerk, vi. 96.
- Resides, with his clerk, with the Seths, at Mathurá, vi. 96; his description of domestic comforts in a Hindú home, vi. 96n; discovers Bhartpúr troops, and becomes their leader (July), vi. 97; disarms the mob at Mathurá, vi. 97; after mutiny of Gwáliár troops, goes boldly back to Mathurá to save his subordinates, vi. 98; calls meeting of wealthy

Thornhill, Mr. Mark—*cont.*

people at Mathurá, and gets dubious support, vi. 97; again returns from A'gra, and raises levies in Mathurá, vi. 98; attacks and captures Débé Singh, vi. 98.

Capt. Dennys, with Kotá Contingent, joins him at Mathurá, vi. 98; the Kotá Contingent called to A'gra, vi. 98; goes with Kotá Contingent to A'gra and takes in revenue, vi. 98; the attempt to murder him and his clerk at Mathurá, vi. 98, 102*n*; incidents of his second escape from Mathurá to A'gra, vi. 100.

Remains in fort at A'gra till 10 Oct., vi. 102; returns to Mathurá with Gen. Cotton (15 Oct), vi. 102; re-establishes order in Mathurá, vi. 102.

Thornton, Assistant Surgeon, accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63*n*.

Thornton, Mr., a young civilian, cuts away the bridge of boats at Philúr (8 June), ii. 378.

Thornton, Mr. Edward, appointed to the Panjáb (1849), i. 39; arrests conspirators and stops Hazárah rising (Aug), v. 211.

Thornton, Sir John, his letter on Settlement of North-West Provinces (1845), i. 114.

Thurburn, Capt., his house at Faizábád fortified (May), iii. 266; the project of defending his house abandoned, iii. 267; escapes from Faizábád to Dánápúr, iii. 271.

Thynne, Capt., killed in capture of iron bridge, Lakhnao (11 Mar '58), iv. 266.

Tibí, in the Panjáb, i. 207.

Tigra, Sir E. Lugard attacks and defeats rebels at (10 Apr '58), iv. 329.

Tíká Singh, Subahdar of 2nd Cavalry, conspires with Náná Sáhib (1 June), ii. 231; commands rebel Cavalry at Fathpúr (12 July), ii. 273*n*; made General in Náná Sá-

hib's army, ii. 238; ordered to massacre Kánhpúr garrison, ii. 257*n*; present at massacre of Kánhpúr garrison, ii. 256.

Tilhar, occupied by Sir Colin Campbell (16 May '58), iv. 377.

Timlí, a pass near Básdsháhbágħ, vi. 118.

Timmins, Major, defeated at Mehíd-púr by hesitancy (8 Nov), v. 50.

Tinnivelli, Col. Dyce hastens from, to stop mutiny at Páliamkottá, i. 174.

Tiparah, district of Chitrágáon, iv. xiv, vi. 3; mutineers from Chitrágáon try to escape by (Nov), iv. 293.

Tiparah, Rájah of, loyally co-operates with the English, iv. 294.

Tipú, Sultán, i. 155*n*.

Tirhút, a district of Patná division, iii. xii, 26, vi. 3; most northerly part of Lower Provinces, vi. 2; description of, iv. xix; riots in, in 1855, i. 145; arrest of Wáris Áli at (23 June), iii. 35; defenceless condition of, at end of July, iii. 70; column sent from, to move along Gandak (Nov), iv. 225.

Tirúl, a strong fort captured by Brig. Berkeley (16 July '58). v. 195.

Tistá, river near Jalpaiguri, iii. xi, 91; description of course of river, iv. xix; river crossed by Dhákah mutineers to reach Darjiling (26 Dec), iv. 301.

Títagarh, near Calcutta, i. 363.

Títáliá, occupied by Mr. Yule and his infantry (22 Dec), iv. 301.

Todd, D'Arcy, his opinion of the Sipáhís, v. 283.

Todd, Mr., carries capitulation treaty to Náná Sáhib for signature, ii. 253.

Tolá Nárainpúr, village near Jagadíspúr, occupied by Kúnwar Singh, iii. 85; captured by Major Eyre (12 Aug), iii. 86.

Tombs, Major Henry, commands troop of Horse Artillery, ii. 137;

Tombs, Major Henry—*cont.*

turns the left flank of mutineers at the Hindan (30 May), ii. 138; leads successful attack on mutineers at Dehlí (17 June), ii. 412; defeats sortie from Dehlí, ii. 405n; heroically fights mutineers at Dehlí, with Artillery only (18 June), ii. 414n; caught in rush of mutineer Cavalry (9 July), ii. 436; receives the Victoria Cross, for his bravery on this occasion, ii. 437n; commands No. 4 battery, Dehlí, iv. 14; commands Artillery to protect flanks of stormers at Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 34; present, with battery, at attack on Baréli (5 May '58), iv. 367.

Tomkinson, Lieut., commands company of 53rd N.I. at Uráí, vi. 174; sent from Uráí to Gwálíár with treasure (4 June), vi. 174; approaches Gwálíár (12 June), vi. 174; forbidden to enter that town, vi. 174; ordered to go to A'gra, vi. 174; forbidden to enter A'gra, vi. 174; his men leave him with regret (July), 'vi. 175; stripped by villagers, but preserved till October by a Muhammadan, vi. 175; attempts to explode rebel ammunition, vi. 175; discovered in the act and killed (23 Oct), vi. 175.

Tonk, a state of Rájputáná, iii. x, 163n, iv. xvii, vi. 154; description of the state, vi. 154; Muhammad Khán, Nawáb of, vi. 154; the Nawáb actively assists the English, vi. 154; Tántiá Topí compelled to turn towards, from Jaipúr (July '58), v. 222; the soldiers of, join Tántiá Topí, v. 223; Tántiá Topí's attack on, v. 307.

Tonnochy, Mr., kills Sáh Mall at Barot, v. 131.

Tons, branch of the Ghághrá, passage forced by Sir E. Lugard (14 Apr '58), iv. 330.

Topham, Capt., saves two guns (13 Apr '58), iv. 348.

Toráb Alí, loyal official of Dháulána, captured by rebels, vi. 133; released by people of Soláná, vi. 133.

Torábáz Khán, insurrectionary leader at Haidarábád, shot (17 July), v. 83.

Tottenham, Capt., enters Jabalpúr with Madras Cavalry (2 Aug), v. 70; killed while defeating rebels near Jabalpúr (Nov), v. 73.

Townshend, Lieut., enters Náogáoñ, and re-asserts British authority for a few hours (12 June), iii. 129; shot by bandits near Chhattarpúr (17 June), iii. 129.

Travankúr, perfect loyalty of ruler of, vi. 168.

Travers, Col., arrives at Indúr with detachment of Bhopál troops (June), iii. 139; command of Indúr Residency troops devolves on, iii. 139; sees outbreak of Indúr mutiny (1 July), iii. 144; bravely charges rebel guns, iii. 146; forwards Col. Durand's order to Máu, iii. 147; cannot get Native Cavalry to act at Residency, iii. 147; induces the Contingents to look formidable, iii. 156; makes last attempt to induce Cavalry to charge, iii. 156; his desperate position at Residency, iii. 149; agrees with Col. Durand to retreat on Mandlé-sar, iii. 158; sends messengers to stop Capt. Hungerford's advance on Indúr, iii. 159; his description of the method of withdrawing from Residency, iii. 150n; his account of reception of fugitives at Bhopál, iii. 159n; asserts general belief in Holkar's loyalty until cut-break, iii. 151; his daring in attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 189.

Treasury Buildings, a battery at the Residency, Lakhnão, iii. 297.

Trévelyan, Mr. Otto, his date for attack on Kánpúr intrenchments, ii. 237n; his account of deaths in Bíbígarh, ii. 267n.

- Trevelyananji, suburb near Ridge at Dehlí, ii. 390.
- Tributary Mahalls, included in Orísa, iv. xvii.
- Trichinápalí, troops sent from, to stop mutiny at Páliamkottá, i. 175.
- Trímú Ghaut, Siálkot mutineers cross the Ráví at (11 July), ii. 481; complete destruction of Siálkot mutineers at (16 July), ii. 483.
- Trinkomali, Collector of, charged with church-building for political purposes (1805), i. 181.
- Trotter, Capt., his description of Al-láhábád, ii. 180*n*; his testimony as to the esteem felt for Mr. Venables, iv. 384.
- Troup, Col. Colin, commands at Baréli during absence of Brig. Sibbald (May), iii. 204; fails to appreciate the crisis, iii. 204; makes judicious preparations for possible mutiny at Baréli, iii. 204; sends women and children to Nainí Tál (14 May), iii. 205; hears of intended mutiny of his troops (26 May), iii. 206; prepares for, and causes postponement of mutiny, iii. 206; abandons faith in Sipáhís, and starts for Nainí Tál, iii. 209; orders Irregulars to march from Baréli (31 May), iii. 209; specially commends the gallant conduct of Mackenzie and Becher at Baréli, iii. 211*n*.
- In command of Baréli column (Oct '58), v. 203; advances on Sítápúr, v. 203; captures Mitháulí (8 Oct '58), v. 204; defeats rebels at Ménhdí (18 Nov '58), v. 204.
- Tucker, Capt., killed in attack on Jíran (23 Oct), iv. 400.
- Tucker, Col., killed at attack on Fathgarh fort (30 June), iii. 228.
- Tucker, Col. Henry, Adjutant-General, points out danger of greased cartridges in 1853, i. 379; his warnings about greased cartridges never forwarded to Military Secretary, i. 380*n*.
- Tucker, Lieut., tends Col. Fisher in his last agony in face of mutinous Sipáhís, iii. 272; rides from Sultánpúr, and ultimately reaches Banáras in safety, iii. 272; sheltered by Rústam Sáh, in his flight from Sultánpúr, iii. 272; commands mounted Infantry, with Gen Franks (Dec), iv. 229.
- Tucker, Mr., Director, supports Tálukdári claims, i. 120; objects to the annexation of Satárah (1849), i. 53; vehemently dissents from removal of Royal Family from Dehlí, ii. 17*n*.
- Tucker, Mr. Henry Carre, Commissioner at Banáras, ii. 151, vi. 39; despises material aid, from religious fervour, ii. 157; his method of preserving order in Banáras (May), ii. 153; his enthusiasm held to be imbecility, ii. 158; his absolute inaction, from excessive inoffensiveness, vi. 39; urged to be more severe by pure-hearted Christians, ii. 302; his estimate of the Banáras population, ii. 150*n*; exposes himself daily as though in bravado, ii. 157.
- Allows first succours to pass on to Káhnpúr, ii. 155; his frank commendation of his subordinates, ii. 156; receives commendatory letter from Lord Canning (29 May), ii. 159; his readiness to abandon Baráras counteracted by Mr. Gubbins, vi. 41.
- Arranges with Col. Neill disarmament of Banáras Sipáhís (4 June), ii. 163; takes refuge in Mint, with other Europeans, ii. 175; wisely rewards faithful Sikhs with 10,000 rupees (5 June), ii. 173*n*; prefers enlarged civil powers to martial law, ii. 176; collects out-lying treasure, and brings it into Banáras, ii. 180.
- Gives Mr. Wynyard full authority at Gorákhpúr, vi. 54; uses all his influence to prevent Gurkhás entering British territory, vi. 56;

- Tucker, Mr. Henry Carre—*cont.*
his opposition to Gurkhá aid the cause of much loss of life, vi. 56.
- Directs evacuation of A'zamgarh (29 July), vi. 67; refuses to allow officers to accompany Mr. Venables back to A'zamgarh, vi. 64.
- Tucker, Mr. Robert Tudor, Judge at Fathpúr, his active proselytizing efforts, ii. 274, vi. 75; remains alone in Fathgarh, and single-handed slays rebels in the street, ii. 275; fights desperately on the top of his house, but is slain, ii. 276.
- Tucker, Mr. St. George, Magistrate and Collector of Mírzápúr, vi. 46; his courage and energy at Mírzápúr (June), vi. 47; chases the murderers of Mr. Moore, vi. 48.
- Turkey, Asiatic, i. 302.
- Turnbull, Col. Montagu, Commandant of Calcutta Cavalry Volunteers, vi. 17.
- Turnbull, Lieut., receives the King of Dehlí from Capt. Hodson (20 Sept), iv. 54; carries despatches from Dehlí to Calcutta (Oct), iv. 101*n*; on the losses before Dehlí, iv. 60*n*; states that army before Dehlí was three times on the verge of retreat, iv. 59*n*.
- Turnbull, Lieut., murdered at Jhánsí (6 June), iii. 123.
- Turnbull, Lieut.-Col., his estimate of Sir J. Lawrence's services with respect to siege of Dehlí, iv. 405; his conspicuous bravery, iv. 406; justifies Gen. Wilson's timidity as to holding Dehlí, iv. 38.
- Turnbull, Mr. George, driven from Balandshahr by Sipáhís (21 May), vi. 134.
- Turner, Col., C.B., guards the trunk road through Bihár (July-Sept '58), iv. 340; defeats Amar Singh at Pirú (17 Oct '58), iv. 341; destroys the rear-guard of Amar Singh's force (20 Oct '58), iv. 343.
- Turner, Lieut., Artillery officer, heroically fights mutineers at Dehlí with Artillery only (18 June), ii. 414*n*; commands Artillery at flank attack on rebels, from Dehlí Ridge (14 July), ii. 440; wounded at Ludlow Castle, Dehlí (23 July), ii. 447.
- Turner, Major Frank, acts under Major Brind in No. 1 battery, Dehlí, iv. 9*n*; protects Col. Greathead's baggage during attack on Balandshahr (28 Sept), iv. 62, 63.
- Turnour, Lieut., R.N., commands sailors in attack on A'mórha (9 June '58), v. 196.
- Tuckerman, Mr., an American gentleman, serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Tulloch, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Tulsípúr, rebels try to establish themselves there (16 Dec '58), v. 204.
- Túkají Ráo Holkar, *see* Holkar.
- Tweedale, Marquis of, guarantees extra allowances to Madras troops going to Sindh, i. 215; allowances promised by him, disallowed, and mutiny in consequence, i. 215.
- Tweedie, Ensign, his account of disarmament at Banáras, ii. 170*n*.
- Tyler, Major, commands rear-guard in Lord Mark Kerr's remarkable battle at A'zamgarh (6 Apr '58), iv. 325.
- Tyrwhitt, Lieut., Adjutant to Mírath Volunteers, vi. 128; goes to Balandshahr to restore order (25 May), vi. 135.
- Tytler, Capt., his evidence at trial of King of Dehlí, ii. 63; proves communication between Sipáhís at Dehlí and Mírath before outbreak, v. 313.
- Tytler, Lieut.-Col. Fraser, Quarter-master-General of troops sent to retake Kánhpúr, ii. 270; states the impossibility of Havelock's

Tytler, Lieut.-Col. Fraser—*cont.*
 troops forcing their way to Lakhnao, iii. 334; his criticism on disobedience of officers at Kánhpúr, ii. 305*n*; tells Lakhnao garrison that help will reach them in five days (25 July), ii. 312*n*; his opinion of the second battle at Bashíratganj (4 Aug), iii. 339.

U.

Uchahárá, a district of Central India, v. xi.

Udaipúr or Méwár, the most ancient state of Rájpútáná, vi. 155; situation of, iii. xiii, 163*n*, iv. xvii; description of the state, vi. 155; a Tributary Mahall of the Lower Provinces, vi. 4.

Sarúp Singh, Maháráná of, vi. 155; the Maháráná places his army at the disposal of the British, vi. 156; effect of Nasírábád and Nímach mutinies on, vi. 156; promptly sends help to Nímach fugitives, iii. 169; great kindness shown to Nímach fugitives at, vi. 156.

Town through which Chitrágáo mutineers pass (Nov), iv. 294; Tántiá Topí enters territory (Aug '58), v. 223; Tántiá Topí's advance on, stopped by Major Rocke (12 Dec '58), v. 248; remains loyal, vi. 156.

Udaipúr, Pargannah of, annexed by Lord Dalhousie, i. 80.

Udái Singh, son of the Thákur of Sablí, chosen as ruler of Dungapúr, vi. 157.

Udrés Singh, warns Col. Goldney of coming mutiny, iii. 267.

Ujjén, its description, v. xii; linked in Mandesar insurrection (Sept), v. 45; Col. Lockhart posted to cover (Aug '58), v. 229.

Umjid A'li Shah, King of Oudh, dies in 1847, i. 94*n*.

Umrah, a stream near Gwáliár, v. 154.

Umráo Singh, Chaudhárí of Sherkot, driven from Bijnaur by Mahmúd Khán (July), vi. 110.

Umrí, village forming Sir Hugh Rose's right at attack on Kúnch (6 May '58), v. 122.

Unáo, its position and defences, iii. xiii, 330; battle fought there (29 July), iii. 331; Gen. Havelock drives enemy from (11 Aug), iii. 341; mutineers chased through, by Gen. Havelock (21 Sept), iii. 356; neighbourhood cleared of rebels by Sir Hope Grant (10 May '58), iv. 349; district cleared of rebels, by capture of Mohan (7 Aug '58), v. 198*n*.

Urái, the capital of Jaláun, v. x; Capt. Alexander commands at, vi. 174; mutiny at (6 June), vi. 174; mutinous Sipáhís send away Capt. Alexander and his wife, vi. 174.

Urchá, Rájah of, his territories become Jhánsí, iii. 118.

Urchálí, another name for Tehrí, its description, v. xii; loyalty of Rájah of, vi. 167; the Rájah of, joins Gen. Whitlock (24 Feb '58), v. 134.

Uriyás, name of inhabitants of Orísá, vi. 4.

U'sehat, occupied by Gen. Penny (24 Apr '58), iv. 351.

U'tangham, river of Bhartpúr, vi. 160.

V.

Van Cortlandt, Mr., assists Herbert Edwardes to defeat Mulráj, i. 20; raises Native levies, and restores order north-west of Dehlí, iv. 75; Vans Agnew, Mr., sent to Multán, i. 14; murdered there, i. 15.

Vaughan, Lieut., R.N., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 91n; fights his guns splendidly at Kálí Nadí (2 Jan '58), iv. 211, 212 and *n.*

Vaughan, Major, joins Col. Chute in his advance on Hoti-Mardán (24 May), ii. 364; chases flying mutineers from Hoti-Mardán (25 May), ii. 365*n.*

Vellúr, residence of Tipú's representatives, i. 161; garrisoned by few European soldiers, i. 166; mutiny there (7 May 1806), i. 162; first outburst of mutiny suppressed, i. 163; open mutiny at (10 July 1806), i. 165; mutiny crushed by Col. Gillespie, i. 168; reason for not despatching European troops from Bengal to suppress mutiny at, i. 249.

Discussion of ultimate causes of mutiny of, i. 179; one cause for the mutiny of, i. 112; real causes of the outbreak at, i. 183; exposure of myths concerning mutiny, i. 169; circulation of cakes precedes the mutiny at, vi. 87.

Project to murder English at (1822), i. 191.

Venables, Mr., indigo-planter of A'zamgarh, vi. 63; his noble character, vi. 68; driven from A'zamgarh by mutiny (3 June), vi. 64; returns to A'zamgarh to rescue hidden Europeans, vi. 64; persuades Sipáhís to leave A'zamgarh, vi. 64.

With a few Sipáhís takes the

Venables, Mr.—*cont.*

field against rebels (10 July), vi. 65; at first pressed back by number of rebels, vi. 65; attacks the Palwár clan of Rájpúts (16 July), vi. 65; he is driven back into A'zamgarh, but skilfully retreats, vi. 66; his skilful retreat terrifies the Palwárs, vi. 66.

Fights and defeats the rebels at A'zamgarh (16 July), iv. 222; sends Sipáhís away from A'zamgarh (18 July), vi. 66; officers and gentlemen from Nipál arrive and strengthen his hands, vi. 66.

Marches out a third time against rebels (20 July), vi. 66; again unsuccessful, but inflicts fearful loss on rebels in retreating, vi. 66; the loss he inflicts in retreating makes rebels disappear from A'zamgarh (21 July), vi. 67; effect of Dánápúr mutiny on his position (29 July), vi. 67; abandons A'zamgarh by direction of Mr. Tucker (30 July), vi. 67; forced to retreat on Gházípúr, iv. 222.

Leads the Cavalry at action of Mánduri (19 Sept), iv. 223; fights under Lord Mark Kerr at battle of A'zamgarh (6 Apr '58), iv. 325; assists in forcing the passage of the Tons (15 Apr '58), iv. 331; wounded at the Tons, and dies (15 Apr '58), iv. 331.

His great services, iv. 383; rebels offer 500 rupees for his head, iv. 223*n.*; Lord Canning's testimony as to his valuable services, iv. 383*n.*

Venáyak Ráo, deposits trust-fund with Indian Government (1850), v. 139; his trust-fund appropriated by Indian Government, v. 139.

Verner, Major G., Superintendent of Kachhár, vi. 28.

Verney, Lieut., describes the grief felt at the death of Capt. Peel, iv. 382.

Verney, Mr. E. H., Mate, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 91*n.*

- Vibart, Capt. Edmund, one of five who charged successfully hundreds of armed villagers, iii. 230n.
- Vibart, Lieut., his narrative of Reveley's last moments, ii. 71n; his narrative of the escape of fugitives from Dehlí, ii. 73.
- Vibart, Major, his conspicuous courage at Kánpúr, ii. 241; closes the rear of retiring garrison from Kánpúr, ii. 254.
- Vichárlo, name for Middle Sindh, vi. 144n.
- Victoria, Queen, supposed by Indians to have fled from Russian power, i. 251.
- Vigors, Major, with third column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 19.
- Viktevitch, Count, Dost Muhammad, offers to produce his letter, i. 328n.
- Vindhya, the range passing through Bandah, vi. 78.
- Vírávan, a town of Sindh, vi. 145.
- Vivian, Sir Robert, commands Turkish Contingent in Crimea, ii. 96n.
- Vizagpatan, mutiny of Madras troops at (1790), i. 341n.
- Vurí Gangá, river of Eastern Bengal, iv. xiv.
- Vyse, Lieut., his gallant charge, and death, near Gangarí (Dec), iv. 203.
- W.**
- Wagentreiber, Mr., his description of the Ridge at Dehlí on 11 May, ii. 70n.
- Wáhábís, their head-quarters at Patná, iii. 26, vi. 32; Sir W. Hunter proves the existence of the conspiracy at Patná, iii. 79n.
- Wáhábí Maulaví, arrest of, at Patná (19 June), iii. 34.
- Wáhib A'li Khán, Náná Sáhib's letter of commendation to (27 June), ii. 500.
- Waiz-ul-Hakk, a Wáhábí Maulaví arrested by Mr. Tayler at Patná, iii. 34.
- Wájid A'lí, the native from whose keeping Miss Jackson and Mrs. Orr were rescued at Lakhnao, iv. 281n.
- Wájid A'lí Sháh, becomes King of Oudh (1846), i. 94; allowed two years of grace, i. 95; promises amendment, i. 95; openly disgraces himself in the streets, i. 96; builds the Kaisarbágh, Lakhnao (1848), iv. xvi; complains of indignities offered by English officials, i. 294.
- His final appeals against deposition, i. 108; his abject conduct at his deposition (4 Feb 1856), i. 109; refuses to receive pension, i. 110; goes to Calcutta to reside (1856), i. 295.
- His house at Calcutta, a centre of agitation, i. 362; charged with concern in plot to seize Calcutta on 10 March, i. 389; proclaimed King at Daryábád (9 June), iii. 274; suspected from the first by Lord Canning, i. 421.
- Wake, Mr. Herwald, Magistrate, reports to Patná the flight of railway officials from A'rah (11 June), iii. 32; one of the brave defenders of A'rah, iii. 53n.
- Walajahábád, disaffection at (1806), i. 176.
- Waláyat Sháh, appears at the head of a small force (Aug '58), v. 191.
- Wale, Capt., his services with the Cavalry at the A'lambágh, iv. 252.
- Waleski, MM., two brothers who act with the English in Jaunpúr, vi. 51.

Wálídád Khán, landowner of Mala-garh, claims jurisdiction in Bu-landshahr district (25 May), vi. 135; blocks Mírath road, vi. 135; occupies Khurjá (27 May), vi. 135; holds Malágarh for King of Dehlí, iv. 62.

Walker, Col., pursues Gújádar Singh from Síkrorá, and completely defeats him at Bangáo (Apr '59), v. 206.

Walker, Lieut., his daring in attack on the Sikandarbág (16 Nov), iv. 140.

Walker, Mr. P., Deputy Magistrate, leads troops to seize Gaurá, vi. 47.

Walker, Sergeant, first among the stormers of Water bastion, Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 25.

Wallace, Capt., hastens Artillery into Dehlí (11 May), ii. 64.

Waller, Lieut., joins with Lieut. Rose in his attempt to capture Gwáliár fort (20 June '58), v. 159; succeeds with Rose in capturing the fort of Gwáliár, v. 160.

Walpole, Brig., his character as a soldier, iv. 352; his disastrous incapacity, iv. 353; rage of his troops at his obstinate stupidity, iv. 357; created a K.C.B. for his incompetence, iv. 357n.

Commands left brigade at battle of Kánhpúr (27 Nov), iv. 168; posted to defend canal at Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173; repulses rebel attack, iv. 175.

Commands sixth brigade at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; attacks the enemy's left in that battle, iv. 189.

Ordered to march on Mainpurí and join Seaton (Dec), iv. 200; defied by a few fanatics at Itáwah is compelled to destroy them (29 Dec), iv. 200; blows up the house held by fanatics, iv. 200; occupies Mainpurí (2 Feb '58), iv. 201; joins Brig. Seaton's force (3 Feb '58), iv. 201.

Walpole, Brig.—*cont.*

Takes command of Brig. Seaton's detachment, iv. 209; rejoins Sir Colin Campbell with his detachment (4 Jan '58), iv. 214; deceives Rohilkhand rebels, iv. 218; marches with his brigade to Kánhpúr (Feb '58), iv. 220; turns rebel left at Lakhnao (9 Mar '58), iv. 261; secures command of iron bridge over Gúmtí (11 Mar '58), iv. 266; repulses attack of rebels north of the Gúmtí (16 Mar '58), iv. 280.

Commands movable column in Oudh (Mar '58), iv. 329; ordered into Rohilkhand (Apr '58), iv. 349; force with which he advanced, iv. 352; obstinately blunders in attacking Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 354; he is repulsed by Nirpat Singh, at Ruiyá, iv. 355; shocking waste of life his blundering causes, iv. 356; he marches to Sírsá (22 Apr '58), iv. 357; drives rebels from Sírsá, but allows them to escape, iv. 357; joins the Commander-in-Chief at Fathgarh (27 Apr '58), iv. 358; nearly killed at Barélí, by Gházís (5 May '58), iv. 369; given command of troops in Rohilkhand (10 May '58), iv. 376.

Walter, Mr. W. T., Judge of Dhákah, vi. 28.

Walters, Col., defeats a party of Amar Singh's men (9 Sept '58), iv. 340; allows rebels to escape from Jagdíspúr (18 Oct '58), iv. 341.

Wantmúrí, Desái of, his weak character, v. 20.

Ward, Ensign, distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.

Ward, Lieut., with reserve column at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.

Ward, Mr. J. J., Judge of Katak, vi. 5.

Ward, Rev. W., on Hinduism in daily life, i. 132.

Warde, Lieut., accompanies Capt.

- Warde, Lieut.—*cont.*
 Mackenzie to recover guns at Barélfí, iii. 210*n.*
- Wardlaw, Capt., commands Carabiniers at battle of Nárnúl (16 Nov), iv. 80; his gallant charge, and death, near Gangarí (Dec), iv. 203.
- Wardlaw, Ensign, assists in restoring order in Chutiá Nágpúr, iv. 309.
- Wáris A'lí, his arrest at Tírhút, with treasonable correspondence (23 June), iii. 35; hanged at Patná (5 July), iii. 37.
- Warner, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnão, iii. 385; commands a party at sortie from Lakhnão intrenchment (27 Sept), iv. 110.
- Warner, Lieut., recaptures guns at battle of Nárnúl, iv. 82.
- Warren, Capt., pursues mutinous Cavalry from Gorákhpúr (1 Aug), vi. 58.
- Warren, Lieut., gallantly pushes forward his guns at Sheorájpúr (8 Dec), iv. 195.
- Warwick, Lieut., murdered at Múrádábád (2 June), iii. 222.
- Water Gate, near the Residency, Lakhnão, iii. 297.
- Waterfield, Capt., murdered at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 64.
- Waterfield, Mr., his description of the meeting of the Ganges and Jamnah, ii. 181*n.*
- Watson, Brig., his capture of Garhákótá fort in 1818, v. 99.
- Watson, Capt., of Engineers, proposes retreat from Banáras to Chanár (May), ii. 152.
- Watson, Capt. John, heroically stands under fire with his Cavalry to divert attention from stormers at Dehlí, iv. 34; falls into, but escapes from ambuscade at Kattangi (26 Sept), v. 71; his distinguished conduct at battle near Balandshahr (28 Sept), iv. 63; leads Cavalry charge at surprize of A'gra (10 Oct), iv. 72; kills the rebel leader at capture of Martinière (14 Nov), iv. 123.
- Watson, Lieut.-Col., posted on British left at battle of Kánhpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173.
- Watson, Mr., Magistrate of A'lígarh, vi. 138; assists in volunteer expeditions (June), iii. 198; leads party of Europeans from A'lígarh, iii. 108*n.*; joins in brave retention of factory near A'lígarh, iii. 198*n.*; bravely charges and routs A'lígarh rebels (30 June), vi. 131; dies of cholera in A'gra fort, vi. 138.
- Watson, Mr., Naval Cadet, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n.*
- Wauchope, Mr. Samuel, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, vi. 23; his high character and ability, vi. 24.
- Waugh, Col. Scott, Director of Trigonometrical Survey, has his headquarters at Dehrá Dún, vi. 117.
- Way, Mr., Midshipman, one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 91*n.*
- Wazírábád, mutiny at (1849), i. 229; chief mutineers sentenced to transportation (25 Jan 1850), i. 230.
- Wazír A'lí, rules Oudh before 1800, i. 83.
- Wazír Muhammad Khán, Nawáb of Tonk, prepares to resist Tántiá Topí (July '58), v. 223.
- Wazír Singh, faithful Sikh who accompanied Mr. Edwardes in his flight from Budáun, iii. 217.
- Webb, Lieut., killed at storm of Dehlí (14 Sept), iv. 38.
- Webster, Mr. H. B., leads Europeans from Bandah to Mírzápúr (14 June), vi. 81.
- Wellesley, Lord, i. 1; supports Indian Bible Society, i. 348; his policy towards Rájputáná, iv. 403; dissatisfied with the condition of Oudh, i. 83; takes territory from Oudh to pay for troops, i. 84; rescues Sháh A'lám (1804), ii. 2; settles position of King of Dehlí, ii. 4; the right to withdraw

- Wellesley, Lord—*cont.*
from Dehlí Family privileges granted to Sháh A'lam, ii. 15; conquers Orísá, vi. 3; his great efforts to secure British over-lordship in India, vi. 147.
- Wellesley, Gen., i. 157; slander concerning, i. 161; his opinion of the dissension between Lord Dalhousie and Sir C. Napier, ii. 345*n.*
- Welsh, Lieut., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140.
- Welsh, Major, frustrates projected mutiny at Páliamkottá (1806), i. 174; reproved for preventing mutiny, i. 175.
- Wemyss, Capt., struck down in attack of Láhor Gate, Dehlí, iv. 33.
- Wemyss, Gen., said to have marched his Sipáhís to church, i. 170.
- Weston, Capt. Charles, wounded at Chándípúr (17 Feb '58), iv. 316.
- Weston, Capt. Gould, accompanies Col. Outram to announce deposition to King of Oudh, i. 108; commands Oudh Military Police (Apr), iii. 239*n.*
Sent to suppress rising at Malihábád (27 May), iii. 248; his firmness overawes 3,000 fanatics, iii. 248*n.*; by skill and daring returns safely to Malihábád, iii. 248; endeavours to stop mutiny of Cavalry at Lakhnao, iii. 279; risks his life a second time to stop mutiny, iii. 280; commands at Fayrer's House, Lakhnao, iii. 297
His great services at the A'lambágh, iv. 252; cuts off rebels from Makhanganj (11 Mar '58), iv. 266; guides successful advance to capture of great Imámbárah (16 Mar '58), iv. 279.
- Wetherall, Col., C.B., his dangerous illness by over-exertion, v. 131*n.*; his part in the movement for finally crushing rebels (15 Oct '58), v. 201; ordered to advance against Rámpúr Kasiá (Nov '58), v. 201; captures Rámpúr Kasiá
- Weatherall, Col., C.B.—*cont.*
(3 Nov '58), v. 202; invests the east of Shankarpúr, v. 202.
- Wheatley, Capt., killed in attack on Lakhnao (14 Nov), iv. 125*n.*
- Wheatley, Lieut., killed at Hindu Ráo's House, Dehlí (9 June), ii. 413*n.*
- Wheeler, Lieut., killed at Kánhpúr, ii. 246.
- Wheeler, Sir Hugh, his character, and services, ii. 219; warns Alláhábád of dangerous condition of Sikh troops, ii. 187*n.*; sleeps in his house, with doors and windows open, during excitement, ii. 228; constructs entrenchment at Kánhpúr (May), ii. 221; blamed by Col. Neill for not occupying Magazine, ii. 223*n.*; his cogent reason for not securing the Magazine, ii. 222; said to have been ignorant of contents of Magazine, ii. 233*n.*; satisfied with condition of Kánhpúr (19 May), ii. 92; believed that he had made Kánhpúr safe (1 June), ii. 229.
Anticipates outbreak of his Sipáhís, ii. 220; summons every man to intrenchments (6 June), ii. 237; asks for troops from Lakhnao, ii. 223; Sir H. Lawrence's inability to help him, iii. 282; warned by Mr. Gubbins of the doubtful fidelity of Náná Sáhib, i. 454, ii. 226*n.*; appeals to Náná Sáhib for help, ii. 225; invites Náná Sáhib to secure Treasury and Magazine, ii. 226; Dehlí Force directed to reinforce him (10 June), iii. 9*n.*
- Strongly opposed to capitulation, ii. 251; his capitulation and death, ii. 215; account of his massacre at the Ghaut, ii. 254.
- Wheeler, Col. S. G., commands 34th Native Regt. i. 364; openly endeavours to convert to Christianity, i. 353; disbelieves early accusation of the King of Oudh, i. 421*n.*
- Whish, Brigade-Major, calls Col. Wilson to the Mírath outbreak, ii.

- Whish, Brigade-Major—*cont.*
 49; assists in formation of Volunteers at Mírath, vi. 127.
- Whish, Capt., leads Sipáhís against mutineers approaching Murádábád (23 May), iii. 220; overtakes, captures, strips of arms, and turns loose, party of mutineers, iii. 220.
- Whish, General Samson, sent with troops, against Multán, i. 28; captures Multán (1848), i. 28; marches on the Jhílam (Jan 1849), i. 31.
- Whiting, Capt., his indefatigability at Kánpúr, ii. 241; reluctantly favours capitulation, ii. 252; negotiates Kánpúr capitulation, ii. 252; murdered at Kánpúr (27 June), ii. 260*n.*
- Whitlock, Brig.-Gen., appointed to command Máu column in Central India (Sept), v. 93; appointed to command Nágpúr column (16 Nov), v. 133; occupies Kámthí (10 Jan '58), v. 134; enters Jabalpúr (6 Feb '58), v. 134; refuses to detach troops to clear rebels from forts in Jabalpúr, v. 134; reaches Jakhání (24 Feb '58), v. 134.
 Joined by Rájah of Urchah, v. 134; occupies Damoh (4 Mar '58), v. 134; enters Ságár, and increases its safety (5 Mar '58), v. 134.
 Ordered to march into Bundelkhand (17 Mar '58), v. 135; his dilatory movements in Bundelkhand, v. 135; occupies Panah (29 Mar '58), v. 135; unwisely leads his force through Marwá Ghát, v. 135; halts to refit at Mándalá (2-6 Apr '58), v. 135.
 Ordered to march on Jhánsí, but marches on Bandah (6 Apr '58), v. 135; reaches Chatrpúr (9 Apr '58), v. 135; reaches Mahoba (12 Apr '58), v. 135; the Nawáb of Bandah tries to entrap him (13 Apr '58), v. 135; his entrance into Bandah disputed, v. 136; enters Bandah (19 Apr '58), v. 135; remains at Bandah for six weeks, v. 137; reaps the reward which Sir Hugh Rose's battles give him, v. 138.
 Ordered to march on Kírwí (29 May '58), v. 138; enters Kírwí without opposition, but treats the young Ráo as an enemy (2 June '58), v. 140; his trumped-up case against Kírwí, v. 303; is decreed the prize-money, while Sir Hugh Rose did the fighting, v. 141; the break up of his field force, v. 142.
- Widow-remarriage, influence of, on disaffection, i. 136.
- Widdowson, Mrs. Bridget, mounts guard over prisoners, sword in hand, ii. 244.
- Wiggins, Judge Advocate-General, shows courageous example during excitement at Kánpúr (May), ii. 228.
- Wilcox, Colonel, astronomer to King of Oudh, iv. *xix.*
- Wild, Lieut., accompanies Major Eyre to relief of A'rah, iii. 63*n.*
- Wilde, Capt., with reserve column, at assault of Dehlí, iv. 20.
- Wilde's Brigade, its failure at the Khaibar (1843), i. 206.
- William, Fort, Calcutta, conspiracy to seize (26 Jan), vi. 11.
- Williams, Col., his judicial inquiry into Kánpúr atrocities, vi. 78; his account of the rising at Kánpúr, ii. 231*n.*; his date for attack on Kánpúr intrenchments, ii. 236*n.*; his account of massacre of Kánpúr, ii. 281*n.*; number of those who fell in defence of Kánpúr, ii. 268*n.*; dies of apoplexy at siege of Kánpúr, ii. 247.
- William, Dr., assists in barricading position at Shorápúr (7 Feb '58), v. 87.
- Williams, Lieut., commands Sikhs and guards the Satlaj at Lodiáná

- Williams, Lieut.—*cont.*
 (8 June), ii. 378 ; killed in sight with Jalandhar mutineers (8 June), ii. 379.
- Williams, Major G. W., his account of the imbecility at Mírath after the mutiny, ii. 130*n* ; appointed commander of Mírath Volunteers (June), vi. 127.
- Williams, Mr. Commissioner, his account of suspicious circumstances preceding outbreak at Mírath, i. 415*n* ; his account of outbreak there, ii. 48*n*, 54*n*, 55*n*, 56*n* ; his description of release of troopers from Mírath gaol, ii. 43*n* ; his account of Dehlí outbreak, ii. 74*n* ; his account of massacres at Dehlí (11 May), ii. 62*n*.
- Williams, Mrs. Col., killed at siege of Kánpúr, ii. 247.
- Wilcock, Mr., Joint-Magistrate, his account of the excited feeling at Alláhábád in May, ii. 183*n*.
- Willoughby, Lieut., murdered, near Hindan (12 May), ii. 130*n*.
- Willoughby, Lieut., wounded in attack on Bálábét (23 June), v. 67*n*.
- Willoughby, Lieut. Edward, killed before Ruiyá (15 Apr '58), iv. 355.
- Willoughby, Lieut. George, prepares to defend, or explode, the Magazine, Dehlí, ii. 67 ; his heroic destruction of the Magazine (11 May), ii. 66, 68, v. 322 ; escapes from the explosion, ii. 68.
- Wills, Capt., commands one party issuing from Residency to meet Sir Colin Campbell (16 Nov), iv. 145.
- Wilkin, Lieut., charges while wounded and disperses rebel attack, near Lakhnao (19 Mar '58), iv. 284 ; twice recommended for the Victoria Cross, but the recommendation disregarded by Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 284.
- Wilks, Major, recommends dismissal of officers who prevent mutiny (1806), i. 175*n*.
- Wilks, Mark, his opinion of the Nan-
- Wilks, Mark—*cont.*
 didrúg mutiny (1806). i. 173*n* ; ridicules idea of premeditation in Madras mutinies, i. 179.
- Wilmer, Mr., an American gentleman, serves in Calcutta Volunteers, vi. 18.
- Wilson, Bishop, Lord Canning's letter to him in May, ii. 86*n*.
- Wilson, Brig. N., left to defend intrenchment at Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173 ; ordered to advance from intrenchment, iv. 176 ; repulsed in advance from intrenchment, iv. 176 ; dies fighting bravely at Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 177.
- Wilson, Capt. Thomas Fourness, his character, and services at Lakhnao. iii. 323 ; staff-officer at battle of Chinhát, iii. 286 ; distinguished at battle of Chinhát (29 June), iii. 377 ; his account of Sir H. Lawrence's death, iii. 292 ; visits each post at Lakhnao daily, iii. 312 ; his account of Lieut. S. Lawrence's daring at Johannes house, iii. 302*n* ; his description of first relief of Lakhnao (24 Sept), iii. 321 ; his description of the manual labour demanded from garrison, iii. 316 ; his great services during defence of Lakhnao, iii. 387 ; his subsequent services, and death, iii. 324*n*.
- Wilson, Col. Archdale, Brigadier of Artillery, commands at Mírath, ii. 48 ; his character, ii. 48 ; the guard at his house fire at passing officers, ii. 45*n* ; on outbreak of mutiny instantly prepares European troops for action, ii. 49 ; protects principal places in the station, and marches to the Native Lines, ii. 49 ; but the mutineers had fled, ii. 50 ; defends himself from blame, for inaction of 11 May, ii. 76.
- Leads troops from Mírath (27 May), ii. 137 ; reinforced at the Hindan, by Gurkhás (1 June), ii. 140 ; defeats mutineers twice on

- Wilson, Col. Archdale—*cont.*
 the Hindan (30, 31 May), ii. 138, 139; his special commendation of Lodiānā for forwarding supplies, ii. 384*n*.
 Attends Council of War at Dehlí (14 June), ii. 399; his reasons for postponing attack on Dehlí (16 June), ii. 401; writes despairingly to Sir H. Barnard, iv. 59*n*.
 Succeeds to command of Dehlí Field Force (17 July), ii. 441; informs Sir J. Lawrence that unless he is reinforced he must shortly abandon Dehlí, ii. 444*n*; convinced of necessity for regular siege of Dehlí (17 July), ii. 445; despairs of taking Dehlí with help from North-West Provinces, iv. 1; effect of his feared retirement from Dehlí on Káñhpúr (30 July), iii. 386; resolves to hold on to Dehlí to the last, ii. 447.
 Directs Major Baird Smith to prepare a plan of attack on Dehlí (20 Aug), iv. 4; his letter to Maj. Baird Smith, iv. 2*n*; announces approaching assault in Order to troops (7 Sept), iv. 7; resolves to assault Dehlí (13 Sept), iv. 18; his four assaulting columns, iv. 19; provides Cavalry and Artillery to protect flanks of storming columns at Dehlí, iv. 34; his arrangements for fourth assaulting column varied by Major Reid, iv. 20*n*; stations himself at Ludlow Castle during assault, iv. 22*n*; leads attack on and capture of Magazine (16 Sept), iv. 41; again desponds (17 Sept), iv. 42; his increasing weakness of mind and body, iv. 43*n*; despondingly thinks of withdrawing successful troops from Dehlí, iv. 38 and *n*; orders destruction of spirituous liquors found in Dehlí, iv. 41.
 Orders King of Dehlí to be brought in alive, iv. 52; considers the King of Dehlí an outlaw (21 Sept), iv. 52; refuses to see him when captured, iv. 54; gives Capt. Hodson permission to hunt down the secreted Princes, iv. 54; refuses to utilize Major Reid's pencil notes on meritorious officers, iv. 12*n*.
 Proceeds on sick certificate to Himálayas (Sept), iv. 73; leaves Dehlí for the Himálayas (4 Oct), iv. 101*n*.
 Wilson, Lieut., R.N., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n*.
 Wilson, Mr. Cracraft, Commissioner, describes plot for general massacre of the English, ii. 81; believes Col. Smyth saved the Empire by forcing on mutiny at Mírath, ii. 82; leads attack against Rámpúr fanatics (21 May), iii. 220; proposes to Sipáhís to march to Mírath (2 June), iii. 221; mutineers threaten to shoot him, iii. 222; unintentionally leads Gen. Penny's force into an ambuscade (30 Apr '58), iv. 351.
 Wilson, Mr. James, Secretary of Board of Control (1849), ii. 14*n*.
 Wilson, Mr. J. C., on the taunts with which Native women excited Sipáhís at Mírath, ii. 42*n*.
 Windham, Lieut. Charles, R.N., tries, but fails, to clear his father from charge of ungenerosity, iv. 179*n*.
 Windham, Maj.-Gen. Charles A. C.B., suggested as Commander of Persian expedition (1856), i. 306; left in command of Káñhpúr (3 Nov), iv. 106; orders given to him on taking command of Káñhpúr, iv. 106; Sir Colin Campbell's instructions, on leaving him at Káñhpúr (9 Nov), iv. 159; strengthens entrenchment at Káñhpúr, iv. 160; asks and obtains permission to detain troops at Káñhpúr (14 Nov), iv. 162; warns Sir Colin Campbell of approach of Tántiá Topí, iv. 162; suggests plan of aggressive defence of

Windham, Maj.-Gen.—*cont.*

Kánpúr (17 Nov), iv. 164; extends his position at Kánpúr, as ordered, iv. 162; finds his communication with Lakhnao severed (19 Nov), iv. 163; guesses object of Tántiá Topí's advance from Kálpí, iv. 161; detaches troops to re-occupy Banní Bridge (23 Nov), iv. 162.

Resolves to attack Tántiá Topí, iv. 165; his plan for striking a blow at that leader, iv. 164; marches to confront Tántiá Topí, iv. 165; attacks Tántiá Topí at Pándu rivulet (26 Nov), iv. 166; hears of approach of Sir Colin Campbell, iv. 166; driven back on the left, forced to withdraw his right (27 Nov), iv. 170.

Attacked by Tántiá Topí (27 Nov), iv. 168; his defective tactics, iv. 172; compelled to fall back on Brick Kilns, iv. 169; orders general retreat on intrenchment, iv. 170; saves the intrenchment from Tántiá Topí, iv. 170; guards extreme right during attack of 28 Nov., iv. 173; second illustration of his defective tactics, iv. 175; orders advance on right, and is repulsed, iv. 176; when too late, sends a few troops to support Brig. Carthew, iv. 180; ungenerously tries to cast blame on Brig. Carthew, iv. 179; unsuccessful attempt to clear him from imputation of ungenerous conduct towards Brig. Carthew, iv. 179.

Given command of intrenchment at attack on Tántiá Topí (6 Dec), iv. 188; begins attack on Tántiá Topí, iv. 189.

Windus, Lieut., I.N., his excellent service in Chutiá Nágpúr, vi. 172; receives the thanks of Government, vi. 172.

Wingfield, Mr. Charles, Commissioner of Bahráich, iii. 261; his character, and sympathy with Native feeling, iii. 261; anticipates,

Wingfield, Mr. Charles—*cont.*

and prepares for mutiny at Sikrorá, iii. 262; goes from Sikrorá to Gondah (9 June), iii. 263; flies from Gondah to Bahrámpúr, iii. 264.

Wolseley, Capt., attacks and captures Moti Mahall, Lakhnao (17 Nov), iv. 143.

Wood, Capt., marche into Sambalpúr (29 Dec), iv. 308; defeats and scatters Sambalpúr insurgents (30 Dec), iv. 308; wounded at Sambalpúr, iv. 308.

Wood, Lieut., his gallantry during attack on the Sikandarbágh (16 Nov), iv. 140.

Wood, Mrs., nobly saves her injured husband, ii. 73*n.*

Woodburn, Maj.-Gen., leads expeditionary column from Púná (8 June), v. 7; ordered to march rapidly on Máu, v. 7; the march of his column the great hope of Indúr, iii. 140; his column diverted to Aurangábád, and there halted, iii. 141; deviates from his course to suppress ill-feeling in that district (13 June), v. 8; delays his departure from Aurangábád (25 June), v. 10; Lord Elphinstone insists on his marching from that place, v. 10; incapacitated by ill-health (29 June), v. 11; retires in ill-health to Púná, iii. 161.

Woodcock, Lieut., struck down in attack on Láhor Gate, Dehlí, iv. 33.

Woodcock, Mr. E. E., Collector of Rájsháhí, vi. 26.

Woodford, Lieut.-Col., commands Rifle Brigade at Kánpúr (28 Nov), iv. 173.

Woodgate, Cadet, escapes from mutineers at Allahábád (6 June), ii. 190*n.*

Woodhouse, Lieut., chases the murderers of Mr. Moore, vi. 48.

Woodside, Rev. J., an American missionary, bravely brings cash

- Woodside, Rev. J.—*cont.*
through the worst part of Sahá-ranpúr, vi. 119.
- Woolcombe, Capt., marches with battery from Píná (8 June), v. 7; his distinguished services in Central India, v. 59; repulses centre of Dhár rebels with his battery (22 Oct), v. 48.
- Woolley, Capt., commands at Narsinhpúr, v. 62; leads detachment, and restores order near Narsinhpúr (Nov), v. 73; occupies Chírapúr, and disperses rebels (Dec), v. 74.
- Worseley, Lieut., distinguishes himself at defence of Lakhnao, iii. 385.
- Worthington, Capt., sent to Philur to order preparation of siege-train, ii 105*n.*
- Wratislaw, Lieut., R.N., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 91*n.*
- Wray, Midshipman, his good service in Dánápúr, vi. 172.
- Wright, Lieut., reports greased-cartridge scare at Damdamah (22 Jan), i. 375.
- Wroughton, Lieut.-Col., sends Nepalese from Jaunpúr to relieve A'zamgarh (18 Sept), iv. 222; captures Mubárakpúr (27 Sept), iv. 223.
- Wyatt, Mr., Collector, murdered at Baréli (31 May), iii. 212.
- Wyndham, Capt., leads Haidarábád troops against Shorápúr (Jan '58), v. 86; advances to attack Shorápúr (7 Feb '58), v. 87; Rájah of that place tries to lead him into an ambuscade, v. 87; his troops attacked at night by Rájah of Shorápúr, v. 87; whom he defeats, v. 87.
- Wynyard, Mr. William, Judge of Gorákhpúr, vi. 52; his character, vi. 53; delays the departure of his Magistrate on hearing of Mírath outbreak, vi. 53; given civil charge of his district, with full authority, vi. 54; enlists local guards (June), vi. 54; sends part of his doubtful Sipáhís to Banáras with treasure, vi. 54; organizes the support of well-affected Natives, vi. 54; dissuades Sipáhís from first attempt to plunder Gorákhpúr treasury (8 June), vi. 55.
- Hears that Gurkhás will reach him from Pálpa (9 June), vi. 55; hears of the plunder of the treasure he had sent to Banáras (11 June), vi. 55; proclaims martial law in his district (12 June), vi. 55; sends troops, and for a time tranquillizes A'zamgarh, vi. 55; sends ladies from Gorákhpúr to Banáras (20 June), vi. 56; Gurkhás from Pálpa come to his aid (28 June), vi. 56.
- Mr. Tucker approves of all his acts (28 June), vi. 57; receives the thanks of Lord Canning, vi. 57; authorized to abandon Gorákhpúr, if necessary, vi. 57.
- The difficulties surrounding him, in July, vi. 57; his forced retreat from Gorákhpúr (13 Aug), vi. 58; marches with Gurkhás to A'zamgarh (Aug), vi. 59; repulses attack at Gagha (20 Aug), vi. 59; reaches A'zamgarh (27 Aug), vi. 59.
- Created chief civil officer of A'zamgarh (27 Aug), vi. 59; while Judge at A'zamgarh, present at action of Mánduri (19 Sept), iv. 223; marches from A'zamgarh, to recover Jáunpúr, vi. 59; his great services not officially rewarded, vi. 60.

Y.

Yár Muhammad, Minister of Sháh Kámrán, desires Persian dominance at Herat, i. 301; becomes ruler of Herat, i. 301; incompetence of his successors, i. 327.

Yellow House, building outside Lakhnáo, iii. 359.

Yená, river near Satárah, v. *xii*.

Yeomanry Corps, formed at Calcutta (Aug), vi. 22; its constitution, iv. 302; does good service at Gorákhpúr and A'zamgarh, vi. 23; delivers a splendid charge at A'mórha (5 Mar '58), iv. 317.

Yorke, Sir Charles, Gen. Barnard's letter to him about Gen. Anson's death, ii. 123*n.*

Young, Capt., Commissary of Ordnance, before Dehlí, during latter part of siege, ii. 448*n.*

Young, Lieut., R.N., one of Peel's Brigade, iv. 90*n.*

Young, Mr. J. H., Judge of Bardwán, vi. 6.

Yule, Capt., leads Lancer charge at Badlí-kí-Sarai (8 June), ii. 144; killed at attack on Dehlí Ridge (18 June), ii. 415.

Yule, Mr. George, Commissioner of Bhágalpúr, iv. 92, vi. 34; his character, iv. 92.

Maintains his division without European troops, till end of July, iv. 92; detains 90 European soldiers at Bhágalpúr (24 July), iv. 93; sends 50 European soldiers to garrison Munger, iv. 93; by securing Bhágalpúr and Munger disarms conspiracy in Eastern Bihár, iv. 93.

Governs Eastern Bihár (Nov), iv. 297; informs Col. Burney of

Yule, Mr. George—*cont.*

departure of deserters in his direction, iv. 94; proceeds with troops to Kishanganj (2 Dec), iv. 298, 299; marches from Kishanganj to Púrná to catch Jalpáigurí mutineers, iv. 299; attacks and defeats mutineers, iv. 299; hurries from Púrná to Náthpúr, iv. 299; compels mutineers to enter Nipál, iv. 299; hurries from Náthpúr to protect Jalpáigurí (18 Dec), iv. 300; re-enters Kishanganj by a forced march (20 Dec), iv. 300.

Directed to occupy Siliguri, iv. 301; reaches Titália, iv. 301; again advances, and finds mutineers at Cháwá Ghát (26 Dec), iv. 301; bars the road from the Cháwá Ghát, iv. 301; Dhákah mutineers slip away from him to reach Darjiling, iv. 301; again sees Dhákah mutineers, but they fly into the jungle and escape (27 Dec), iv. 302; drives Dhákah mutineers also into Nipál, iv. 302; marches parallel to Dhákah mutineers, and keeps them in Nipál (28 Dec), iv. 302.

Again crosses the Kusi, at Náthpúr (3 Jan '58), iv. 302; strengthened by arrival of Yeomanry Cavalry (11 Jan '58), iv. 302; crosses into Nipál to attack Dhákah mutineers (14 Jan '58), iv. 303; reaches Pirárá, and finds that Dhákah mutineers had fled from Chatrá (19 Jan '58), iv. 303.

Returns to his division (20 Jan '58), iv. 304; offers to fight in Western Bihár (May '58), iv. 304; his great services in pursuing and driving away mutineers, vi. 34.

Yúsuf Khán, becomes ruler of Herat (1855), i. 303; first invites Persia and then Afghanistan to support him at Herat, i. 304; seized and imprisoned, i. 304.

Yúsufzais, their dangerous proximity to Pesháwar, ii. 336.

Z.

Zálím Singh, his grandson rules Jhaláwar (Aug '58), v. 227.
 Zamíndári right, differs from Táluk-dári right, i. 115.
 Zenana. education in, a cause of disaffection, i. 136.
 Zírápúr, Tántiá Topí occupies, v.

Zírápúr—*cont.*
 249; Col. Benson drives Tántiá Topí from (30 Dec '58), v. 249.
 Zínat-Mahal, Queen, intrigues as to succession to titular Emperorship (1850), ii. 10; disgusted at intention of removing Royal Family from Dehlí, ii. 20; her palace intrigues, ii. 18; her fresh intrigues after death of Fakir-ud-dín, ii. 25; allowed to accompany King of Dehlí in his transportation, v. 361.
 Zorah, insurgents defeated at, by Lieut. Osborne (Sept), v. 76.

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